

Selected Writings of Cornelius C. Vermeule

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Cornelius C. Vermeule, renowned art historian and curator, published the articles below in a variety of journals between the years 1970 and 1994. A [Wikipedia entry](#), which describes his life and enduring achievements, has additional bibliography.

Two of Vermeule's classic books are freely available at Internet Archive:

[Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art](#), *The Classical Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, by Cornelius Vermeule III (1963).

[Antiquities at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts: Cornelius Vermeule](#) (1997).

[Near Eastern, Greek, and Roman Gems: A Recent Gift to the Collections](#), from *Boston Museum Bulletin*, Vol. 68, No. 353 (1970), pp. 197-214.

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[Vases in Boston: Unusual Further Acquisitions, Mycenaean through South Italian](#), from *Classical Journal*, Vol. 66, No. 1 (Oct. - Nov., 1970), pp. 1-21.

[Greek, Etruscan, Roman Gold and Silver-I: Archaic to Hellenistic Gold](#), from *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 112, No. 813 (Dec., 1970), pp. 818-827.

[Greek and Roman Sculptures in Boston](#), from *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 113, No. 814 (Jan., 1971), pp. 37-45+47-48.

[Greek, Etruscan, Roman Gold and Silver-II: Hellenistic to Late Antique Gold and Silver](#), from *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 113, No. 820 (Jul., 1971), pp. 396-407.

[Greek Funerary Animals, 450-300 B.C.](#), from *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (Jan., 1972), pp. 49-59.

[A Greek Heroic Statue in Dallas](#), from *Archaeology*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (June 1972), pp. 216-221.

[Antiquities at Wellesley](#), from *Archaeology*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (October, 1972), pp. 276-282.

[Greek Vases for Boston: Attic Geometric to Sicilian Hellenistic](#), The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Ford Madox Brown, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, John Brett, Edward Burne-Jones (Feb., 1973), pp. 114-124 from *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 115, No. 839.

[Ancient Art in Metal and Semiprecious Stone](#), from *Boston Museum Bulletin*, Vol. 72, No. 368 (1974), pp. 117-135.

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[The Westmacott Jupiter: An Enthroned Zeus of Late Antique Aspect](#), from *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, Vol. 2 (1975), pp. 99-108.

[The Weary Herakles of Lysippos](#), from *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 79, No. 4 (Oct., 1975), pp. 323-332.

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[Greek and Roman Sculpture from the Northern Coasts of the Black Sea \(Chiefly Russia\)](#), from *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 119, No. 897 (Dec., 1977), pp. 810-818.

[Ideal "Portraiture" at the Outset of the Hellenistic Age](#), from *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, Vol. 6/7 (1978/1979), pp. 97-102.

[Masterpieces of Greek Vase Painting, about 1900 B.C.-340 B.C.](#), from *MFA Bulletin*, Vol. 78 (1980), pp. 22-37.

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Additional Resources:

Ancient Greece

[Ancient Greek Art](#), Google Images

[Ancient Greek Art](#), Wikipedia

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[Ancient Greece Portal](#), Wikipedia

Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History

[Greece 8000-2000 B.C.](#)

[Greece 2000-1000 B.C.](#)

[Greece 1000 B.C. - 1 A.D.](#)

[Greece 1 - 500 A.D.](#)

Kiepert's Manual of Ancient Geography

Chapter 7: [European Greece](#), pp. 140-186.

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Etruria/Etruscans

[Etruscan Art](#), Google Images

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Rome

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[Roman Art](#), Wikipedia

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Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History

[Italy 1000 B.C. - 1 A.D.](#)

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Kiepert's Manual of Ancient Geography, Chapter 9: [Italia](#), pp. 208-256.

Books about Greek, Etruscan, and Roman civilization and art:

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[Etruscan Art](#)

[Roman Art](#)

The Ancient World Online (AWOL):

[Greek Art](#)

[Etruscan Art](#)

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Near Eastern, Greek, and Roman Gems: A Recent Gift to the Collections

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Near Eastern, Greek, and Roman Gems

A Recent Gift to the Collections

by CORNELIUS VERMEULE

The twenty-five cameo and intaglio gems presented in these pages constitute the major part of a gift from the Honorable Burton Y. Berry in memory of his friend Michel Chiha of Beirut. Michel Chiha was a distinguished financier, newspaper owner-journalist, and Lebanese patriot, and it seems most appropriate that Mr. Berry has chosen to honor his memory at a time when the destiny of Lebanon is very much in the news. It should also be remembered that greater Boston has a large population of Lebanese and Syrian Christian origin, testimony to this being the presence of the beautiful church of Saint John of Damascus next to the School of the Museum and facing the recently constructed George Robert White Wing of the main building.

Mr. Burton Berry needs no introduction to the world of museums and scholarship as a connoisseur and collector of ancient engraved stones. He has formed and catalogued a major collection of over 250 ancient gems of all periods which is to be seen at the Indiana University Art Museum in Bloomington and which is available to a worldwide audience in two publications: *A Selection of Ancient Gems from the Collection of Burton Y. Berry* (Indiana University Art Museum Publication Number 5, 1965); and *Ancient Gems from the Collection of Burton Y. Berry*, published under the same auspices in 1969. The gems which Mr. Berry has donated to the Museum of Fine Arts in memory of Mr. Michel Chiha in many ways complement those in his primary collection at his alma mater; the Berry gems in Boston do further honor to the exacting science of classical gems and related glass pastes by supplementing and rounding out the four or five older collections of this nature in the Boston Museum.

This publication of the gift in memory of Michel Chiha continues the series of articles on collections of gems recently added to the holdings of the Museum of Fine Arts. In *MFA Bulletin* no. 335 (1966) twenty-three gems and glass pastes from Archaic Greek times to the early nineteenth century were illustrated with parallels and discussed. These small works of art came from various sources, gifts and purchases in the earlier years of the 1960s. First among these articles devoted entirely to specimens of the gem engraver's art was the description of twenty stones and pastes forming the collection of the late, much regretted Dr. L. Lahut Uzman of the Harvard Medical School, in *MFA Bulletin* no. 323 (1963). Aside from the cameos and intaglios illustrated in various handbooks of the Museum, the basic publication of the collections remains the catalogue of the gems collected by Edward Perry Warren

at his home in Sussex, England, and purchased by the Museum in installments during the 1920s: *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* (Oxford, 1920, by [Sir] John D. Beazley). One hundred and thirty-five masterpieces of Minoan, Mycenaean, ancient Near Eastern, classical, and Neo-Classic glyptic art were published in full in this epic book. Although many of the remaining gems in the Museum's collections are now published in recent comprehensive monographs, notably Gisela M. A. Richter's *The Engraved Gems of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (Part One, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans: A History of Greek Art in Miniature*, London, 1968), at least 250 important gems of all periods in the Department of Classical Art have not been discussed in print or illustrated since their advent into the Museum's cabinets. Clearly, a full catalogue should follow this series of special reports in the *Bulletin*.

NOTE

The articles in *Bulletin* nos. 323 and 335 contain much general information on the production of gems in ancient times and on other modern collections that need not be repeated here. The second of these two articles also contains a bibliography of twelve major books on gems and pastes, with the abbreviations used in cataloguing the pieces described at that time. The bibliography given here provides additional monographs and major articles, with a similar system of abbreviations. In the present article the two bibliographies and their abbreviations must be used together, and, taken in sum, they should constitute an up-to-date conspectus of the study of ancient cameos and intaglios. In preparing this paper, I have had the help of Mary Comstock, Herbert Hamilton, Wayne Lemmon, John McKeon, and Carl Zahn's continuing, splendid sense of design. Above all, thanks must go to Burton Y. Berry of Indiana and Istanbul, not only for his gift of benefit to all, but also for the notes, descriptions, parallels, and proveniences which he provided in correspondence about this projected act of generosity.

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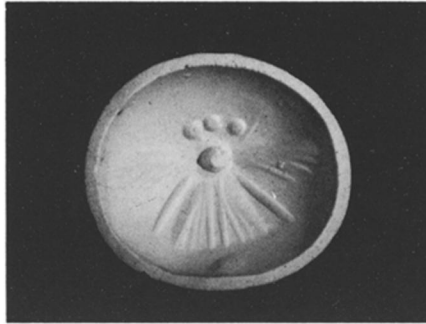
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Late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian



1. **Symbol of the god Assur**, in sunburst form and seemingly with wings. Chalcedony cone, pierced across the top, with the design in intaglio in the convex base. H.: 19mm. 69.1191.

A similar gem in Philadelphia, seemingly about a century later, has been termed early Achaemenian and dated about 538 B.C. (*Sommerville Gems*, no. 23), another "Neo-Assyrian" example being in Geneva (Vollenweider, *Genève*, p. 70, no. 77, pl. 36). For the design which occurs in the upper areas of Assyrian palace reliefs and in similar parts of complex compositions on cylinder seals, see Porada, *Corpus*, p. 85, no. 698 and p. 87, no. 710. The late Assyrian period extends from 911 to 612 B.C., and the period termed Neo-Babylonian runs from 612 to 539, gems such as these being traditionally, and safely, dated in the seventh century B.C., that is the 600s.



2. **Radiate symbol**, which may be a conventionalized winged human figure or an elaborate staff on a low dais. Sard scaraboid, pierced lengthwise. Length: 18mm. 69.1192.
- Two examples in the Newell collection provide illustrations of the related human figure in stylized form (Newell, p. 70, no. 501, pl. 32) and the ceremonial standard in a ritual setting (Newell, p. 70, no. 510, pl. 32). For another illustration of the design, see also Porada, *Corpus*, p. 87, no. 710, cited in connection with Berry, no. 1.



3. Three divine or priestly figures in ritual scenes. Chalcedony cone, pierced across the top. The designs are in intaglio, the first being in the base and the second and third in opposite sides. H.: 23mm. 69.1193.

In the base appears a priest, or the god Marduk, extending his hand toward Marduk's symbols, probably a spear and a candelabrum, a crescent appearing above. On one side a king or the god Nabu (Nabo) raises his hand in similar *orans* gesture, a circular symbol with spokes over his shoulder; this terminates in a group of stars or globes, making a palmette-shaped design. On the side opposite, a priest stands in fish costume, extending one hand and holding out a *situla* or ceremonial pail in the other.

There are many parallels for all or parts of each one of the three familiar Neo-Babylonian figures, as *Sommerville Gems*, no. 22, for the third side, dated about 625 B.C. (see also, nos. 18, 19, which are Legrain, nos. 619 and 681). See also, generally, Porada, *Corpus*, p. 97, no. 791a, and p. 98, no. 797, on the iconography; Vollenweider, *Genève*, pp. 74f., pls. 37, 38, nos. 81–85, especially no. 81. The pose and details of costume in the "Nabu" side are similar to Newell, p. 69, no. 493, pl. 32, also a bluish chalcedony; the circle, rays ending in globes, is found on Newell, p. 70, no. 509, pl. 32, where the subject is identified as a deity.

Phoenician and Palestinian



- 4. Two lines of inscription in Phoenician characters.** Carnelian scaraboid. Diam.: 20mm. 69.1189.

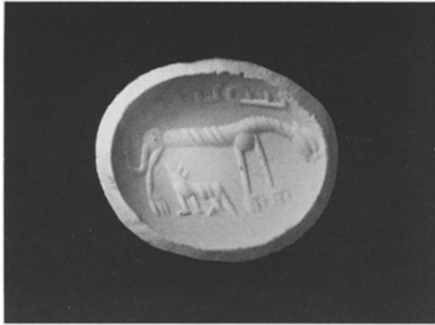
This stone has been identified with the Kingdom of Judaea and dated about 850 to 750 B.C. It comes ultimately from Gaza. Professor Baramki of the University of Beirut has read the inscription as, "Of Eliagim Servant of the King."

Sassanian



- 5. Sard ringstone (?), with design in intaglio as in all other cases, unless otherwise indicated.** Two quadrupeds kneel facing each other, vegetation between. One is an antelope or ibex, and the other is a mountain goat ("bouquetin"). Diam.: 16mm. 69.1194.

There are a number of comparable designs in the art of the revived Persian kingdom, contemporary with the later Roman and earlier Byzantine empires: e.g., *Sommerville Gems*, nos. 24, 25; Berry Collection, p. 132, no. 241; and Vollenweider, *Genève*, p. 90, no. 109, pl. 45 and p. 91, no. 112, pl. 46, the former with two mountain goats and the latter with an antelope. Stylistically, this is closest to no. 109, which Miss Vollenweider dates at the end of the fifth to the beginning of the sixth century A.D. The shape in the form of a ringstone suggests an earlier date, for most Sassanian gems, in the Achaemenian tradition, are in the form of ring-shaped stamp seals.



6. An unusual quadruped stands with head lowered, appearing like an emaciated feline, a panther perhaps; she appears to be nursing a bovine which stands in the opposite direction. A Pahlavi inscription appears above. Garnet intaglio, of ringstone shape. Diam.: 13.5mm. 69.1198.

Berlin no. 128, pl. 3, a gem termed Cypriote by Adolf Furtwängler shows the classical genesis of this unusual composition. Newell, p. 77, no. 595, among Sassanian gems, presents an earlier typology and style but with similar features; here a lion is attacking a humped bull. The elongation is also found in the lion of another lion and humped bull composition: Newell, p. 77, no. 592. B.M. no. 452, p. 54, pl. VIII, a doe suckling a fawn, which is early Greek work and comes from the Gaudin collection formed in the Smyrna to Aphrodisias region, also presages the style in the Greek East that will become the basis for this Sassanian gem.

Greek



7. An intaglio gem of about 700 to 600 B.C. in the Greek "Island" style. A wild goat, with the long horns of an ibex prances away from a slender, vertical plant or tree. Lenticular, translucent mottled green steatite. Diam.: 21mm. 69.1195.

This stone comes from Antalya. Compare Boardman, *Island Gems*, pp. 25ff., pl. II, especially no. 33A; AG, pl. V, nos. 1, 2; and Zazoff, *Kassel*, p. 13, no. 18, pl. 7. Melos has been the usual source of these gems, although the British Museum specimens (nos. 196 to 207) include one from Kalymnos (no. 199, pl. IV). An ultimate provenance along the Lycian coast is very likely for this handsome intaglio in steatite.



- 8. A lion pounces on another animal,** which seems to be either a long-horned goat, a plump ibex, or a bovine of some eastern type. Scaraboid moulded in blue glass and pierced with a ridge down the back. The date may be as early as the fifth century B.C. Diam.: 16mm. 69.1196.

This intaglio in glass comes from Mersin in Cilicia. The schema is Near Eastern and so is the feeling evoked by the lion, but the artist was Greek or Greek trained. The forepart of the lion is not unlike such beasts on Ionian electrum coins of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Compare, generally, Boardman, *Archaic Gems*, no. 368; N.Y., p. 6, no. 20, pl. IV; this is termed Graeco-Phoenician; Lippold, pl. 84, no. 11 (which is M.F.A. no. 98.714); B.M. no. 418, pl. VII; and Boardman, *Archaic Gems*, no. 450 = M.F.A. no. 98.720 (Fig. 8a). The gem in the Metropolitan Museum, a chalcedony cut from a scarab, is also of the same general style. A goat, if such be the animal, of this type is seen on a rock crystal scaraboid of about 400 B.C. in the British Museum: Richter, *Animals*, p. 70, fig. 131; but compare Newell, p. 74, no. 555, pl. 34, classed as the first Sassanian piece in von der Osten's arrangement of his collection. British Museum no. 307, pl. VI, a brown serpentine from Egypt, with a bull kneeling to the left, shows certain similar features among Orientalizing gems with Greek subjects.



- 8a.** Chalcedony scaraboid intaglio. Lion attacking a bull. Greek, ca. 500 B.C. From Thebes. H. L. Pierce Fund. 98.720.



- 9. A long-horned deer runs toward a branch or tree set diagonally in front of the animal.** Chalcedony scaraboid, pierced lengthwise. Probably fourth to second centuries B.C. Diam.: 17mm. 69.1197.

Compare Richter, *Gems*, p. 109, no. 383, a lion attacking a deer; also p. 117, no. 440. An Italic ringstone with older features shows a more tubular, delicate, "modern" animal: Boardman, *Ionides*, pp. 17, 92, no. 11.

Much of the style is seen in an orange-colored carnelian scaraboid of 300 to 250 B.C., acquired in Istanbul and with iconography related to Ephesos and the cult of Artemis there, that is the deer before a palm, on a groundline, and the bee: Munich, p. 75, no. 394a, pl. 45. The Berry gem is thus, presumably also, East Greek and may relate to one of the many local cults of Artemis, whether at Ephesos — to which the type is linked numismatically — or at Sardis, Stratonikeia in Caria, and even at Halikarnassos.



10. A Hellenistic prince wears a radiate diadem; his bust is draped in a cloak pinned on one shoulder. He resembles portraits on the later coins of the Seleucid Demetrios II (129 to 125 B.C.) or, because of less (or no) beard, on earlier coins of Antiochos IX Philopator, nicknamed Cyzicenus (116 to 95 B.C.), ruler of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. Burnt carnelian, ringstone (?). Diam.: 14mm. 69.1199.

This stone comes from Homs, ancient Emesa, in Syria. Another intaglio gem, an aquamarine, in Munich (Munich, pp. 92f., no. 524, pl. 56) shows the same ruler, also with the radiate diadem of Helios; it was acquired in Istanbul. The treatment of the eye as well as the hair around the ear would suggest that one of the engravers who cut dies for coins of Antiochos IX carved these two and other, similar gems, as talismans for supporters of the declining, nearly extinct Seleucid kingdom. These gems and comparable coins show him as a young man, before growing the short beard that occurs in most of his numismatic portraits (Fig. 10a). See Colin M. Kraay and Max Hirmer, *Greek Coins*, London, 1966, p. 375, pl. 208, fig. 763, a silver tetradrachm struck at Ace-Ptolemais, about 113 to 112 B.C. Antiochos VIII and IX were competitive half-brothers, but the former normally is shown as having a decidedly hooked nose (e.g., Kraay-Hirmer, fig. 762, struck at Antioch). Survey of the brothers' likenesses at the mint of Antioch (Edward T. Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, New York, 1918, pp. 96ff., pls. Xlf.) suggests that their portraits were interchanged on the smaller coins. The numismatic nose of Antiochos IX grows more aquiline in his later reigns, while his slight beard seems to be constant on the larger coins of this, the principal Seleucid mint in the western part of their traditional kingdom.



10a. Silver tetradrachm of Antiochos IX, Mint of Antioch. *Anonymous Gift in Memory of Zoë Wilbour*. 35.160.

Graeco-Roman



- 11. Bust of a divinity** (probably Apollo) with long, curling hair; he is crowned with a wreath of laurel and also wears a cloak around his shoulders. In front of the god is a laurel branch, and behind appears a monogram in the form of a capital *M* surmounted by a trident. Agate, or so-called nicolo, ringstone banded in three brown and milky layers, the underside of the carving in intaglio also flat. Diam. (max.): 13.5mm. 69.1200.

A similar concept of the divinity appears on a gem in the Berry Collection at Indiana University (p. 24, no. 40). A Roman late Republican silver denarius of the moneyer M. Plaetorius Cestianus, 68 to 66 B.C., with a head of Rome's founder Romulus or its early patron Bonus Eventus on the obverse, offers certain stylistic parallels (Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst*, pp. 48, 108, pl. 46, fig. 4), although the hair is more disarrayed in a manner overtly influenced by contemporary Hellenistic tetradrachms and gold showing Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus on the Black Sea, the great anti-Roman trauma of the dying royal Hellenistic polity. Another denarius of the same Roman Republican moneyer with the same obverse (*ibid.*, pl. 46, no. 2) presents a closer comparison since the die engraver has worked in a calmer style. The stiffer, more formal qualities of the bust are paralleled in the (Octavian as) Apollo on a denarius struck just after the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. (*ibid.*, pp. 54f., 111, pl. 54, no. 5). Finally, a gem now lost and known from a Neo-Classic glass replica, shows this Apollo in his full, formal aspects (*ibid.*, p. 72, pl. 79, nos. 3, 7). It belongs to the Julio-Claudian period, probably to the time of the Emperor Claudius, A.D. 41 to 54, and the Berry gem in Boston cannot be far from this time, even though the monogram is that of moneyers on Hellenistic coins of Asia Minor or Syria.



- 12. Hermes (?)**. This carnelian ringstone from Athens presents an ideal head of a young god or athletic youth, in the Praxitelean tradition of the fourth century B.C. If wearing a *petasos* or winged cap (This area has been broken away, but a trace seems to be visible at the back.), the subject could be the messenger god. Diam.: 16mm. 69.1202.

A comparable ideal head of the Graeco-Roman period appears on a carnelian intaglio among the Uzman gems in the Museum of Fine Arts (62.1164; *Bulletin* no. 323, 1963, pp. 10f., fig. 6); these heads are very like that of the Hermes attributed to the Greek fifth-century sculptor Polykleitos and widely copied in all media in the age of the Emperor Augustus (27 B.C. to A.D. 14), to whom it bore a certain resemblance stimulated and encouraged by the courtly classicism of the age (see *Polykleitos, First in a series of picture books on famous sculptors*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1969, pp. 25ff., figs. 17-19B). See also the busts of Hermes on two ringstones in the Metropolitan Museum (N.Y., p. 72, nos. 291f., pl. 41) and an aquamarine of Herakles in the British Museum, signed by one Gnaios who probably worked in Augustan court circles about 30 to 20 B.C. (Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst*, pp. 45, 107, pl. 42, nos. 1, 2, 4). At this period artists could render a number of young gods and heroes (Hermes, Herakles, Theseus, Meleager) with similar, nearly interchangeable features, suitably like those of the first Emperor when the occasion demanded. A crystal intaglio of Herakles in the British Museum, dated about 1800, shows a Neo-Classic revival of this gem's style (B.M., *Post-Classical*, p. 98, no. 682, pl. 24).



- 13. Female divinity**, a wreathed head in the pseudo-Severe Style of about 465 B.C., with snakes rising from what seems to be an aegis at her neck. She is, therefore, probably an unhelmeted Athena, rather than, say, the Gorgon Medusa or one of the Furies who pursued Orestes with snakes. Carnelian ringstone. Diam.: 13mm. 69.1203.

This intaglio gem was found in Macedonia. A comparable carnelian ringstone in the Uzman collection shows a wreathed head of Apollo and has been dated about 30 B.C. (M.F.A., 62.1150; *Bulletin* no. 323, 1963, pp. 7, 9, fig. 4). The concept is related to ideal heads of Medusa, with snakes and wings in the hair, made popular in the arts of the gem engraver about 50 B.C. by artists such as Sosokles and Diodotos (Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst*, p. 28, pl. 18, nos. 1, 3, and 5). The Metropolitan Museum possesses an excellent replica of this beautiful composition, which was widely copied in antiquity in other media including Roman Republican coins of 74 B.C. and again by gem engravers and plasterers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see N.Y., p. 88, no. 388, pl. 49, and extensive parallels). A painting or monumental relief of about 80 B.C. must have inspired so much activity in the minor arts.



- 14. Divinity or hero** standing in the nude, a staff or stylized club in one hand; he gives the other to a seated animal. A crescent appears in the field, just in front of his face. Banded agate, in scaraboid shape and pierced lengthwise with a chipping at the top. From Izmir (Smyrna). Diam.: 20mm. 69.1208.

The subject and its presentation here have a Near Eastern flavor, even though the gem would seem to have been carved in the Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman periods. The divinity or hero might seem to be Herakles, but the presence of what appears to be a canine would point to a hunter, like Adonis or Meleager, or even Gilgamesh if the iconography derives from the older art of the ancient Near East. Compare, for general style and iconography, the goddess Artemis with a begging dog, on a four-sided carnelian in Berlin (Berlin, p. 68, no. 1030, pl. 12); also the nude Apollo with a doe, in the Severe Style, probably after a cult image first designed in Miletos following the Persian Wars and seen on an intaglio (carnelian) of which there are versions in a number of collections, indication of the image's popularity in Roman imperial times (Lippold, p. 168, pl. 7, no. 7).



15. *Io*, as named in the inscription in Greek below, appears as a moon goddess of Egypt, holding a torch and her swirling cloak and following a rearing horse. Red jasper intaglio, ringstone. Diam.: 15mm. 69.1201.

On the analogies of designs on Greek imperial coins, the carving was probably done in the second century A.D. This gem comes from the region of the Nile Delta. The subject, thus presented, is rare in the minor glyptic arts. *Io* occurs as a subject on Graeco-Roman lamps and in Hellenistic sculpture, where usually only a tiny pair of horns on the forehead delineate the bovine aspects of the divinity. See *The Classical Journal* 61, 1966, pp. 298, 303f., fig. 19, and related references, in connection with a small marble head of *Io*, brought from Patras in Achaia and now in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 15a). *Io* was a patroness of women with newborn children, being thus equated with *Hera* or the Roman *Juno Lucina*. Such a woman would have worn this ringstone.



15a. Marble head of *Io*, Hellenistic. Gift of Evelyn Yates Inman in Memory of Alonzo Colt Yates. 63.2683.



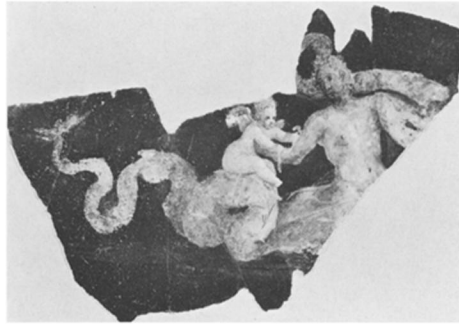
16. An old man with a staff follows a goat who leaps towards a large tree. This largish brown agate ringstone has been inscribed (directly, not in intaglio reversal for correct reading in impression) "*Zenas*," doubtless the name of the owner. Diam.: 20mm. 69.1209.

Coming from Syria, this stone exhibits clear, precise workmanship of the Roman imperial period, with liberal use of the wheel rather than a hand cutting instrument to define details. Comparable figures include the herdsman and animals on an intaglio in Berlin (Berlin, p. 304, no. 8278, pl. 59); also those of a heliotrope ringstone in New York (N.Y., p. 99, no. 447, pl. 55), showing a hunter, accompanied by two hounds, shooting a deer with bow and arrow. There are glass pastes of similar style, one that has been connected with Augustan classicism (Berlin, nos. 6263-6267). Compare in addition a violet glass paste in Munich (p. 85, no. 473, pl. 52), and *Eros* finding *Psyche*, a rock crystal from Cappadocia (Munich, p. 86, no. 474, pl. 52).



17. Eros rides on a hippocamp. Sard intaglio, broken at a section of the rim. Diam.: 16.5mm. 69.1204.

The details and style of this handsome stone are very close to British Museum, no. 1496, pl. XX, p. 165, a pale amethyst; compare also Berlin, no. 2361, pl. 22. A similar Eros on a dolphin is engraved in the bezel of a gold ring (Boardman, *Ionides*, p. 95, no. 29) and as the die of a Roman Republican denarius struck in 74 B.C. by the moneyer L. Lucretius Trio (Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst*, p. 95, pl. 12, no. 3). Comparison, as to general style and specific features, with a pure Neo-Classic gem by the famous British engraver Nathaniel Marchant (ca. 1755-1812), a Nereid riding or clinging to a bull, illustrates the essential difference between a Graeco-Roman gem such as the Berry sard and a work of the Napoleonic period. Marchant's venture into classical marine mythology, needed direct, non-miniature models from antiquity, probably from Romano-Campanian wall paintings (Fig. 17a) or from the many Roman sarcophagi available in museums and collections from Rome to England. See B.M., *Post-Classical*, p. 107, no. 742, pl. 27.



17a. Fragment of Romano-Campanian wall painting, ca. A.D. 60. Eros on Triton. *Otis Norcross Fund. 1970.62.*



18. Bust of the young Phrygian moon god Men, his characteristic Phrygian cap on his head and a crescent in front of the base of the bust. Sard intaglio ringstone. Diam.: 12mm. 69.1206.

This is an elegant, if somewhat degenerate-looking concept, in Roman imperial terms, of the young god worshipped so widely throughout western Asia Minor in the second and third centuries A.D. His iconography here is close to that of Mithras, but the crescent usually distinguishes them. Compare Berry Collection, p. 18, no. 29 (later and worked with a wheel), and N.Y., p. 86, no. 378, pl. 48, identified as Mithras despite the presence of two crescents in the field. When seen in full, Men often rides a horse, a bull's head beneath the raised forefoot; his other attributes include the pine cone held in one hand (Fig. 18a).



18a. Men on horseback. Marble relief from southern Phrygia, ca. A.D. 150. *Samuel Putnam Avery Fund. 69.1223.*



- 19. Tyche-Fortuna**, polos or mural crown on her head, stands with a cornucopiae in her left hand, a rudder to guide the ship of state and personal fortunes in her lowered right. Banded agate intaglio. Diam.: 17mm. 69.1207.

This is one of the most popular Roman imperial symbols, public and private, in all media from large marble statues to small bronzes (Fig. 19a), official and regional coinages, and ringstones. Compare Berry Collection, p. 47, no. 84, p. 74, no. 136 (seated with polos); also N.Y., p. 84, no. 368, pl. 47, a Tyche-Fortuna with the attributes of Isis, also a frequent version of this general subject; and N.Y., p. 84, no. 366, pl. 47, the usual Fortuna, with extensive bibliography. Ancient writers mention and Antonine imperial coins show the golden Fortuna of this type which a dying Emperor bequeathed to his successor, among the imperial crown treasures.

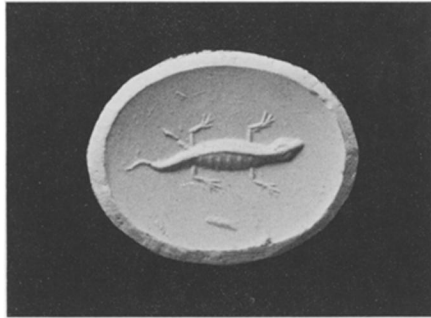


- 19a. Bronze pantheistic Tyche-Fortuna**, from the Greek East. Graeco-Roman. Gift of George Zacos. 67.1036.



- 20. A dog crouches to attack a wild boar**, which is in front of a tree with spreading branches. Red jasper ringstone, from Istanbul. Diam.: 11mm. 69.1210.

This composition has been popular in art from Mycenaean times to the large paintings of Rubens and his studio in the seventeenth century. Compare, for style and related subject, the bull and two goats on a carnelian ringstone in the Metropolitan Museum (N.Y., pp. 110f., no. 512, pl. 61); or the hounds and stag on an intaglio in Berlin (Berlin, p. 262, no. 7039, pl. 52) and the similar treatment of a hound, hare, etc., dated in the first century A.D., in the small but choice collection at Kassel (Zazoff, *Kassel*, p. 20, no. 38). The motif of the boar seeking protection from hunters at a tree is seen about 500 B.C. on a limestone sarcophagus in New York, from Cyprus (Richter, *Animals*, p. 67, fig. 108).



21. A lizard in motion is seen from above. Amethyst ringstone, faceted on the reverse and carved in intaglio. Diam.: 12mm. 69.1211.

The lizard was made famous in monumental sculpture by the statue of the young Apollo Sauroktonos or Lizard-Slayer by Praxiteles (Richter, *Animals*, p. 36). The lizard appears in engraved gems as early as about 400 B.C. on a chalcedony four-sided prism in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (Richter, *Gems*, p. 113, no. 410, side 3; Richter, *Animals*, p. 87, fig. 236). Berlin, nos. 7928 through 7958 show comparable insects and other small life, all demonstrations of the gem engravers' ability to work the unusual and the miniature into their already imaginative and precise repertory.



22. A mouse leaps upward from a small groundline. Red jasper ringstone. Diam. (max.): 12mm. 69.1212.

The mouse was "well known in antiquity as a household thief and as a devastator of crops" (Richter, *Animals*, p. 35). His appeal to ancient artists was great, however, despite his ill-mannered habits, and he appears on a barley leaf on coins of Metapontum in Lucania, southern Italy, about 350 B.C. (Richter, *Animals*, p. 35, fig. 184). A number of intaglios in Berlin show this creature in various poses and activities (Berlin, p. 388, especially nos. 8576–8579); in one he appears on top of a blade of wheat (p. 297, no. 8085, pl. 57). A carnelian in a gold ring, from Panticapaeum in the Crimea, shows the mouse alone, crouched over in the act of nibbling something (N.Y., p. 113, no. 534, pl. 62).



23. Two swine on a groundline, the one in the foreground being a sow. Sard intaglio ringstone, chipped on one end. Diam.: 14mm. 69.1213.

An identical gem, also a sard intaglio, two pigs (boar and sow) or two sows, is in London (B. M., p. 241, no. 2394, pl. XXVIII; Friedrich W. Imhoof-Blumer, Otto Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig, 1909, pl. 20, no. 9). Compare also Berry Collection, p. 98, no. 177, with one sow; N.Y., p. 111, no. 520, pl. 61, boar and sow, and a tree curling up above. Sows were popular as ringstones, perhaps because of the legend of Aeneas' arrival in Italy, an example in Berlin (sow with piglets) being appropriately inscribed "ALBA" (Berlin, p. 290, no. 7864, pl. 58). The Greek forerunners include the late fifth-century chalcedony scaraboid in Boston showing a sow with two young (27.692; from Athens: Lewes House, no. 70; Richter, *Animals*, pp. 23-25, fig. 113) (Fig. 23a); see also an orange carnelian (sard that is), "from Olympia" and dated in the early fifth century B.C. (Munich, pp. 57f., no. 267, pl. 31). Perhaps the popularity of this subject in Roman times was also due to some such sentiment as that expressed in the Mother Goose nursery rhyme: "Birds of a feather flock together, And so will pigs and swine; Rats and mice will have their choice, And so will I have mine."



23a. Chalcedony scaraboid, ca. 400 B.C. Sow and piglets. Francis Bartlett Donation. 27.692.



- 24. Gryllos cock**, the hat in the form of a Phrygian cap terminating in a horse's head, wreath in its mouth; a ram's head, pointed downwards, appears at the back of the bearded head. Sard intaglio ringstone, chipped on top. Diam.: 13mm. 69.1214. These fantastic, birdlike creatures vary as to details of composition: as Berry Collection, p. 82, no. 149; N.Y., p. 114 (with explanation of the subject), no. 545, pl. 63; Munich, p. 90, no. 506, with a hen, horse, and a ram. A particularly effective example combines a Silen mask, a cock's head, and a large head of a ram in a carnelian ringstone: Boardman, *Ionides*, pp. 98f., no. 51.



- 25. Head of a "pathetic," Hellenistic-type Medusa** turned slightly to her own left. Onyx cameo, white on gray, with reddish dots or areas in the hair. Diam.: 20mm. 69.1205. A wedge-shaped section missing at the side of the head does not detract from the forceful work which may belong to the second or third centuries of the Roman Empire. The stone, excellently conceived in the Hellenistic tradition, comes from Antioch in Syria. Compare Berry Collection, p. 124, no. 226; also N.Y., p. 126, nos. 627–629, of varying quality (two of glass) and with further references. M.F.A. no. 98.758 is a large onyx of this general type in a baroque setting: *Gods and Heroes, Baroque Images of Antiquity*, Wildenstein, New York, 30 October 1968–4 January 1969, no. 58 b, pl. 12 (Fig. 25a). For the type in relation to sculpture, see Ernst Buschor, *Medusa Rondanini*, Stuttgart, 1958, especially p. 23, no. 2, pl. 29. Few gems better express the use of ancient cameo and intaglio gems as protective amulets or symbolic "charms" than these powerful presentations of the wild-eyed Gorgon Medusa carved in three dimensions, in high relief and on a scale no larger than the average modern postage stamp. The Berry example published here seems to rival the Medusa masks carved on a large scale in the forum and basilica of Septimius Severus, about A.D. 200, at Leptis Magna in Tripolitania, North Africa (see Denys E. L. Haynes, *The Antiquities of Tripolitania*, London, 1956, pp. 79f., pl. 7, from the arcade of the forum). The architectural sculpture at Leptis Magna has been generally taken to be among the most vigorous products of sculptors from Aphrodisias in Caria, southwestern Asia Minor.



- 25a.** Onyx cameo in baroque setting. Found on the Appian Way. Graeco-Roman. H. L. Pierce Fund. 98.758.

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centuries from a Swiss Private Collection which is extremely well known to students. When, several years ago, I was privileged to see that Collection, some portfolios were not available; one of them must have contained the oddly-shaped sheet of studies (Fig. 91) shown in Munich. The sketch on its left side being in the style generally regarded as early, the one on the right, in contrast, as much later, this pleasing sheet is fresh proof for the futility of trying to date Daumier's drawings, especially his hundreds of sketches.

Finally, Fig. 92 reproduces an obviously rather late drawing of a man on horseback, which passed through a sale at Sotheby's in July last year. This impressive study is a variant very close to No. 271 in the *Catalogue Raisonné*, M. Claude Roger-Marx's frequently exhibited and widely reproduced drawing in the same technique. Although the present study is of very fine quality indeed, it does not quite come up to the standard of the Paris version in which greater economy of line heightens the surprising effect of movement and strength. The newly-found version is drawn on a somewhat larger scale, though the size given refers to the very large sheet of paper which is not fully shown in the reproduction.

Recent Museum Acquisitions

Greek Vases in Boston: Important Recent Acquisitions

BY CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE, III

THE Museum of Fine Arts in Boston has been long known for its collection of Greek vases. At a time when the Museum has been celebrating its first 100 years, it seems appropriate to illustrate and discuss ten black-figured and red-figured Attic and South Italian painted vases added to the Department of Classical (Greek and Roman) Art by purchase and gift in 1968 and 1969.¹ These ten vases add dimension to a collection noted for its vases with mythological subjects, for its examples of importance to the visual understanding of Greek literature, and for its single vases, whiteground lekythoi for instance, which merely manifest exceptional beauty. Seven of the vases presented here are virtually unknown to the world of the arts and have never been illustrated in a publication before; of the remaining three, two have been well published in auction and exhibition catalogues (Nos. 1 and 5), and one has been illustrated twice, once with little text in a Sotheby catalogue and later in a sales list that, although highly regarded, enjoys limited circulation (No. 4). This selection has been made from three times the number of vases, ranging in date from a Mycenaean rhyton of about 1300 B.C. to vases from Campania or Apulia late in the fourth century B.C. These ten are the most important from the standpoint of pictorial narration and composition.

¹ *Greek Etruscan and Roman Art, The Classical Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Boston [1963], illustrates and discusses many of the vases, giving lists of fuller publications and articles on vases in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*. Among more recent works are two articles in *The Classical Journal* specifically on vases added to the collections: 59 [1964], pp. 193–207; 64 [1968], pp. 49–67; a third will appear in November, 1970. Other vases appear in various recent years of the *Bulletin*, and all acquisitions are mentioned, some illustrated, in *The Museum Year, Annual Report of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, for the appropriate year. The most recent article elsewhere is E. VERMEULE: 'Some Erotica in Boston', in *Antike Kunst*, 12 [1969], pp. 9–15. Dietrich von Bothmer, Mary Comstock, Sarah Dublin, Robert Hecht, Martin Robertson, Dale Trendall, Penelope Truitt, and Emily Vermeule have helped in various ways with the vases presented here. Mrs Truitt wrote the initial descriptions of numbers 2 and 9, Miss Dublin of number 8.

Black-figured Amphora with scene of Troilos at the Fountain

The scene illustrates a minor tragic episode in the Trojan Wars (Figs. 93, 94).² The young Trojan prince Troilos has ridden forth from the walls of the city with a spare horse at his side to collect water at a fountain or spring dedicated to Apollo. He is accompanied by his hound, and an elderly retainer walks beside him. His sister Polyxena has preceded him and is filling a large hydria or waterjug from the lionheaded spout. Unknown to both of them, Achilles in full armour has concealed himself behind the fountain and its fig tree. He will spring forth and slay the unfortunate young man as he endeavours to escape. Polyxena was spared, perhaps because Achilles fell in love with her, but she either died in the fall of Troy or was sacrificed to the shade of Achilles by his vengeful son Neoptolemos.

This amphora was painted about 540 to 530 B.C. by an artist identified by Sir John Beazley as 'The Painter of the Vatican Mourner' after his famous composition on another amphora of a woman mourning for a dead warrior, perhaps Eos and Memnon. The painter belongs to Beazley's 'Group E', a workshop dependent on the great painter and potter Exekias. The calm, pictorial treatment of the myth by the artist must relate to a monumental painting created in Athens or at Corinth around the middle of the sixth century, for, although relatively rare on vases, this presentation of the theme is documented in a monumental fresco of about 525 B.C. Save for the introduction of Polyxena, the dog, and the secondary figure at the right, the composition is like that of the famous Etruscan painting in the Tomba dei Tori at Tarquinia, discovered in 1892.³ In both black-figured and red-figured vase-painting, it is customary to show either a scene of Polyxena waiting at the fountain or of Troilos endeavouring to flee on horseback, dropping the hydria full of water as Achilles lunges forward to deliver the death blow. The second side of the vase is equally placid in choice and handling of subject but much more prosaic in message. A warrior is shown setting forth in full armour in the presence of two male spectators. His squire is mounted and leads his master's riderless horse. Although recomposed from fragments with some old restorations the amphora is a work of sufficient size and breadth of composition, with judicious use of added white and red colours, to be of importance both in itself and as a measure of major mythological narration at the height of the Archaic period in Athens.

Black-figured Band Cup with Satyr and Maenad

This striking example of early black-figure painting and potting, severe and yet boisterous in its theme and composition, presents the work of an anonymous master, named for convenience the Oakeshott Painter (Figs. 1, 95).⁴ This artist could paint in a careful miniaturist style, permeated with manneristic effects. The band cup is one of the several varieties of drinking cups which Attic potters worked to a balanced perfection and nearly eggshell

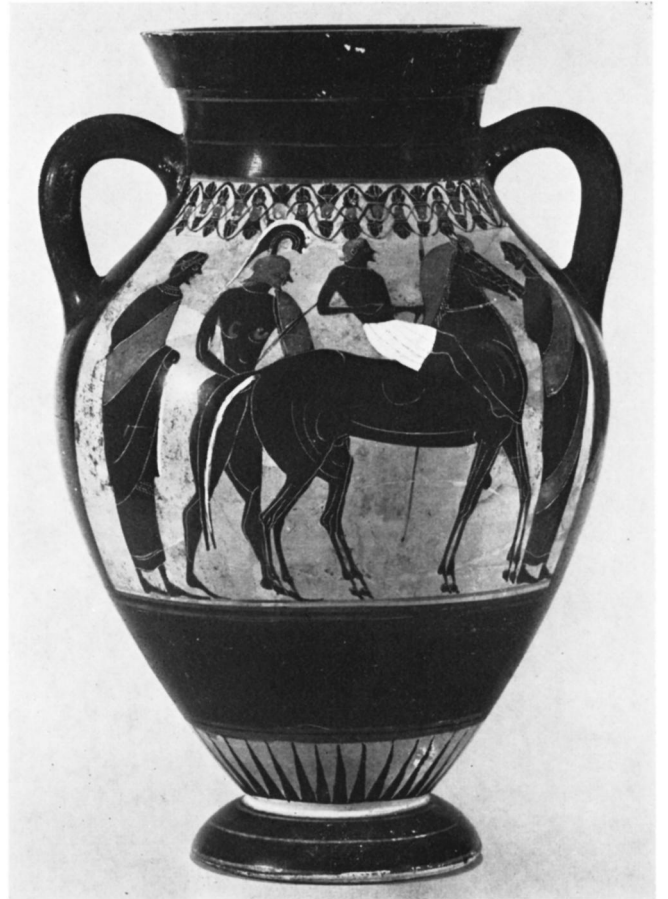
² Accession number 1970.8. Height: 0.435 m. William Nickerson Fund No. 2. This vase is described in detail in *Kunstwerke der Antike*, Auktion 40, Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basle [13th December 1969], p. 39, No. 68; also in J. D. BEAZLEY: *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford [1956], p. 140, No. 2. Of the vases in this article, this is the only one with restorations in the areas where figures appear, and these restorations are described in detail in the auction catalogue.

³ See P. DUCATI: *Die Etruskische Italo-Hellenistische und Römische Malerei*, Vienna [1941], pl. 1. Compare the scene on a Corinthian aryballos of 600 to 575 B.C. by Timonidas, the composition being reversed and with Troilos dismounted: E. PFUHL: *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, I, Munich [1923], p. 216; III, pl. 40, fig. 174; M. HEIDENREICH: 'Zu den frühen Troilosdarstellungen', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, IV [1951], pp. 103–119, especially p. 114, No. 2; also pl. 24.

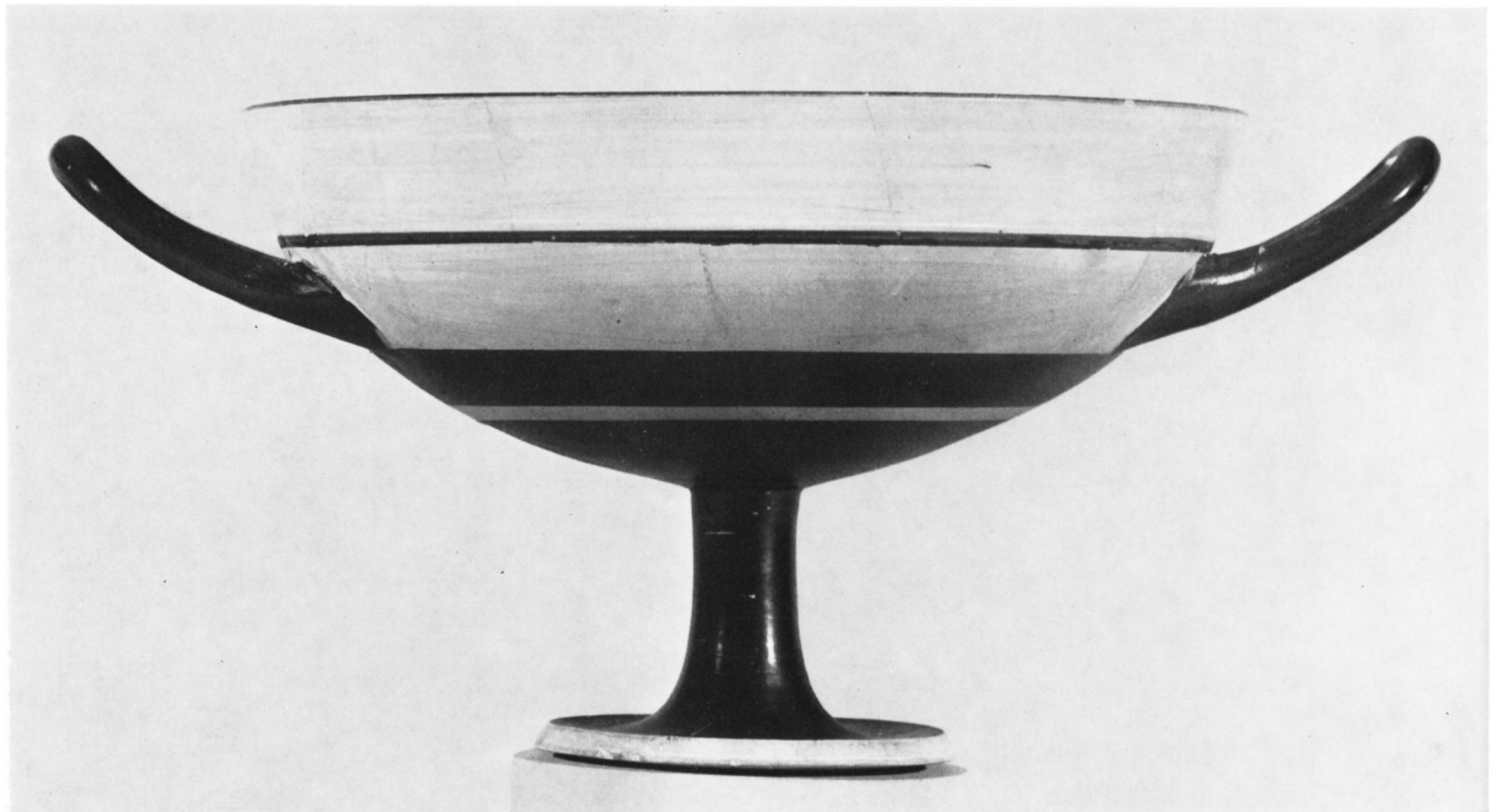
⁴ Accession number 69.1052. Height: 0.142 m. Diameter (excluding handles): 0.228 m. Otis Norcross Fund.



93. Black-figured Amphora, by the 'Painter of the Vatican Mourner', c. 540-530 B.C., showing *Troilos at the Fountain*. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



94. Second side of the Vase illustrated in Fig.93.



95. Exterior of the Band Cup illustrated in Fig.1.

thickness in the middle of the sixth century B.C. The exterior was sometimes left plain, as on this example, as if the collaborating painter did not wish to detract from the potter's mastery of form and profile. Instead, the painter has supplemented these features by a careful arrangement of black glaze areas and contrasting surfaces reserved in the red-orange of the fired clay. The figured decoration is confined to the tondo in the centre of the bowl. A flirtatious maenad joins the enthusiastic satyr in an angular, high-stepping dance. Her toe projects into the border of framed tongues as she turns back toward her hairy partner. The drawing is beautifully executed, and the spirited scene becomes even more lively with the addition of bold red and white for details such as the maenad's flesh and the satyr's beard. These added colours are unusually well preserved, although the cup has been mended in a few places without any pieces missing.

At least three other complete cups, one in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, one in the Oakeshott collection at Oxford, and one in a recent Sotheby sale, and a fragment (in Frankfurt) have been recognized as by this master.⁵ He is known as the Oakeshott Painter from the example, somewhat restored, which has a charming frieze of lions, leopards, a bull, and other animals in combats supervised by Silens or satyrs.⁶ This painter was active about 535 B.C. and is very like one aspect of the Amasis Painter, who could be similarly precise and delicate on some occasions, rather grander or much more sloppy in painting and drawing on others.⁷

Fragment of a red-figured Kalix Krater: Athena

Purchase and publication of a fragment, especially when even the figure within the broken edges is incomplete, can only be justified when that vignette of Attic vase painting is of sufficient quality and interest to rank with fragmentary master drawings in later ages. Such is the case with the head and upper body of the goddess Athena published here (Fig.96).⁸ She must have been intent on some important activity, perhaps supervision of one of the Labours of Herakles. Her right arm was outstretched, perhaps to direct the actions of her hero or perhaps, in other contexts, to hold her helmet in readiness for future deeds of courage. A lotus-bud earring is visible below the bands that tie her hair, and the seeming excitement of her unexplained actions is taken up in the hostility of the snakes on her aegis and the crude expressiveness of the Gorgoneion in its centre.

This fragment must also stand on its own intrinsic merits, for the edges are worn from abrasion in antiquity or the many centuries of burial, and it appears unlikely that joining sections of this once-monumental vase will ever be found. The painter, who created Athena with an intense eye and soft, blurry hair set in contrast to clear skin and a riot of decorative equipment, could have been one of several artists decorating large vases in a megalographic idiom between 480 and 460 B.C. The great anonymous name of this generation is the Berlin Painter, but Athena's face has an eye and lips favoured by the Pistoxenos Painter. The combination of intensity in profile, albeit a heavy one, and loose handling of interior details, particularly the

Gorgoneion and the scales of the aegis, could belong to the Altamura Painter.⁹ All these artists, creations of a science that can identify hands and personalities where names are lost, decorated large amphoras and kalix kraters, such as this, with monumental presentations of myths and heroic deeds. These compositions paralleled and reflected, rather than merely copied, the great paintings and literary productions of Athens between the ages of Peisistratos and Perikles.

Large red-figured Lekythos: Athena holding Helmet and Shield

If the red-figured kalix krater fragment showing Athena in some unexplained action arouses curiosity because of its incompleteness, the Athena on a large red-figured lekythos of the same period presents the goddess in full array, with almost a full complement of attributes. Wearing chiton, mantle, aegis, and a fillet in her hair, Athena strides forward to grasp her helmet in her right hand and her shield, with a free horse as its emblem, in her left. There are snake-headed bracelets on each forearm. The painter, perhaps an artist named the Nikon Painter, has drawn the mantle in an old-fashioned idiom, the zigzag folds with sharp ends, a characteristic of Archaic sculpture fashioned at least a generation before this lekythos was decorated.¹⁰ Perhaps his model was an older painting, although Athena's pensive face seems fully a part of the Athenian world on the threshold of its 'Golden Age' (Fig.98).

Despite the dependence on painted line and background, the sculptural qualities of this Athena are evident, and the pose of the figure calls to mind the famous 'Mourning Athena', a votive relief from the Athenian Acropolis, dated about 460 to 450 B.C.¹¹ The differences between the Athena of the lekythos and the goddess of the relief constitute about a generation in the development from late Archaic and Transitional to High Classical Greek Art. On the vase, as on the stele, Athena must be thought of in a pensive moment, befitting her rôle as goddess of wisdom. Perhaps she was taking her armour preparatory to joining one of the battles in the Trojan Wars or the great struggle between the gods and the giants. A horse identical with the device on her shield appeared during these years on coins struck by cities such as Larisa and Scotussa in Thessaly, and perhaps use of the emblem by the painter was an allusion to Athenian interest in northern and central Greece between the Persian and the Peloponnesian Wars. In any case, few vases from the years of Athenian hegemony are as perfectly explicit in their presentation of a single figure contained by an action that is more suggestive than direct or obvious.

Red-figured Neck Amphora by the Nikon Painter

If the attribution and historical implications of the red-figured lekythos must remain unidentified for the present, such does not appear to be the case with an amphora of Nolan type, which Sir John Beazley has given to the Nikon Painter.¹² The subject is somewhat unusual in that it represents two related scenes,

⁹ Compare H. DIEPOLDER: *Der Pistoxenos-Maler*, Berlin [1954], pl.1, a and b, especially the latter; the key to the attribution must lie in the painting of the corners of the eyes.

¹⁰ Accession number 69.1053. Height: 0.381 m. Edwin E. Jack Fund. From Sotheby Sale [27th November 1967], lot 158; *Hesperia Art Bulletin*, XLVII [1969], No.A26. Dietrich von Bothmer has suggested the attribution. See further, D. VON BOTHMER: 'Painted Greek Vases', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 21 [Summer 1962], pp.6-8, a lekythos with Apollo playing the kithara; the same hand certainly painted the secondary decoration.

¹¹ R. LULLIES, M. HIRMER: *Greek Sculpture*, New York [1960], p.77, No.139.

¹² Accession number 68.163. Height: 0.335 m. Gift of Landon T. Clay. From *Kunstwerke der Antike*, Auktion 34, Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basle [6th May 1967], pp.84 f., No.164. See also *Art of the Ancients: Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans*, Andre Emmerich Gallery Inc., New York [7th February-13th March 1968], p.27, No.34.

⁵ Professor Martin Robertson has suggested the attribution; on a visit to Boston early in 1969 he also called attention to the quality and importance of the vase. Cup in New York: No.17.230.5: G. M. A. RICHTER: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Fascicule 2, Cambridge (Mass.) [1953], p.11, No.31, pl.XIX, then named 'The Painter of the New York Band Cup'.

⁶ This vase is published in *Kunstwerke der Antike*, Auktion XVIII, Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basle [29th November 1958], p.26, No.84. See also Sotheby Sale [1st December 1969], p.47, No.101.

⁷ For people around the Amasis Painter, see recently D. VON BOTHMER: 'Elbows Out', *Revue archéologique* [1969], I, pp.3-15.

⁸ Accession number 68.540. Height: 0.07 m. Width: 0.068 m. Samuel Putnam Avery Fund.

linked by unseen lines and gestures but divided into the two sides of the vase, with each part of the total composition set on its own small, maeander-formed groundline. A woman has placed a wreath on an altar and on the herm set behind it (Figs.97, 99). She has turned back to admire the effect, while holding an oinochoe in her raised right hand and a phiale in her outstretched left. The herm itself wears a wreath on its head, and a twig has been stuck through the rectangular strut at the place where the arm would be near the left shoulder. The woman's clothing has been painted in a particularly successful series of simple, Transitional-style folds and outlines for the borders.

Inscriptions appear to play an important part in the historical suggestions presented by or embodied in this amphora. That near the woman reads 'Charmides Kalos' (Charmides is Handsome), while 'Glaukon Kalos' has been painted on the herm. An extra 'Kalos' has been included for good measure above the altar. Charmides and Glaukon were, as was the custom, handsome young members of aristocratic Athenian society at the time the Nikon Painter worked, and his and many other tributes to them were those normally paid to such youths by the artists of the sixth and fifth centuries. Charmides, it has been suggested, was probably the grandfather of the Charmides who was a follower of Sokrates and who is known from a dialogue by Plato. Glaukon evidently went on to serve as a general (*strategos*) and an admiral (*nauarchos*) under Perikles between 441 and 432 B.C. The Nikon Painter, so identified after one of his popular 'kalos' names, was a specialist in neck amphoras, that is Nolan amphoras with handles made up of three vertical rolls of clay ('triple handles'), and this vase is one of his finer paintings both from the standpoint of drawing and for its relationship with the cults of early High Classical Athens.

Red-figured Hydria-Kalpis: Danaë and the Shower of Gold

The picture that fills the curving surfaces of this small waterjug constitutes perhaps the richest and most dramatic presentation of the conception of Perseus that has survived from antiquity (Fig.100).¹³ In numerous respects this scene, by a painter of about 425 B.C. as yet unidentified, is the worthy forerunner of those celebrated renderings of the myth created in the High Renaissance, the Titian in the Prado being the one that first comes to mind. Here Danaë sits on a pillowed couch with an elaborate footstool, while the golden shower falls into her outstretched tunic. A female attendant and the messenger-god Hermes shrink back in amazement. The mirror hanging in the background completes the sense of an interior setting. (detail, Fig.102).

Heretofore in antiquity the scene has been known principally from a kalyx krater by the Triptolemos Painter of about 480 B.C. in Leningrad, where Danaë reclines somewhat stiffly in the best Transitional style manner, leaning slightly back to receive the gold and clutching the ribbons that tie her hair. The other side of this vase shows the scene more common in the work of red-figure artists, the chest being prepared into which Danaë and her infant son Perseus were to be placed and set adrift in the Aegean.¹⁴ A red-figured lekythos of about 470 B.C. in Athens gives merely the figure of Danaë receiving Zeus in the guise of the shower, while she is seated spinning, her basket of wool

beside her. Other than the high relief of the outside or cover of a famous mirror of the fourth century B.C. in the British Museum, one must turn primarily to engraved rings and intaglio gems to trace the subject further in antiquity. As might be suspected they make a progression from the staid standing figure of Danaë, through a more emotional reception of the shower, to a Hellenistic composition rivalling the famous two-dimensional narrations of Leda's visitation from the swan in concentration of amorous intensity. The painter of this hydria-kalpis chose his subject at a fortunate moment in the development of Attic vase painting, when drapery was drawn in free fashion and depth and volume were rendered skillfully but before inner lines became too fussy and secondary details were made too florid near the end of the fifth century B.C.

Red-figured Kylix: Theseus slaying the Minotaur

A pictorial representation of a scene popular in all periods of Attic black-figured and red-figured vase painting, the interior of this cup, as yet unrestored for exhibition, was painted late in the fifth century (Fig.101).¹⁵ The artist probably belonged to the circle of the Marlay Painter, a decorator whose work manifests the same loose handling of interior line and rather sloppy treatment of secondary decoration. Theseus has forced the Minotaur to his knees, grasping him by one horn. The Athenian hero is ready to thrust his sword into the poor creature's flank. The exterior of the cup was decorated with elaborate palmettes and, on each side, what appears to be a young divinity or a hero (perhaps Theseus again) seated between two attendants.

This 'pathetic' version of the myth contrasts with earlier presentations in Attic art, including those many black-figured versions where the Minotaur still fights Theseus on almost equal terms. The outcome of the contest is never in doubt, however, for Theseus is usually ready with his sword, while at best the Minotaur tries to defend himself with a rock. The late fifth-century scene of this cup, one that has eliminated the numerous secondary figures often present in the earlier versions, looks ahead to the Hellenistic and Roman paintings or mosaics that treat the theme in terms understandable to the Renaissance and later periods of European art, notably the mosaic from Casa del Labirinto at Pompeii. Here Theseus wrestles the unfortunate son of Pasiphaë and the bull of Poseidon to the ground, as if both were Graeco-Roman gladiators.¹⁶

Red-figured Bell Krater (Phlyax Vase), South Italian (Apulian), early fourth century B.C.

This red-figured bell krater is perhaps the most important single monument of its kind to enter an American collection in recent years. The scenes on both sides provide significant new testimony for the latest phase of Attic Old Comedy and its relation to Greek religious festivals (Figs.103-104). The krater belongs to a group of vases known as Phlyax Vases, which illustrate scenes from rustic comedies featuring actors wearing padded costumes (*phlyakes*). It was made in Southern Italy, among vases associated specifically with Apulia, early in the fourth century B.C., and Professor A. D. Trendall has identified the painter as the same artist who decorated a vase in Würzburg (No.959).¹⁷

The principal side shows the *phlyax* scene. The action takes

¹³ Accession number 68.18. Height: 0.295 m. Otis Norcross Fund. The artist might be the Kleophon Painter: compare N. ALFIERI, P. E. ARIAS: *Spina*, Munich [1958], pls.82-85 (large krater with religious scenes in honour of Apollo), and pp.86 f.

¹⁴ Leningrad krater: J. D. BEAZLEY: *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, I, Oxford [1963], p.360, No.1; also II, p.1648. Other representations of the Danaë visitation: S. PAPASPYRIDIS-KAROZOU: 'Sur un miroir du Musée Britannique', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 70 [1946], pp.436-443. See also, generally: K. SCHAUENBURG: *Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums*, Bonn [1960], the Leningrad krater being plate 1.

¹⁵ Accession number 68.291. Diameter (as preserved): 0.204 m. Helen and Alice Colburn Fund.

¹⁶ A. RUMPF: 'Minotauero', *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale*, V, Rome [1963], pp.104 f. For the many, varied representations on Greek vases, see F. BROMMER: *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, Marburg-Lahn [1960], pp.171-184.

¹⁷ Accession number 69.951. Height: 0.286 m. Diameter (max.): 0.33 m. Otis Norcross Fund.



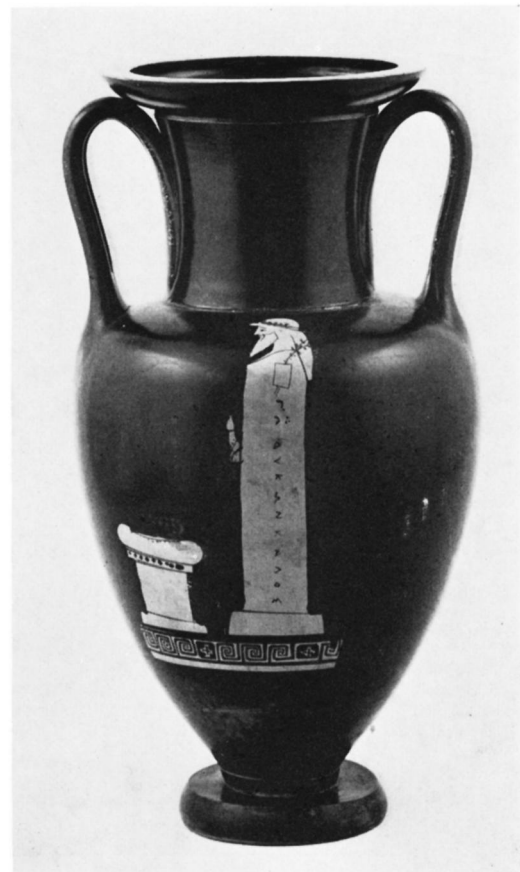
96. Fragment of a Kalyx Krater, c. 480–460 B.C., showing *Athena*. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



97. Red-figured Neck Amphora, by the 'Nikon Painter', c. 465 B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



98. Red-figured Lekythos, attributed to the 'Nikon Painter', c. 470 B.C., showing *Athena holding helmet and shield*. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



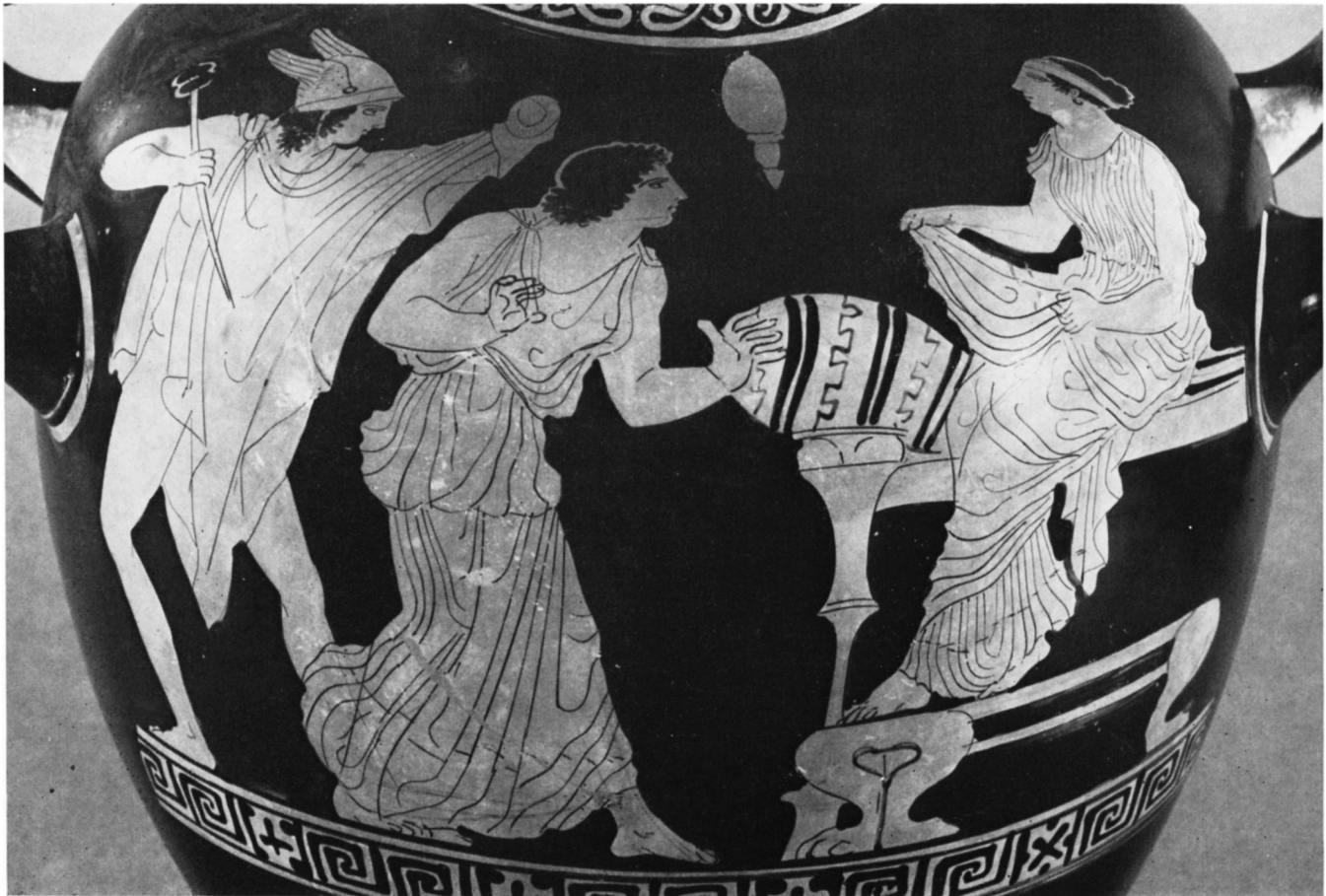
99. Second side of the Amphora illustrated in Fig. 97.



100. Red-figured Hydria-Kalpis, c. 425 B.C., showing *Danaë and the Shower of Gold*. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



101. Red-figured Kylix, probably from the circle of the 'Marlay Painter', late fifth century B.C., showing *Theseus and the Minotaur*. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



102. Detail from the Hydria-Kalpis illustrated in Fig. 100.

place upon a low stage, set on three pilings, and the actors wear the loose-fitting leotard-like costumes which signify nakedness in the stage conventions of the fifth and fourth centuries. A nervous old man is confronted by an unpleasant young man who points his finger accusingly. Behind the younger man is a herm on which are set a cloak and an aryballos. Behind the old man are a pair of baskets, each containing a goat kid, and a goose, tied for the moment to the yoke for carrying the baskets on the shoulders. The nature of the confrontation is not immediately clear, but a famous early Apulian kalix krater by the Tarporley Painter in New York with a similar scene, augmented by inscriptions, offers an attractive interpretation: 'the Thief Apprehended'.¹⁸ The younger man with his official's staff is apparently a policeman, while the old man is the thief, caught red-handed, and the baskets and goose represent the *corpus delicti*. The old man is literally trying to oil his way out of the difficulty, since he is pouring liquid into his left palm from a small aryballos.

The second side of the *phlyax* vase usually shows three nondescript cloaked youths standing in conversation, but such is not the case on this vase. Here two handsome youths hasten from left to right. One carries a chous, a squat, globular jug closely associated with the Spring festival known as the Anthesteria, and the youths are to be understood as on their way to the celebration. Ancient sources tell us of comic contests held in connection with the Anthesteria, and, taken together, the two sides of this vase are thus confirming evidence that such was the case in the Greek world early in the fourth century B.C.

Red-figured Hydria (Campanian): Kadmos at the Spring, the Encounter with the Dragon

This colourful vase is intriguing and important for a number of reasons: the unusual mythological episode portrayed (Kadmos killing the serpent of Thebes), the foreshortened doorway and elaborate architectural details, the intricate floral decoration, the spectacular colours, and its attribution to the most important artist in the group of South Italian vase painters which takes his name (Fig. 107).¹⁹ Known thus as the Whiteface Painter, this master initiated features, mainly the extensive use of added white, which were to set the trend for a generation of Campanian painters after 360 B.C. His drawing is bold and inventive, if not always technically correct. This hydria-kalpis displays all the elements peculiar to him and his group.

In the upper zone, two women sit either side of a heroön or chamber-tomb, doors ajar. They could be the guardian nymphs of the fountain either within its portals or in the vegetation below. The pediment of the structure, whatever its purpose, is decorated with a head amid foliage; the akroteria are sharp palmettes. The lower area shows the founder of the city of Thebes, Kadmos, and a companion battling with the serpentine monster which guarded the fountain. The hero is hurling a large white rock at the 'dragon'. According to the Delphic oracle, Kadmos was to found a city where the cow he followed lay down. To obtain water for the proper sacrifice, he had to kill the serpent. After his victory, Kadmos raised an army, literally, by sowing the dragon's teeth, which grew into warriors. The monster is coiled, ready to attack. Behind it springs a variety of beautifully rendered flowers. The back of the vase is covered with an unusual and

intricate design of palmettes and floral tendrils (Fig. 108).

The profusion of matt-painted white, which was added to the vase after it had been fired and was therefore extremely delicate, has been exceptionally well preserved. Too often we have only the glazed surface of vases intact. This example serves as prime witness to the colourful effects which Campanian artists were producing in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C., an age when vase painting in Attica was beset by extensive symptoms of decline and ultimate extinction, although for the moment a series of vases with similarly large figures and splashy colours was still being manufactured and painted.

Apulian Cup-Skyphos, about 350 B.C.

The scene on the principal side is exceptional in Greek vase painting and it has been treated in an unusual fashion (Fig. 105).²⁰ A man and woman embrace within the frame of an open window, the shutters being shown in perspective. They may be mythological lovers, the young man resembling some Adonis of the age of Praxiteles and the woman perhaps being Aphrodite herself. On the other side of the cup, a nude Eros flies along from right to left, carrying a wreath in his hand (Fig. 106). The secondary details are interesting: tendrils under the handles, rosettes in the field, a dotted egg pattern under the lip, rays at the base, and concentric circles on the underfoot. Added yellow and white have been used extensively; the fabric of the cup is very thin.

The composition or motif of the embrace in the framed window or window-like circle is one familiar from Hellenistic pottery with designs in relief, the satyr and maenad in the centre of a series of 'Calene' dishes. The twisting emotion of these figures might be thought to have been Pergamene in origin, a creation of about 250 to 150 B.C., but this Apulian skyphos proves that the designs are older in painting, going back to the fussy three-dimensionality of the mid-fourth century B.C. The interiors of the South Italian and red-figured Etruscan cups in the fourth century B.C. could also display the same feeling for the third dimension found in later relief ware, but this handling of an amorous theme on the side of a small drinking vessel was unusual.²¹ Thus, the man and woman at the window are presented here in a new, selective perspective that in effect continues an old motif, one that can be traced back to the late Archaic period, on the interiors of early red-figured cups.²²

²⁰ Accession number 69.28. Height: 0.097 m. Diameter (excluding handles): 0.09 m. Mary L. Smith Fund.

²¹ Hellenistic pottery: R. PAGENSTECHER: *Die calenische Reliefkeramik*, Berlin [1909], p. 39, No. 28, fig. 16. Etruscan cup: *Hesperia Art Bulletin*, XLVII [1969], No. A27.

²² e.g. Yale University Art Gallery, No. 1913.163, by or near the Gales Painter: P. V. C. BAUR: *Catalogue of the Rebecca Darlington Stoddard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases in Yale University*, New Haven [1922], p. 108, No. 163, pl. XV; BEAZLEY: *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, I, p. 36, in the Pioneer Group, that begins with Euphronios.

Letter

Seicento Paintings in Madrid

SIR, In connection with the review by W. Vitzthum in this Journal (June 1970) under the title 'Seicento Paintings in Madrid', I would like to point out that among the few paintings from the Florentine School exhibited, there was one described as '*Anonimo Toscano s. XVII*' representing '*San Pedro y Santa Agueda*' (Prado Inv. No. 2989), not in the catalogue, which is an undoubted work by the Florentine painter Giovanni Martinelli.

GERHARD EWALD

¹⁸ J. D. BEAZLEY: 'The New York "Phlyax-Vase"', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 56 [1952], pp. 193-195; A. D. TRENDALL: *Phlyax Vases*, London [1967], pp. 53 f., No. 84.

¹⁹ Accession number 69.1142. Height: 0.49 m. Width (with handles): 0.35 m. Helen and Alice Colburn Fund. For the artist, see A. D. TRENDALL: *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, I, Oxford [1967], Chapter XII, especially pp. 378 ff., The Whiteface Group and the Whiteface Painter; II, pls. 144-148.



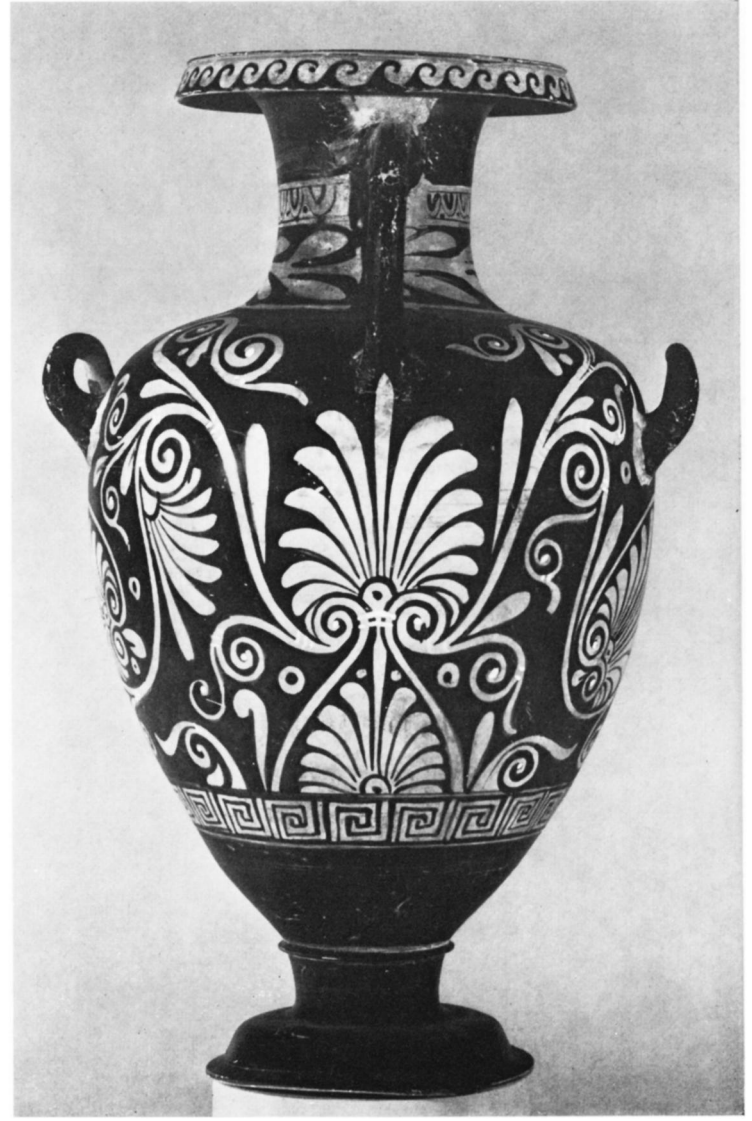
105. Apulian Cup-Skyphos, c. 350 B.C., showing a man and woman at a window. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



106. Second side of the Cup-Skyphos illustrated in Fig. 105, showing Eros flying with a wreath.



107. Red-figured Campanian Hydria-Kalpis by the 'Whiteface Painter', c. 360 B.C., showing *Kadmos slaying the Dragon*. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



108. Second side of the Hydria-Kalpis illustrated in Fig. 107.



103. Red-figured Bell Krater (Phlyax Vase). South Italian (Apulian), early fourth century B.C., showing *'The Thief apprehended'*. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



104. Second side of the Bell Krater illustrated in Fig. 103, showing youths at a festival.



1. Black-figured Band Cup, by the 'Oakeshott Painter', c. 535 B.C., showing *Satyr and Maenad*. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.) See p.624.



Vases in Boston: Unusual Further Acquisitions, Mycenaean through South Italian

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VASES IN BOSTON: UNUSUAL FURTHER ACQUISITIONS, MYCENAEAN THROUGH SOUTH ITALIAN

THE VASES AND a terracotta described in these pages, the twelfth in *The classical journal* series, supplement those presented previously.¹ Again, the emphasis has been on the new and different, the work of art that enhances an already large Classical collection; but several vases were acquired for their sheer quality and beauty, and they provide a note of aesthetic enhancement. The pair of giant Etruscan bucchero oinochoai, for instance, are almost as much works of sculpture as they are expressions of ceramic art. Again, there are important examples from the byways of Greek vase-painting, Lydian from western Asia Minor, or Boeotian and Laconian, appearing alongside the canonical Attic black- and red-figured pottery. A South Italian, Campanian, plastic vase in the form of a mouse can be thought of, not only as a ceramic utensil, but also as a piece of sculpture in the round. One Cypriote terracotta has been included because it recalls painted and moulded fig-

ures of the Mycenaean Bronze age and because it parallels, at a somewhat earlier date, the pair of Attic painted terracotta mourning women of about 600 B.C. published in the previous installment that dealt solely with vases and terracottas.² This current selection of vases is in a certain sense a progress report, for several masterpieces are included in their current partly-restored states. They seem important enough to be shown as they are, although several years hence they may appear in a fuller, more thoroughly assembled state.

MYCENAEAN STIRRUP JAR. This impressive vase belongs to the mainland Bronze-age period known as Late Helladic III B, about 1250 B.C. The jar appears to have been found near Tanagra in Boeotia and was very likely made there (fig. 1).³ A

¹ Recent photographs are by Herbert Hamilton and his colleagues; the older were the work of Edward J. Moore and John McQuade. My associates, Mary Comstock, Penelope Truitt, and Sarah Dublin have again contributed much. Mrs. Truitt wrote the basic descriptions of a number of the vases. The debt to Dietrich von Bothmer is manifest throughout. His guidance extends far beyond attributions and his own writings; for his general knowledge of vases, their histories, and how to describe them is without rival in America. To all this must be added an efficient generosity that is proverbial among scholars.

² See *CJ* 64 (1968) 50 f., fig. 2. Dietrich von Bothmer has added the following notations to this article: fig. 4, "Pontic" oinochoe, ex Sotheby Sale, 5 March 1962, no. 119; fig. 5, 6, disc is Euboean; fig. 19, 20, Attic cup with somersaulting warriors, ex Sotheby Sale, 4 April 1966, no. 157; J.D. Beazley (with the assistance of von Bothmer), *Paralipomena*, 100, no. 7, as Top-Band Stemless 1 group. For an unusual somersault with two shields used as balances, on a skyphos of about 470 B.C., see von Bothmer, *Ancient art from New York private collections* (New York 1961), p. 63 f., with references, no. 248, pl. 90. The subject appeared also in Etruscan painting, as von Bothmer observed.

³ Acc. no. 64.979. H.: 0.27m. Diam.: 0.23m. Harriet Otis Cruft Fund. *Greek and Roman art* (Boston 1967), p. 3.



FIG. 1. MYCENAEAN STIRRUP JAR

curious vessel for rare wine or oil, it also could have belonged to a Greek who participated in the Trojan Wars. The colors are reddish brown on a warm buff. Bands around the body enclose a row of lozenges, and a sophisticated system of concentric circles appears on the slightly convex top of the false neck, where the handle joins.



FIG. 2. MYCENAEAN ALABASTRON



FIG. 3. CYPRIOTE VOTARY

Bands also embrace the base and the rim of the spout, and there are free lozenges and more concentric circles with a dotted outer circle in the upper part. These motifs all form a kind of last echo of the marine patterns found on Minoan vases two hundred years earlier.⁴

MYCENAEAN ALABASTRON. An angular, squat vessel, this somewhat smaller but still impressive pot features three horizontal handles and a convex bottom (fig. 2).⁵ The colors are dark brown on buff, and the numerous concentric bands around the body set off what is termed a "multiple stem and

⁴ See A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean pottery, analysis and classification* (Stockholm 1941), p. 612, type 173, 411, motive 73, and 31, fig. 6, 85, fig. 23.

⁵ Acc. no. 64.980. H.: 0.16m. Harriet Otis Cruft Fund. See Furumark, op. cit., p. 44, no. 94, fig. 12, 299, motives 19, 35-38.

tongue pattern" in the handle zone. To complete the sense of strong horizontal accents from bottom to top, the neck, lip and upper inside of the mouth are set off in the rich brown. This vase is also Late Hellenistic III B, and the apparent provenience is the same. A pot from the same workshop, termed a stamnos, was found "near Thebes" and has oyster-shell shaped loops and circles on the shoulder, a strong sense of both painted and turned bands on lip, neck and horizontal body. These are the vases, unfortunately only partly documented, which must have been placed in small underground tombs with the now-celebrated burial urns (larnakes) in the Mycenaean cemetery near Tanagra (Bratzi) in Boeotia.⁶ They were part of the last flowering of Mycenaean arts in the region to which Cadmus had brought literacy and ruled with all the luxuries of an eastern potentate. After the Trojan Wars, cities, citadels, and towns in Boeotia seem to have experienced the first round of catastrophes heralding the dark ages, and the material remains are scanty or difficult to define.

CYPRIOTE VOTARY, perhaps seventh century B.C. This standing figure of a woman is of tubular shape, with wing-like arms raised on either side. She wears a tall crown or hat and has a prominent nose and ears (fig. 3).⁷ As now preserved, devoid that is of any painting on the surfaces, the statuette is of light brown clay with some encrustation. There are many Mycenaean survivals in Cypriote art, and this figure is a remembrance of the "Psi"-formed votive figures of Greece in the Late Bronze age.⁸ The Cypriote prototypes of about 2000 B.C. (Early Bronze age III) are shown



FIG. 4. LYDIAN SKYPHOS

standing in the clay model of a sacred enclosure from Vounous near Kyrenia and Bellapais on the northern-central coast. Similar statuettes can be distinguished amid the multitude of larger and different terracottas in the group of figures of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. from the Ayia Irini Temenos on the island's northwest bump. The earliest votaries from the Archaic precinct fill in the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion show schematic developments akin to those found in this statuette.⁹

A close parallel, slightly taller, was found in a tomb at Ormidia near Famagusta and has a round, polos headdress, a red cloak on the upper body, red hands, and brown about the lower parts of the body. Minoan survival has been noted in the elements of costume.¹⁰ Figures in this pose could easily be translated into the Attic terracotta

⁶ Sale list, *Kunstwerke der Antike* (June 1966), *Ars Antiqua*, A.G., Lucerne, 13, no. 70, pl. XII. E.T. Vermeule, "Painted Mycenaean larnakes," *JHS* 85 (1965) 123-148.

⁷ Acc. no. 67.314. H.: 0.165m. Gift of Origins (Gallery), Boston.

⁸ Compare G.M.A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook of the Greek collection* (Cambridge, Mass. 1953), p. 167, pl. 7, d.

⁹ Vounous: P. Dikaios, *A guide to the Cyprus Museum* (Nicosia 1961), pl. V, no. 3; see also pl. XVIII, Ayia Irini Temenos (Room IV). Kourion: J.H. Young, S.H. Young, *Terracotta figurines from Kourion in Cyprus* (Philadelphia 1955), p. 19, pl. 3.

¹⁰ L.P. di Cesnola, *A descriptive atlas of the Cesnola collection of Cypriote antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* (New York 1894) II, 1, pl. XII, no. 87; J.L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola collection of antiquities from Cyprus* (New York 1914), p. 338 f., no. 2026.



FIG. 5A. CORINTHIAN OINOCHOE

mourners of the eighth century B.C. and later by extending the schematic curve of the arms to the top of the head, a pose for which there was ample precedent in painting of the late Mycenaean period and in a description of funerary rites, figures of

mourners being thrown on the pyres of the dead, in the *Odyssey*.¹¹

¹¹ Quoted in D.B. Thompson, *Miniature sculpture from the Athenian Agora*, Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book no. 3 (Princeton, New Jersey 1959, 1962), fig. 8.



FIG. 5B. CORINTHIAN OINOCHOE

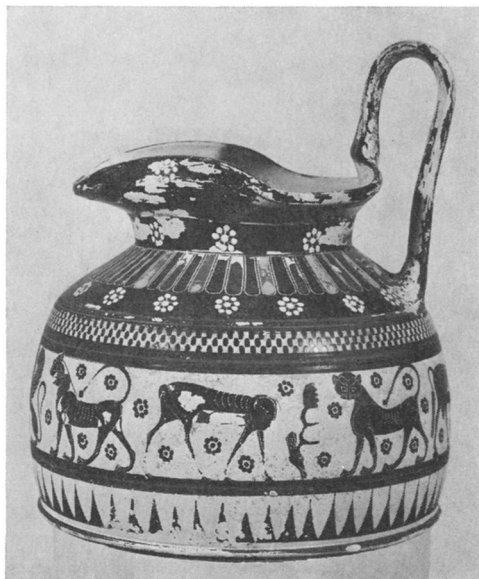


FIG. 5C. CORINTHIAN OINOCHOE

LYDIAN SKYPHOS, about 650 B.C. Salient characteristics of this vase are the lid or cover with a large ring on top, two flaring handles of similar shape, and a tall, conical foot (fig. 4).¹² The colors are unusual, red varying to dark brown glaze, being handled in "marbled," "waveline" patterns on the inside and outer surface of the body, also on the outside of the lid. The handles and knob are solid red, while the inside of the lid has been handled in plain glaze. The lid does not fit precisely, but there is no evidence that this is not the cover placed on the body in antiquity. This vase, characteristic of a class of pottery made in the Hermos valley, was found years ago in this region, where numerous tombs of the seventh to fourth centuries have been dug officially and otherwise for at least a century. The pottery is, naturally, associated with Sardis as chief city of the area in its royal Lydian and Achaemenian periods. The famous shape of this series, the *Lydion*, a vase with rounder body, flaring lip, and broader foot, takes its name from the civi-

lization of Croesus. In addition, these vases come in a bottle shape, including examples with similar color schemes in "waveline" patterns.¹³

CORINTHIAN OINOCHOE, with broad trefoil mouth. This example of pottery from Corinth belongs to the phase known as Early Transitional and generally dated about 640 to 630 B.C. It is of a thin fabric with delicately painted surfaces, in black, red and orange colors on buff clay (fig. 5).¹⁴ The frieze of animals, real and mythological, commands our attention. It is set below rosettes, a tongue pattern, and above sharp rays. The centerpiece comprises a

¹³ Compare G.M.A. Hanfmann, *A short guide, excavations at Sardis* (New York 1962), p. 15, fig. 11; Richter, op. cit., p. 192, pl. 32, a; A. Fairbanks, M.F.A., *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan vases I* (Cambridge, Mass. 1928), p. 162, no. 446, pl. 44; A. Rumpf, "Lydische Salzgefäße," *AM* 45 (1920) 163-170, pl. V. The "Lydion" shape was imitated in Greece proper and Italy, as pointed out in *BMMA* 26 (1968) 198 f., fig. 7 f.

¹⁴ Acc. no. 64.14. H. (max.): 0.235m. Anonymous Gift. *BMFA* 62 (1964) 102-113, esp. 110, fig. 11-13; *AJA* 68 (1964) 340.

¹² Acc. no. 67.89. H.: 0.143m. H. (with lid): 0.22m. Diam.: 0.156m. Mary L. Smith Fund.



FIG. 6A. ETRUSCAN TREFOIL OINOCHOE



FIG. 6B. ETRUSCAN TREFOIL OINOCHOE

Siren between two sphinxes. Beyond, to the left, appear a leopard, a panther-bird, a goat, and another leopard, moving to the rear. To the right there are a leopard, a grazing stag, another leopard with head facing out at the viewer, and a bull sniffing one of the filling flowers at the back. The Siren wears a curious conical cap or helmet, like those worn by Greek sailors in winter. The sphinxes are alert, with their slender bodies and large wings. The leopards roar happily or stare; goat, stag and bull move placidly; and the panther-bird echoes the leopard on the opposite side with a malevolent gaze directly at the viewer. Several similar vases are known, three or more of them having been found with this example in the same group of tombs in Etruria years ago. The artist has been named the Painter of Vatican 73, after an olpe bearing that number in the Papal collections.¹⁵ Incised

Etruscan bucchero of high quality and egg-shell thinness was also present in this find, and one of these vases is now considered in these pages.

ETRUSCAN TREFOIL OINOCHOE, late seventh century B.C. This pitcher with lip arranged in the triple curve of a Gothic window reflects its metallic model well in fineness and precision of detail; the vase represents the technical and aesthetic height of Etruscan incised bucchero, in the decades before two- and three-dimensional sculptural decoration became fashionable in Etruscan ceramics (fig. 6).¹⁶ Fired to produce a glossy grey-black surface, this type of pottery came to be more generally decorated with relief patterns, architectural details and figures. Delicacy of shape and decoration in this elegant oinochoe indicates the wide range of quality within a ware generally considered coarse in com-

¹⁵ Compare Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Auction no. 26 (5 Oct. 1963) 29 f., no. 59, now Toledo (Ohio), Museum of Art; another is in Berlin.

¹⁶ Acc. no. 65.392. H. (max.): 0.20m. Frederick Brown Fund. *BMFA* 63 (1965) 216 f.



FIG. 7A. BOEOTIAN KYLIX



FIG. 7B. BOEOTIAN KYLIX

parison with contemporary Corinthian or Attic black-figured pottery.

The major frieze, framed above and below by a series of lines, shows a variety of animals borrowed from the repertoire of the East Greek or Near Eastern styles. Two opposed bulls about to eat from a central bush are flanked by panthers with crouching birds underneath. On the right, a bearded man entices his horse forward with a branch, while a griffin sharpens its claws on a tree. Following the panther on the left, an ibex stops to nibble daintily on a leaf; a spotted leopard with upraised paw glares to the front. A striding boar is closely followed by a half-rearing panther with a large bird perched on his back. Stemmed rosettes and pendant branches complete the scene. The remaining, secondary decoration above and below is equally complex, sophisticated, and carefully worked out to the minutest detail. A group of Greek bronze and Etruscan incised bucchero vessels from a tomb at Tarquinia, now in the Louvre, demonstrates the identi-

cal effect of the two materials in their clean-cut profiles, sharp decoration, and use of discs on the handles. There are a number of points of similarity in this bucchero and the fine Corinthian ware found with it, in both fabric and decorative iconography. A kantharos incised in like fashion in the Metropolitan Museum at New York originated from the same workshop as this oinochoe and is the chief Etruscan representative of the find, with its curious interpretation of the Minotaur myth. Other vases have appeared from time to time to indicate the richness of the group.¹⁷

BOEOTIAN KYLIX, about 540 B.C. The amazing feature of this flat cup is the group of snakes (forty-three survive) appearing above a broad band around the exterior

¹⁷ Compare M. und M., Auction no. 26 (1963) 84 f., no. 159; Auction no. 18 (29 Nov. 1958) 47, no. 138; F. Villard, *Mon Piot* 48, 2 (1956) 25 f., fig. 1, 14-16. See generally, F. Hiller, "Beiträge zur figürlich geritzten Bucchero-keramik," *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm* 1965, 16-29.



FIG. 8. LACONIAN HYDRIA

(fig. 7).¹⁸ The color scheme is made up of red and black glaze on light buff clay. The scales of the snakes are incised, and there are broad, glazed bands or circles on the interior and bottom of the foot. The lip, "shoulder," and foot are set off by deep

grooves. A slightly smaller kylix with the same unusual mustering of snakes is in the small museum at Skimitario, near Tanagra and the great modern, military airport in Boeotia, not far from the border of Attica. It was excavated from a tomb at Rhitsona, ancient Mycalessus, not far away, and the date is suggested not only by comparison with other, non-Attic painted pottery of the

¹⁸ Acc. no. 64.981. H.: 0.07m. Diam. (excl. handles): 0.21m. Harriet Otis Cruft Fund.

height of the Archaic period (Chalcidian, Etruscan) but also by the vases and terracottas, Attic and otherwise, found in the same series of tombs.¹⁹ In these years Boeotia was enjoying an average, if unspectacular, prosperity, able to afford Attic artistic imports and producing somewhat provincial artifacts, of which this vase and its companion from Rhitsona are among the more unusual.

LACONIAN HYDRIA, about 540 B.C. Good pottery from the major period of Sparta's artistic, as opposed to military, activity is unusual enough, and the hydria, in contrast to the cup, is very rare. The example shown here is from the third or most developed phase of Laconian vase-painting and is the first monumental waterjug to enter a European or American museum in a number of years (fig. 8).²⁰ The mouth and surviving handles are black, and black or brown glazes with added red on light buff are used in the rich schemes of architectural, mythological, or ornithological decoration. In the frieze of the central handle zone two awkward, elongated sphinxes flank a large Gorgoneion. Beneath one appears a crow, beneath the other a snake; on the back were large roosters and little "turkeys" (duck-headed) flanking a heraldic floral motif. Above the handle zone is a small frieze of marching turkey-like birds, and a larger frieze of these creatures, here more decidedly like gobblers, is set on the lower part of the vase's body. A myrtle wreath separates this from the main frieze, and other decoration from neck to foot includes a wreath of birds, tongues, a meander or fret, and spiky rays with pomegranates between.

The vase illustrated here is less well preserved but more complex in enrichment than a famous example in the British Mu-

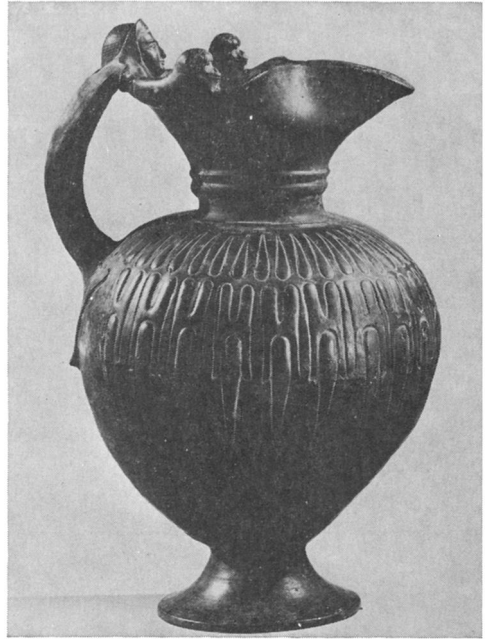


FIG. 9A. BUCCHERO PITCHER

seum. The hydria in London does not have the small register of turkey-like waterbirds on the shoulder and any major band of decoration between the main scenes either side of the handles and the row of turkeys below. Comparison of the fronts with Gorgoneion, sphinxes, small bird (crow), and snake indicates that the London and Boston vases are by the same hand. Both are characterized by square mouths or lips with metallic grooves. Two other hydriae, one with sphinxes on either side of a similar floral motif, are in the Louvre; and the necropolis of Ialysos on Rhodes has yielded a hydria by the Hunt Painter, one of the most pictorial of the Laconian artists, with fairly complex figural designs and floral motifs including combats, horsemen in the center, dancing men, a runner, and architectural flowers with cocks in the area below.²¹ There is another hydria in Boston,

¹⁹ See P.N. Ure, *Black glaze pottery from Rhitsona in Boeotia* (Oxford 1913), p. 53, no. 50, pl. 16.

²⁰ Acc. no. 68.698. H. (max.): 0.383m. Diam. (rim): 0.194m. Diam. (incl. handles): 0.35m. Frederick Brown Fund.

²¹ See E.A. Lane, "Laconian vase-painting," *BSA* 34 (1933-34) 146, 187, pl. 43, 44 a, b; L. Laurenzi, "Necropoli Ialiesie," *Clara Rhodos* (1934)



FIG. 9B. BUCCHERO PITCHER

which some authorities have considered Laconian, but strong opinions have held otherwise in recent decades. The famous waterjug with no back handle, showing animal combats on each side, in the collections since 1923, has been determined by competent authorities to be a modern forgery. At best, in my opinion, if proven to be ancient, the vase with its assemblage of familiar motifs from the height of Archaic Greek art could be East Greek (Smyrna) or Chiote rather than Peloponnesian, although several scholars have tried to make it Etruscan.²² There is no question, however, about the antiquity and Laconian ori-

gins of the hydria added to the galleries of early Greek art in 1968.

TWO BUCCHERO PITCHERS. A pair of giant fired clay (black ferrous oxide) or bucchero trefoil oinochoai belongs to the Etruscan world of about 550 B.C. (fig. 9, 10).²³ They were designed to simulate the most unusual parallels in Archaic Greek or Etruscan metalwork. Their bodies are enriched with three rows of abstract globules in high relief, further set off by incised outlines. The handles end in female heads of Archaic Etruscan countenance, with long stylized tresses extending down into the mouth of the pitcher; one goddess or lady wears a high crescent-shaped diadem, the other merely a hairnet over the severely parted, stippled or braided hair. Each vase has a further, most unusual feature in the form of simian heads as side terminals of

8, (1936) 85 f., fig. 71-80, pl. 4; B.B. Shefton, "Three Laconian vase painters," *ABSA* 49 (1954) 303 f., no. 9, 307, no. 6, etc.; *CVA* I, *France*, pl. 28; R.M. Cook, *Greek painted pottery* (London 1960), p. 97 f.

²² Fairbanks, op. cit., p. 192, no. 551, pl. 61; Lane, op. cit., p. 173, 187 f., pl. 49c; T. Dohrn, *Die schwarzfigurigen etruskischen Vasen* (Berlin 1937), p. 87; W.L. Brown, *The Etruscan lion* (Oxford 1960), p. 77, n. 3; D.A. Amyx, "A «Pontic» oinochoe in Seattle," *Hommages à Albert Grenier* (Brussels 1962) I, p. 127, n. 4. The first printed

declaration of the "hydria"'s modern origin was by P. Jacobsthal, *Greek pins and their connexions with Europe and Asia* (Oxford 1956), p. 198, n. 1, after investigations by Dietrich von Bothmer.

²³ Acc. nos. 68.699, 68.700. H. (max.): 0.53m. Diam. (max.): 0.31m. Frederick Brown Fund.

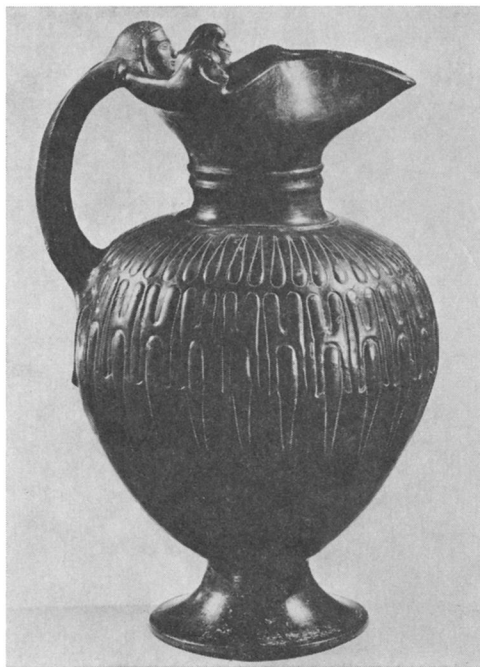


FIG. 10. BUCCHERO PITCHER

the handles along the rim of the curving mouth. The ape or monkey appears as an Egyptian artistic import in Etruria as early as about 700 B.C. (notably the Bocchoris vase from Tarquinia) and became more popular in the ceramic arts in the Archaic period, thanks to the influence of vases in the form of simians made at Corinth, on Rhodes, or in southern Italy.²⁴ The combination of motifs on these two bucchero pitchers has few rivals among other surviving monumental Etruscan vases; and, furthermore, the shapes with heavy handles, flaring mouth and broad feet are very pleasing to look at.²⁵

²⁴ W.C. McDermott, *The ape in antiquity*, The Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Archaeology 27 (Baltimore 1938), p. 232 f., no. 327, p. 238 f., no. 331, p. 240, no. 336, etc.; G.H. Chase, "Two terracotta apes," *Studies presented to David M. Robinson I* (St. Louis 1951), p. 724-726, pl. 87; Fairbanks, op. cit., p. 175 f., no. 502, p. 179, no. 518.

²⁵ Compare Münzen und Medaillen, Auction no. 34 (6 May 1967) 95, no. 181; G.Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte*

ATTIC BLACK-FIGURED LIP-CUP, about 550 B.C. An elegant vessel of suave silhouette and simple calligraphy represents the first addition to the collections of Attic black-figured and red-figured vases (fig. 11).²⁶ On each side a female head and shoulders appear in profile to the left; the unknown lady wears earring, necklace, hair bound up in a purple band, and a garment of similar color. Single palmettes flank the handles, and one side bears the exclamation, "Stroibos is Handsome" while the other presents the conventional exhortation, "Drink and Farewell." The Kalos name Stroibos also appears elsewhere, notably on two lip-cups, one well preserved and one fragmentary, by the same painter seen here; they are in the British Museum and were found at opposite extremes of the world served by Attic black-figured vases, the former at Vulci in Etruria and the latter at Salamis on the eastern coast of Cyprus. The artist is known from signed cups to have been named Sakonides. As Dietrich von Bothmer has observed, Sakonides painted vases made by at least four different potters. The scheme of his lip-cups is always the same: a female head is presented in outline on the exterior of the lip; the inscriptions are in the handle zone; and the cup's interior is without any figural decoration. The females are not all alike. Sometimes the woman wears her hair in a sakkos or cloth, and there are differences in the type and arrangement of her jewelry.²⁷ On occasion, chiefly in the imitations of the females by Sakonides, the seemingly elegant neck comes down to a squashy, figure-of-eight shoulder.

etrusca (Milan 1935), pl. 52-54; they come from Tarquinia, Chiusi, Orvieto: G. Batignani, "Le oinochoai di Bucchero pesante di tipo «chiusino»," *Studi etruschi* 33 (1965) 295.

²⁶ Acc. no. 66.816. H.: 0.145m. Diam. (max.): 0.275m. Diam. (without handles): 0.195m. Frederick Brown Fund.

²⁷ Dietrich von Bothmer, "Five Attic black-figured lip-cups," *AJA* 66 (1962) 256 f., pl. 65, fig. 4; J.D. Beazley, *Attic black-figure vase-painters* (Oxford 1956), p. 171, 675.



FIG. 11A. ATTIC BLACK-FIGURED LIP-CUP

ATTIC LIP-CUP, about 540 B.C. Such is the case on the second black-figured kylix, one painted by an artist of vigorous profiles, who could not be bothered to place anything more than an imitation of an inscription on the curved handle-zone of his

vase (fig. 12).²⁸ Perhaps he knew his product was destined for a non-Greek audience,

²⁸ Acc. no. 64.700. H.: 0.135m. Diam. (max.): 0.235m. Diam. (without handles): 0.17m. Bartlett Collection (by exchange) and Gift of Cornelius C. Vermeule III.



FIG. 11B. ATTIC BLACK-FIGURED LIP-CUP



FIG. 12. ATTIC LIP-CUP

who would admire the cup for its decorative effect and eventually place it with other Greek imports in a tomb. Such could have been the circumstance in Etruria and parts of southern Italy. The heads face to the right instead of the left, and the differences in arrangement of the hair are as striking as they must have been among contemporary young Athenian ladies of fashion. The palmettes have been omitted.²⁹ Both this cup and the more precise masterwork of Sakonides must have been broken in shipment from Attica or damaged in a drinking bout, for this has had its foot rejoined in ancient times with a bronze pin. Three clamp-holes remain in the other; the pins themselves are missing. The two vases appear to have been found in the same place and may have remained together from the time of export. In this case the suggestion that the imitation was painted after cups by Sakonides became popular may be wrong, and the two could be contemporaries in the decade from 550 to 540 B.C.

ATTIC HYDRIA, about 540 B.C. This vase is in nearly perfect condition, with all its added reddish-purple and white paint excellently preserved (fig. 13).³⁰ The subjects are not identified, and they could well be anonymous. Since the Greeks loved mythological implications, I have offered possible identifications here, in preference to the usual terminology of youths, horsemen, warrior, and charioteer. The inscription, "Kale Koloura," an epithet, must refer to a racehorse, a mare that is, "The dock-tailed one is handsome," but none of the animals pictured on the vase fits this description, unless it refers to breaking and elevating the tail rather than cutting it off. This detail too has been ignored by the painter. On the flat shoulder above, a nude youth who could be the young Achilles stands between two robed youths; beyond appears a pair of mounted youths who wear short chitons. In the principal scene, on the body, Achilles and his charioteer Automedon stand together in a four-horsed chariot. The former holds two long spears, while the

²⁹ Compare A. Rumpf, *Sakonides* (Leipzig 1937) pl. 28, d (to left); *Attische schwarzfigurige Vasen*, Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Sonderliste G (Nov. 1964) 31 f., no. 58 and parallels.

³⁰ Acc. no. 68.105. H.: 0.355m. Diam. (lip): 0.21m. Diam. (max. including handles): 0.365m. J.H. and E.A. Payne Fund.



FIG. 13. ATTIC HYDRIA

latter guides the horses. A possible feat of horsemanship or of confused drawing is involved. The position of the chariot's pole indicates that the near pair of horses is being led up beside the pair beyond, to be then brought around to the other side of the pole by grooms or attendants not in-

cluded by the artist. The guide-lines or traces also run on either side of the pair beyond and not around the two horses in the foreground. The line looped around the closest horse's middle may be the extra traces. We have a pole-horse and a trace-horse in place, while closest to the viewer



FIG. 14A. ATTIC AMPHORA



FIG. 14B. ATTIC AMPHORA

are the remaining pole-horse and trace-horse, who will become the off pair with respect to the picture presented here.³¹

The vase was painted by an artist working in the tradition of Lydos, the leading master of about 550 B.C. It resembles painting by the Taleides Painter and the more cursory aspects of the hand of the Amasis Painter, when he was painting cups and lekythoi.³²

³¹ Compare the harnessing of Achilles' chariot horses on a vase of 575-to-550 B.C. from the Athenian Acropolis: J.K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek horsemanship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1961), pl. 14a. Also the Andokides amphora in the Christos G. Bastis collection: Dietrich von Bothmer (see n. 43), p. 51 f., no. 198, pl. 73.

³² Taleides Painter: Beazley, op. cit., p. 174 f., hydriai, nos. 5-7; Dietrich von Bothmer, *BMMA* (May 1947) 221-226, more like Exekias than Ly-

dos; Lydos: J.D. Beazley, *The development of Attic black-figure* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951), pl. 17, no. 2; Amasis Painter: Beazley, op. cit., pl. 26, no. 2 (cup in Louvre), and especially, von Bothmer, "New vases by the Amasis Painter," *Antike Kunst* 3 (1960) 71-80, pl. 4-11, esp. pl. 4, nos. 4-6, a lekythos in the University Museum, Philadelphia. The particular presentation of the chariot group, seemingly about to be harnessed, was a favorite of the Taleides Painter, but it also occurs when the quadriga is in motion: black-figured cup by the Xenokles Painter, Tarquinia Museum: L. Drees, *Olympia, gods, artists, and athletes* (New York 1968), fig. 13a.

³³ Acc. no. 68.46. H.: 0.55m. John M. Rodocanachi Fund.

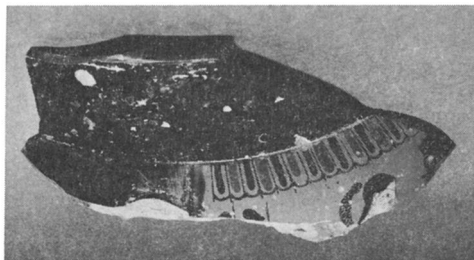


FIG. 15A. COLUMN KRATER FRAGMENT

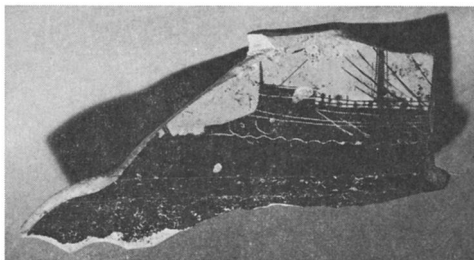


FIG. 15B. COLUMN KRATER FRAGMENT

principal side has suffered the loss of its central section, although so noticeable a fragment must exist somewhere, in some drawer of sherds. The subject is a bridal pair in a chariot, accompanied by Apollo playing the kithara, Artemis with two torches, and Hermes. A deer stands next to Artemis and a dog wearing a collar accompanies Hermes. The bearded man closest to the viewer of the three persons in the chariot is a groom, who holds the reins and a goad. Of all the costumes, that of Hermes is most distinctive; he wears chlamys, boots, and a petasos with the back brim turned up. His herald's staff appears to be just visible in his left hand. The second side features a *sacra conversazione* of three Olympians and Leto. Poseidon grasps dolphin and trident, while the panther of Dionysus would appear to have wandered into the scene at his feet. Leto reaches forward to touch her son's back, while her daughter Artemis raises her right hand toward Apollo in greeting. She wears an open quiver, and her deer or fawn, this time completely preserved, stands in alert attendance.

The panther indicates that there may have been more divinities present in the monumental prototype from which the vase-painter borrowed the scene, or that this painter originally intended a composition involving Dionysus with maenads and satyrs but changed his mind as work progressed. Dietrich von Bothmer has attributed this vase to the circle of the Rycroft Painter, an artist who likes chariot groups and digni-

fied, idyllic scenes such as these. Indeed, six out of the seven Type A amphoras listed for him have either wedding processions or groups of divinities.³⁴ It is not known how or when this vase came to America, but all indications are that it was brought to Salem, Massachusetts, by a sea captain in the nineteenth century. The type of restoration suggests that the amphora was found in Etruria. Until purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts in 1968, it was an unusual possession of the Essex Institute in Salem. Removal of extensive repainting, casting a new foot, and general reconditioning were undertaken in the Research Laboratory of the Museum.

ATTIC COLUMN KRATER, a fragment, about 525 B.C. What remains is unusual enough to deserve publication here (fig. 15).³⁵ The painter has not been identified, but the fragment is the survivor of a large column krater, part of the neck and the beginning of the shoulder. A satyr and a maenad with a snake were shown on this part of the exterior. Around the interior of the neck ran a frieze of galleys, producing the results that when the krater was filled with wine the ships were reflected in the liquid. What remains is two thirds of a galley being rowed to the left. Beyond, at the break, can be seen the shaft of the rudder of the galley ahead. The halyards, brailing ropes, yard, sail in added white,

³⁴ See Beazley, *Attic black-figure vase-painters*, p. 335-337.

³⁵ Acc. no. 68.777. L.: 0.155m. Gift of Mrs. Cornelius C. Vermeule III.



FIG. 16. ATTIC SKYPHOS



FIG. 17. ATTIC SKYPHOS

forestay, and the details of deck and hull are visible. As a marine experience, this ship belongs with a group painted about 550-to-530 B.C. in the tradition of Exekias. As a work of drawing, this vessel seems to stand closest to that on the interior of a black-figured band-cup in Berlin, which has been said to be not far from the Lysipides Painter.³⁶ From what remains, therefore, it appears that Athenians of the Late Archaic period and their admirers abroad could combine an homage to the divinities of the vine with tangible evidence of their blessings and with the traditional Greek love of the sea.

ATTIC SKYPHOS, about 510 B.C., a rare form of expressive vase-painting. This extraordinary Late Archaic Attic skyphos has, on either side, a large Gorgoneion, boldly painted in black, with added red and white (fig. 16).³⁷ The disembodied head of the Gorgon is a familiar decorative motif in Greek art from the seventh century on, and becomes an apotropaic symbol ornamenting temple pediments and black-figure cups in the sixth century. Although logical in view of its use on cups, plates, and amphoras, its appearance on skyphoi is found in a rela-

tively small number of instances. There are hardly more than ten other well-preserved examples known: three in the National Museum in Athens, one in Berlin, one in the Louvre, one in Warsaw, one in Salerno, one at a dealer's in Switzerland, another in a private collection in Cambridge, Mass. (fig. 17), and a fragment in Dietrich von Bothmer's collection in New York. The last two also come from Athens and were found together years ago, presumably in the same Boeotian or Attic tomb.³⁸

The Gorgoneion pictured here is shown in the traditional manner. Ropelike hair, moustache, and beard below set off the huge eyes. The red tongue, sticking out in defiance, adds to the force of its power to ward off evil. It must be supposed that the Gorgoneion was present on skyphoi such as this to keep evil spirits from the drinker.

NECK-AMPHORA OF CHALCIDIAN TYPE, about 540-to-530 B.C. The differences between this forceful, almost crude megalographic design and Attic vase-painting are immediately evident. This vase belongs to

³⁶ J.S. Morrison, R.T. Williams, *Greek oared ships 900-322 B.C.* (Cambridge 1968), p. 113, Arch. 90, pl. 21a (New York, 07.286.76) and 91-97, 104 f., Arch. 74, pl. 17a (Berlin 1800). Compare also *Ars Antiqua*, Auction 3 (29 April 1961) Lucerne, 40 f., no. 95.

³⁷ Acc. no. 66.269. H.: 0.14m. Diam.: 0.186m. Seth K. Sweetser Fund. *Greek and Roman art* (Boston 1967), pl.

³⁸ From (66.269 that is) Münzen und Medaillen, Auction 16 (30 June 1956), no. 107, pl. 25; Louvre: *Encyclopédie photographique* II, pl. 268A. Subject: A. Giuliano, "L'Origine di un tipo di gorgone," *Annuario* 37-38 (1959-1960) 231-237. Dietrich von Bothmer kindly augmented my basic list, citing especially Warsaw as 142195, from Stettin: *CVA*, Poland 4, Warsaw 1, pl. 44, 5 and 7, and noting that Beazley put eight together under "Ure's Class of Skyphoi A 1" (*Paralipomena*, 85). All traceable examples, save that in Salerno, come from Greece, the three in Athens being from Locris just north of Boeotia.



FIG. 18A. NECK-AMPHORA OF CHALCIDIAN TYPE

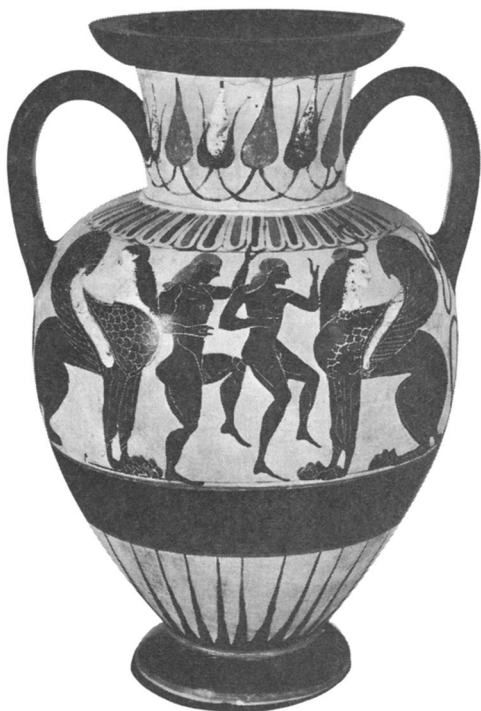


FIG. 18B. NECK-AMPHORA OF CHALCIDIAN TYPE

a class sometimes termed pseudo-Chalcidian, the so-called Polyphemus Group, and the artist seems to have been an Italian Greek or even a gifted Etruscan imitator of the painters of vases known for convenience as Chalcidian and to be discussed with the final vase in this article. The amphora shown here was found at Vulci in Etruria; it has been recomposed from fragments, with repainting at the legs of the right dancing youth and the breast of the right-hand sphinx (fig. 18).³⁹ On the side termed for convenience "A," three young men gallop large stallions to the right; each is nude and holds a lance, although only that of the horseman in front is seen clearly and it would appear that the painter miscalculated the position of the shaft of the second rider's lance as it emerges below the horse's

legs. This scene is a relatively conventional one, being found often on contemporary Attic and Boeotian cups of the type that reached southern Italy and Etruria. The second side, "B," is surely more dramatic, with the whites of the sphinxes and the reds of their headgear and the youths' hair being used to special advantage, echoing the bold lotus pattern of the neck. The sphinxes have no concern with the revelling kouroi, as if both sets of motifs had been selected from other ancient painting without regard to their position together. The results, however, are refreshingly successful.⁴⁰

CHALCIDIAN NECK-AMPHORA, about 520 B.C. This vase was also found at Vulci.

³⁹ Acc. no. 61.942. H.: 0.385m. Anonymous Gift.

⁴⁰ From Münzen und Medaillen, Auction 22 (13 May 1961) 58, no. 117. Compare A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen* (Berlin 1927), p. 160 f.; idem, "Zur Gruppe der Phineusschale," *AM* 46 (1921) 186-188.



FIG. 19A. CHALCIDIAN NECK-AMPHORA



FIG. 19B. CHALCIDIAN NECK-AMPHORA

The lotus buds on the neck have red leaves, and the tongues on the shoulder are both red and black. A thin red groundline above the broad band of black glaze adds subtlety to the scheme of colors (fig. 19).⁴¹ A roaring lion confronts a grazing ram, amid several rosettes. On the second side, two Sirens flank a lotus bud that turns into a palmette. There are white and red on the Sirens, and further added red in the heart of the palmette and lotus bud. The final touch is not shown here; an owl with a red stripe on its body has been placed under each handle. The artist of this neck-amphora is termed the Phineus Painter, and he was the leading painter of the last phase of Chalcidian black-figured vase-painting. His speciality was neck-amphoras. Chalcidian vases bear inscriptions in the alphabet of Chalkis on

⁴¹ Acc. no. 62.223. H.: 0.248m. John Wheelock Elliot Fund.

Euboea, and current thinking is that they were made in the colonies of Chalkis in southern Italy, notably Rhegion. Different painters may have worked in different locations, including Etruria, but no evidence of activity has been found in Greece proper, and connections with the Greek East, notably Old Smyrna, are elusive other than in the pan-Mediterranean realm of stylistic similarities.⁴²

Of the figures on this vase, perhaps the ram deserves a word of comment. The ram is of the conceptual type so popular at this period in vase-painting from unusual sites, that is Italian Greek or Etruscan rather than Attic pottery, with only the head truly

⁴² From *Ars Antiqua*, Auction 2 (1960), no. 129, where numerous parallels are given (by K. Schauenburg). See Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, p. 104 f. Latest on the Chalcidian problem: H. Metzger, "Bulletin archéologique, céramique," *REG* 81 (1968) 140, 147.



FIG. 20. ATTIC RED-FIGURED KYLIX

reflecting the nature of the animal while the body is shorn and goatlike, no doubt a transcription of scrawny Mediterranean beasts. With reference to these rams, the "Tyrrhenian" neck-amphora mentioned as having been in a Swiss auction in *CJ* 64 (1968) 58, is New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession number 56.11.4. The animals shown here are usually termed rams, although I had called them goats, a point brought to my attention by Dietrich von Bothmer. In this respect, the ram butting toward a warrior in the lowest frieze of an ovoid neck-amphora from the same Basel sale cited for the Metropolitan vase (no. 85) is even more unfaithful to nature, having a billygoat's hindquarters, including the tail. This second vase, about 570-to-560, has been attributed to the Goltz Painter and is in the collection of Joseph V. Noble.⁴³

ATTIC RED-FIGURED KYLIX, about 510 B.C. This cup is partly recomposed from fragments that have been through a fire; more pieces are preserved, and the whole ensemble will be taken apart, refired, and

fully restored in due course. Meanwhile, the importance of the subject dictates preliminary publication here. The painter has been identified by Dietrich von Bothmer as the Ambrosios Painter, an early decorator of cups whose interior tondo of a boy fishing, in the collections, has been famous since the turn of the present century. Here a young sculptor or apprentice craftsman paints a small male head or, technically, a bust with curving neck that snuggles into the palm of his large hand (fig. 20).⁴⁴ Behind him, on a shelf, a similar head, evidently already cast or painted, has been set to dry. Dots of black glaze have been used for the hair, not only of the artist but also of the busts. The exterior of the cup is plain.

What the young man in his large studio is doing poses problems because of the economy of the scene. He looks at first glance as if he were painting a terracotta head or head vases without spout and handles. There is a small chest, doubtless for tools, beneath the artist's chair, and an uncertain object, perhaps a modelling stick or a blowpipe, leans against the background, below the shelf and in and out of the tondo's frame. If the object is a blowpipe, for which a parallel of the period survives from western Asia Minor, the craftsman could also have been finishing, even gilding, bronze heads. The long tube with spun sections could be a terracotta salpinx or trumpet, a product of the young man's earlier work as a koroplast.⁴⁵ Or it could be the same type of object in metal. In any case, this cup joins the limited repertory of those showing artists at work. Examples were discussed in *CJ* 59 (1964) 205 f., fig. 17, in connection with the interior of a cup

⁴⁴ Acc. no. 68.292. Helen and Alice Colburn Fund. Ambrosios Painter: J.D. Beazley, *Attic red-figure vase-painters* (Oxford 1963) I, p. 173-175.

⁴⁵ Compare the trumpet in Oxford: *Select exhibition of Sir John and Lady Beazley's gifts to the Ashmolean Museum 1912-1966* (Oxford 1967), p. 26, no. 62, pl. 9.

⁴³ Dietrich von Bothmer, *Ancient art from New York private collections, catalogue of an exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, December 17, 1959-February 28, 1960* (New York 1961), p. 52, no. 201, pl. 72.



FIG. 21A. PLASTIC VASE, MOUSE

by the Antiphon Painter showing a satyr fluting a column.

PLASTIC VASE, A MOUSE, Southern Italy, about 380 B.C. The rodent is crouching with front paws at his mouth, under his chin, and his tail curled up under himself (fig. 21).⁴⁶ The central spout for pouring in the liquid has a pierced lug handle on either side, and a feeding spout is between the back lug and the tail. An ivy vine is painted as if it ran through the handles; it is black, as are the ears, eyes, eyebrows, fringe of whiskers, and the tops of lugs and spouts. Another example in the collections, in black glaze with decoration added in now-faded red, has no remaining spout, although a hole is visible; this rodent seems to be Apulian (80.588). An animal similar to that illustrated here, in the Metropolitan

⁴⁶ Acc. no. 68.581. H.: 0.08m. L.: 0.155m. Gift of Mathias Komor.



FIG. 21B. PLASTIC VASE, MOUSE

Museum (16.174.40), is termed Campanian, and there are variations in decoration or treatment of the sculptural details, such as feet, from both Italy and Sicily. These mice are shown nibbling, as here, or merely posing placidly.⁴⁷ It would seem that a vase such as this could be used as a feeder for disciplined young children, if it might be felt to have been too fragile for babies who throw things.

As in the past, the vases discussed here fall nearly entirely in the earlier periods of Greek painting, or of the arts of those influenced by the Greeks. Ceramic sculpture is represented in the form of a Cypriote terracotta and the Etruscan bucchero pitchers. The areas of Archaic Greek decoration generally considered peripheral are well represented, without excluding new masterpieces of Corinthian and Attic vase-painting. Subjects have been generally decorative, but the humorous Gorgoneion or the vignette from the life of an artist has spiced this selection.

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

⁴⁷ Compare Münzen und Medaillen, Auction 16 (30 June 1956) 43, no. 155; from Kamarina: G. Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari* (Milan 1930), pl. 98, no. 967.

Greek, Etruscan, Roman Gold and Silver-I: Archaic to Hellenistic Gold

Author(s): Cornelius C. Vermeule, III

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The Authenticity of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's 'Burd-Alane': an Unpublished Document

BY MARCIA ALLENTUCK

IN the Exhibition Catalogue of the Leathart Collection which was shown at the Laing Art Gallery in Newcastle upon Tyne in the autumn of 1968, Miss Nerys Johnson has written of the oil painting, *Burd-Alane*:

'Like *The Bower Garden*, this was acquired by Leathart from Plint's Sale. Marillier dates it 1861, and raises slight doubt concerning its authenticity. William Rossetti remarked that the portrait was a good example of his brother's technique though the subject was "less winning and impressive than some of his other female types". Again according to William Rossetti, Gabriel did not repeat this face.'

Among the papers of Samuel Bancroft in the Wilmington Society of the Fine Arts, where one of the finest collections of Pre-Raphaelite paintings in America may be found, there is a letter, to the best of my knowledge as yet unpublished, which supports Marillier's doubts. Samuel Bancroft, who built the collection and knew many of the Pre-Raphaelite circle, wanted very much to acquire this painting, of which there is a photograph taken by Frederick Hollyer in the collection (Fig. 38). On the *verso* of the photograph, however, in Bancroft's hand, is written: 'A fake Rossetti in the Leathart collection.' Bancroft was doubtless swayed to this conclusion by the following excerpt from a letter written to him by Charles Fairfax Murray on 25th August 1896:

'My writing must be as *unintelligible* as ever that you are still hankering after that daub called 'Burd Alane'. Why even Hollyer was doubtful of it – he photographed it, but asked me if he could put it out as a D.G.R. I said *no* emphatically. I have told him to send you a proof of his photo, but doubt if it can show all the bad qualities of the original. You must remember that it has a gummy look, like a newly varnished bun, as well as being atrocious in colour. Leathart bought it cheap in Manchester, or his agent (I forget which) and I doubt if D.G.R. ever saw it, as he was never in Newcastle after 1863. Leathart was supposed to be a judge and for that reason William Rossetti has included it in the list of his brother's work, which he would not if he had an ounce of judgment, *which he has not*. I am disgusted with him.'

¹ I am grateful to Mr Bruce St John, Director of the Delaware Art Center, for permission to quote from this manuscript and to reproduce the Hollyer photograph.

Recent Museum Acquisitions *Greek, Etruscan, Roman Gold and Silver—1: Archaic to Hellenistic Gold*

BY CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III

THE twenty-five groups, pairs, or single examples of ancient metalwork published here represent a choice from over a decade of collecting by the Department of Classical (Greek and Roman) Art in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Most of these works of art can be found in the *Annual Report* for the year in which they were acquired. Several were part of the exhibition of acquisitions organized early in 1970 in honour of the Museum's centennial. No catalogue of all the Department's jewellery and sculpture in precious metals exists, but the best of the former, that is the best of the fifth through third centuries B.C., was included in the exhibition 'Greek Gold' held in Boston, Brooklyn, and Richmond

in the autumn to spring of 1965 and 1966. The total span of time in the present publication is roughly a millennium, from about 550 B.C. to the same date in the Christian era. The first of two articles covers the Archaic, High Classical and Hellenistic periods. This automatically excludes jewellery of the Bronze age, Minoan, Mycenaean, and the like, an era in which the Museum's collections have improved noticeably in recent years.*

Most of the works of art discussed in these pages are personal or costume jewellery, funerary in many instances, but roughly a quarter of these objects are votive figures or, in Roman times, silver plate in its broadest sense. There has been a great amount of talk about modern Greek gold manufactured or at least sold to unsuspecting museums and private collectors. Thanks to the existence of Mr William J. Young's Research Laboratory, the Museum of Fine Arts has been able to avoid an inordinate amount of these pitfalls. Nine gold and enamel rosettes, allegedly of about 425 to 350 B.C., have proven to be of recent workmanship. By 1967 forty-six to fifty-five such rosettes were known in public and private collections, and it has been suggested by more than one competent authority that an original group was excavated in Greek lands, another being created in close imitation of the ancient objects.**

SEVENTEEN EAST GREEK GOLD ORNAMENTS (Fig. 41). These roundels and the smaller, rectangular plaque were evidently hammered from matrices to be sewn on cloth, or less likely on a small box made of some thinly-sliced, rare wood.¹ The East Greek qualities of the design are reflected in the bearded, polos-crowned divinity with double sets of wings, a reworking of an Achaemenian motif going back into the decorative arts of the ancient Near East and Asia Minor, including the insignia of the Hittite King Tudhaliyas about 1250 B.C. in the reliefs at Yazilikaya. The ornament of the square plaque has parallels in the design on the reverses of small silver coins of Miletos near the end of the sixth century B.C., later Milesian coin reverses, of about 478 to 390 B.C., being more complex, with rosettes between the closed buds.² The general date is also borne out by comparison with excavated finds made by the British in the nineteenth and early part of the present century at Ephesos and by the American excavators of Sardis in the years before the Graeco-Turkish catastrophes of 1922.³

* This article has profited from all the work on jewellery done by a number of people in Boston over the past twelve years, notably Suzanne E. Chapman, Mary B. Comstock, Sarah C. Dublin, Herbert Hoffmann, Penelope Truitt, Emily T. Vermeule, and William J. Young. The last publication of a group of precious metal works of art in the collections was by H. PALMER and the writer in *Archaeology* 12 [1959], pp. 2–7. For recent studies on the Bronze Age jewellery in Boston, see E. T. VERMEULE, *The Illustrated London News* [21st March 1970], pp. 23–25; *idem*, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 65 [1967], pp. 19–31. Successive Museum Photographers, Edward Moore, John McQuade, and Herbert Hamilton have prepared the illustrations.

** H. HOFFMANN, P. F. DAVIDSON: *Greek Gold, Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, Boston [1965], pp. 72–75, fig. 10, pl. III; H. HOFFMANN, *American Journal of Archaeology* 73 [1969], p. 448, Note 7, brings the controversy up to date. Further technical examination strengthens the supposition that the nine Boston rosettes are modern imitations of, for instance, those acquired by the British Museum. See R. A. HIGGINS: 'Four Greek Rosettes Again', *The British Museum Quarterly* 33 [1969], pp. 110–113, with technical reports by Dr A. E. Werner.

¹ Accession numbers 1970.364, 365 (the square rosette). Diameter (circles): 0.02 m. Width (square): 0.011 m.

² *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung von Aulock*, Berlin [1960], pl. 64 Nos. 2080, 2082; later reverse: No. 2086.

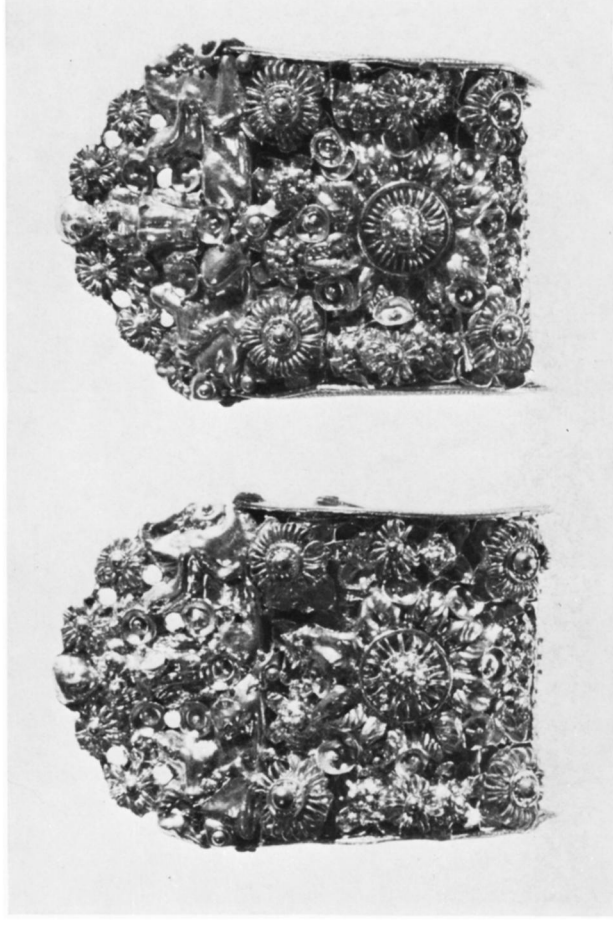
³ Ephesos: R. A. HIGGINS: *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, London [1961], p. xxi, pl. 21, H. P. JACOBSTHAL, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 71 [1951], p. 89, pl. 33c. Sardis: C. DENSMORE CURTIS: *Sardis, Volume XIII, Jewelry and Gold Work, Part I*, 1910–1914, Rome [1925], pl. I, Nos. 1–11, especially No. 3, dated seventh to sixth century B.C. Ionian gold plaques of the sixth century B.C. in the Leigh Ashton collection: J. CHITTENDEN, C. SELTMAN: *Greek Art, A Commemorative Catalogue of an Exhibition held in 1946 at the Royal Academy Burlington House London*, London [1946], No. 277, pl. 73. Like the rosettes of Note **, the seventy-three Ashton plaques must have been riveted to a wooden box.



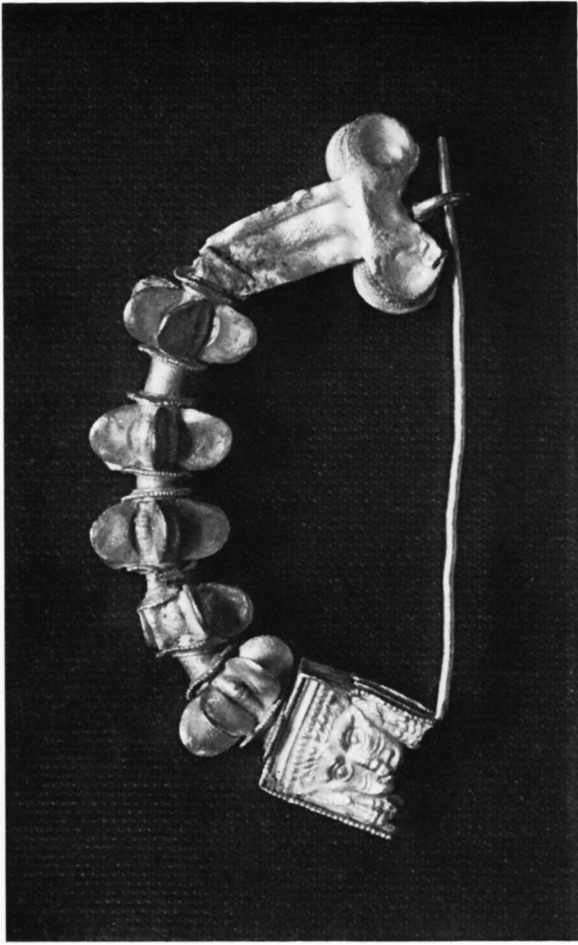
41. Seventeen East Greek Gold Ornaments. c.520 B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



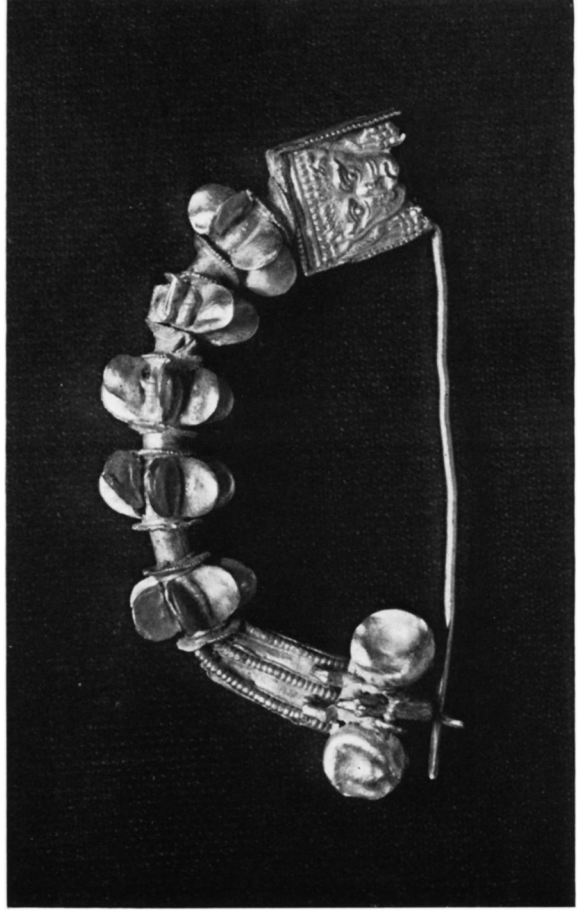
42. Etruscan Gold Box Ear Clips. Sixth century B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



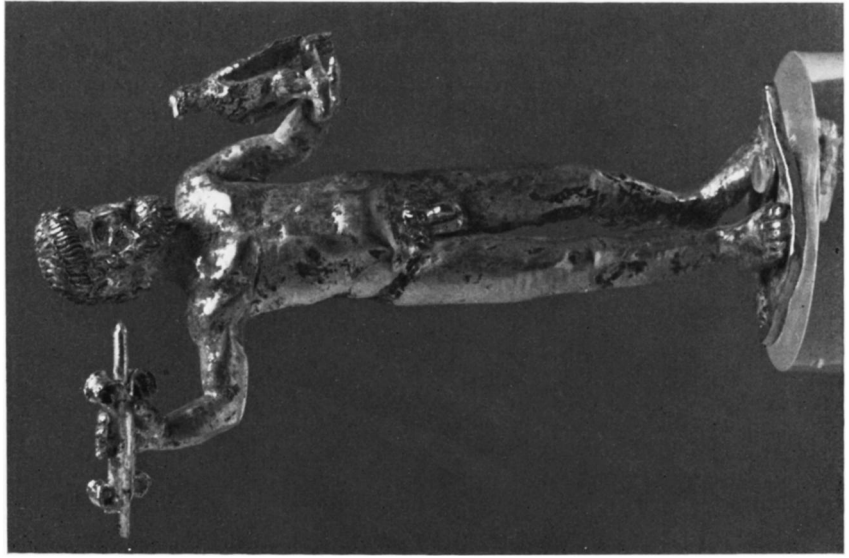
43. Another view of the Ear Clips reproduced in Fig.42.



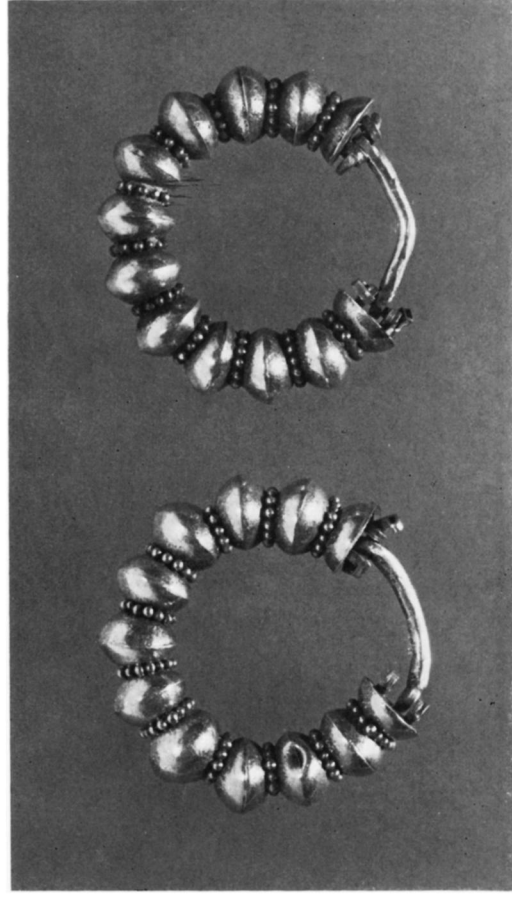
44. Greek Gold Pin. Late fourth century B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



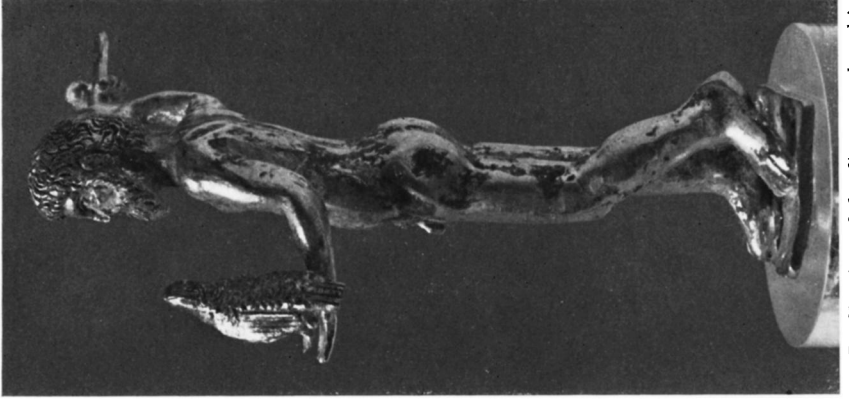
45. Another view of the Gold Pin reproduced in Fig.44.



46. Greek Gold Zeus. Fourth century B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



47. Lydian Gold Earrings or Dress Clips. Sixth century B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



48. Profile view of the Zeus reproduced in Fig.46.

The seventeen plaquettes were also found in the lower Hermos valley on land then under contract to Photios Therapiades (Photi or Foti Effendi Hamamoglu), an economic figure of the latter days of the Ottoman Empire. On the expulsion of Christians from Anatolia, his family brought them to western Europe, seemingly part of a very much larger find, and the Museum received them there, as a gift from the family trust.

LYDIAN GOLD EARRINGS OR DRESS CLIPS (Fig.47). The alternative identification stems from the heaviness of the part of the ensemble which would have to pierce the ear. The objects are in the form of hoops with large beads and rings of granulation in between. The catch is a thick wire with a hinge attachment at either end, fastened by a cotter-pin.⁴ A date in the sixth century B.C., the height of Lydian power and wealth in western Asia Minor, is established not only by inclusion of such ornaments in other works of art but by finds of such objects in tomb groups from the Hermos valley. One of the most famous pairs of 'earrings' of this nature, with the fastenings projecting from the mouths of lion-heads at either end, was found in a tomb at Sardis.

That such objects were worn as earrings is confirmed by the ivory head of a so-called female slave or servant of the moon goddess, in the Istanbul Museum. The one doubt about this form of earring, whether they were dangled on strings or whether ear-lobes could have had holes large enough to accommodate them, seems resolved in the light of this ivory, also from Sardis. Any woman who could submit to having crescents branded on her cheeks would not hesitate to make room for such thick wire catches through the fleshy part of the ears.⁵

ETRUSCAN GOLDBOX EAR CLIPS (Figs.42, 43). These ear clips or earrings present as complex examples of craftsmanship in the precious metals as have survived from all aspects of antiquity. The curving surfaces are a riot of large and small rosettes and floral sprays, their centres composed of gold balls or granulations in various sizes.⁶ Amid all this foliate detail are groups of figures at the semi-circular, architectural ends in the forms of elaborate anthemion ornaments. In each earring appear a seated, fully-clothed goddess, a canonical representation of such figures in Etruscan art around the middle of the sixth century B.C. or later, and twin horsemen of Archaic Greek type moving off to either side. These riders are a kind of echo in miniature of sixth-century sculpture on the Athenian Acropolis or from the Kerameikos cemetery.

As has been often noted, earrings of this unusual design must have been common in Etruria from 600 to about 450 B.C., the high generations of Etruscan artistic effectiveness. There are few identical or even similar patterns in these pairs of earrings, and the repertory of imaginative figural details worked into the floral ornaments is almost limitless. For example, one pair in the British Museum from Chiuri is of similar complexity, enriched with an East Greek or Naukratite, that is almost Egyptian, Artemis flanked by lions. Similar earrings in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, are fashioned at the upper or curved parts into partial figures or merely heads of goddesses, in both instances amid the almost fantastic configuration of interlocking wheels.⁷

⁴ Accession number 68.151 a-b. Interior diameter: 0.03 m. Height: 0.06 m. Mary L. Smith Fund. From the Huntington collection, evidently brought to Boston by a ship's captain in the days of the spice, tobacco, and tea trade.

⁵ More complex earrings from Sardis: DENSMORE CURTIS, *op. cit.*, p.17, pl.VII, Nos.5-7; *Art Treasures of Turkey, 1966-1968*, Washington [1966], p.88, No.116. Ivory head with earrings: E. AKURGAL: *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander*, Berlin [1961], pp.156-159, pl.VII a, b; R. D. BARNETT, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 68 [1948], p.18.

⁶ Accession number 63.2662 a-b. Height: 0.04 m. Otis Norcross Fund. From a South American collection, through a daughter of the Prince of Canino (Lucien Bonaparte).

⁷ General characteristics: A. OLIVER: 'Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Jewelry',

GREEK GOLD PIN (Figs.44, 45). This form of fibula has been excavated in sufficient numbers in identifiable contexts to be dated in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. The type has been called 'Macedonian' since this is the region in which the greatest number of finds has been made, indicating the richness of northern Greece in the time of Alexander the Great and his companions. The model goes back at least to the sixth century B.C. in Macedonia and was fashioned in various metals. Here the catch takes the form of a hippocamp rather than merely a protome of Pegasus, which is more usually found. On either side of the catch-plate are facing lion-skins of a stylized form familiar from Greek coins of Samos and of the dynasts of Lycia in the earlier part of the same century. There is a series of pinwheels or petals in five groups on the bow, some of which have been broken off or cracked.⁸ The gold pin itself appears to belong, although most fibulae of this type have bronze pins or are assumed to have had pins in a metal more perishable than gold.

The Boston fibula has been compared to the six examples from the Dhervani find, now in the new museum at Salonika, and there are other sets of such pins in Greek collections or in such major foreign museums as West Berlin and the Metropolitan Museum in New York.⁹ Evidently rich Macedonians of both sexes collected complex pins of this general type and delighted in sending them along with other precious works of art on the funerary journey across the river Styx.

GREEK GOLD ZEUS (Figs.46, 48). The chief Olympian stands with his thunderbolt poised in the raised right hand, his eagle facing him on the extended left. He walks on a rectangular plinth which has a hole between the two sets of toes and remains of a rivet at the right rear. All this indicates that the statuette was designed to top a column or to be the crowning element of a complex ensemble such as a large pin.¹⁰ The statuette, said to have been found in the northern Greek world, has a head which recalls severe images of Zeus in the period from about 450 to 430 B.C., but the relaxed forms of the body and the Polykleitan walking pose suggest this unusual, but not unique, creation was produced during the following century. Such statuettes in gold or silver, whether freestanding or attached to pins, are rare before the Roman imperial period. Since they were usually associated with female beauty, in this world or the next, Aphrodite and Eros were favourite subjects, the former shown emerging from the sea and the latter in a variety of characteristic poses.¹¹

This small Zeus was based ultimately on a famous image of that god or a heroic ruler which was created in the circle of Myron about 450 B.C. and which survives in a Roman marble copy in Munich. Of this document of the lost masterpiece the great German critic Adolf Furtwängler wrote three-quarters of a century ago, 'The Munich statue is interpreted . . . as Zeus, bearing in

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art [May 1966], p.280, and fig.22; British Museum: F. H. MARSHALL: *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum*, London [1911], pp.115-116, Nos.1294, 1295, pl.16 and fig.27. Naples: L. BREGLIA: *Catalogo delle Oreficerie del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Rome [1941], pp.23-25, Nos.15-21, pl.VII, Nos.5-8.

⁸ Accession number 65.909. Length: 0.06 m. Harriet Otis Cruft Fund. P. AMANDRY, in a review of HOFFMANN, DAVIDSON: *Greek Gold*, *American Journal of Archaeology* 71 [1967], pp.204-205, under exhibition Nos.75-78, mentions this fibula. Found by an Allied soldier in entrenching operations before 1918; acquired in San Francisco from an Australian collection.

⁹ P. AMANDRY, in *Collection Hélène Stathatos*, Volume III, *Objets antiques et byzantins*, Strasbourg [1963], pp.203-209, with a list on p.209.

¹⁰ Accession number 69.1222. Height: 0.046 m. Helen and Alice Colburn Fund. A second, slightly smaller statue was in the art market in 1970. It has now been acquired by The Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Both statues appear to have come from an old Central European Consular Service collection, one formed in the days of the Hapsburg Empire.

¹¹ See HOFFMANN, DAVIDSON: *Greek Gold*, pp.192-193, No.72; AMANDRY: *Collection Stathatos*, III, p.235, No.171, pl.36; *idem*, *Stathatos*, I, Strasbourg [1953], p.107, No.241, pl.41; CHITTENDEN, SELTMAN: *Greek Art*, p.44, No.294, pl.74.

his left hand the eagle, in his right the lightning. The interpretation satisfactorily explains the position of the arms, and also the whole majestic, kingly personality of the figure. . .¹² Much of the classic, Myronic or Pheidian, dignity of a great gilded bronze statue, perhaps one set up at Olympia, survives in this gold votive or funerary statuette.

THREE GOLD ROSETTES (Fig.49). These three rosettes are of an extremely delicate, floral type, with intricate wiring of their inner elements and thin petals. Support comes from the heavy oxidized silver stems which hold all their components together at the bottoms and which bend for attachment to a larger series of metallic decorations. A date for the three survivors of a major ensemble in the best classic Greek tradition is difficult to indicate with precision, but the rosettes must have been created between about 425 and 300 B.C.¹³

A British Museum acquisition of the past decade, a gold myrtle spray of about 425 B.C. from a tomb near Athens, the so-called 'Tomb of Aspasia' on the way from the Acropolis to the Piraeus, provides evidence that these rosettes may have been attached to a 'golden sheaf' of leaves, an agricultural phantasy of the goldsmith's trade. Rosettes such as these could have also been superimposed on the gold, silver, or gilded bronze leaves of a diadem, as can be suggested by an example in the Museo Nazionale at Tarentum, from the ancient city.¹⁴ Other such rosettes can be adduced as components in various forms of Greek jewellery, from crowns to bracelets to earrings, but few show the size and masterful naturalness of creation present in the three flowers illustrated here.

GOLD OLIVE WREATH AND HAIR ORNAMENT (Figs.51, 52). This wreath consists of thin, pointed olive leaves, which project from the round, hollow stem on small stalks. Small olives or berries are strung on fine wire which comes from the same hole as the stalks. A central vein has been impressed on each leaf, and the two halves of the stem are joined by a small Herakles knot at the top. With the wreath was found a thin, round sheet of beaten gold having a raised and indented central boss. This was probably a hair ornament designed to be braided into the hair where a skull cap would be worn. Since there are no holes for stitching to cloth, it seems less likely that so unusual an object covered a woman's breast, unless of course, it had been merely laid on a body in a tomb.¹⁵

A date of about 350 B.C. has been suggested by comparison with the wreath in the treasure of jewellery from near Sardis and now in the jewellery museum at Pforzheim in Germany. The two pieces illustrated here are also said to have been discovered years ago in western Asia Minor. Other comparable wreaths are not hard to locate in various public or private collections. An example wired in similar fashion was found on the head of a woman at Montefortino near Ancona, and the contents of a Hellenistic tumulus at Pilaftpe on the pass between Volo and Velesino show that three or four such wreaths could be placed with one burial, in this case evidently on the conical lid of the silver situla containing the ashes of the deceased. An elaborate, possible hair-net dated around 300 B.C. was part of a treasure unearthed at Tarentum, its crowning member being in the form of a medal-

lion with the head of Medusa, and at least one more massive man's gold openwork 'cap' has been excavated near Kerch (Panticapaeum in the Crimea) in a context that included a coin of Alexander.¹⁶

GOLD WREATH OF OAK-LEAVES AND ACORNS (Fig.50). The second wreath illustrated here belongs to the same general period, the fourth to early third centuries B.C., and appears to have been found with several just like it in the northern Greece of antiquity. The others were evidently less complete or consisted merely of oak-leaves, acorns and thin wires which had to be reconstructed on new tubing. The two tubular 'branches' or semi-circular sections of this wreath have been fastened at the front by a wire connecting the two looped ends. Both the veined oak-leaves and the half acorns are connected to these 'branches' by the wire stems, everything being made of gold.¹⁷

An example with acorns and larger, more baroque oak-leaves was found in one of the tombs at Tzagézi (Eion) at the mouth of the river Strymon near Amphipolis. Since some of the necklaces in this find were pieced together again arbitrarily, a parallel may thus exist for what evidently befell some of the other wreaths or parts of wreaths discovered with the complete crown shown here. The technique of fastening the acorns to the tubing also occurs in the construction of a famous olive crown once in the Nelidow collection and said to have been found in a tomb on Mytilene. A superb gold oak-wreath in the British Museum has a bee on the ribbon forming the hinge in the centre, larger clusters of leaves (inhabited by two cicadas), and was discovered in a tomb at the Dardanelles.¹⁸

GOLD EARRINGS TERMINATING IN BULLS' HEADS (Fig.53). A pair of gold earrings of the early Hellenistic period form precisely-modelled bulls' heads with eyes that were once inlaid with semi-precious stones or glass pastes. A ring at the throat acts as a catch. The earrings themselves comprise thin, parallel strands that grow wider and turn into stylized floral collars, a calyx, and two sets of bands framed by rope fillets. Hair on the foreheads and behind the ears is indicated by stippling.¹⁹

These earrings appear to have been found on Cyprus and are of a type that occurs from sites throughout the Greek East. A close parallel, termed early Hellenistic, was published in the Kofler-Truniger collection, Lucerne. These two earrings have pearl borders that are more emphasized and eyes that were not inlaid. The pair is also said to have been found on Cyprus

¹² A. FURTWÄNGLER: *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, edited by AL. N. OIKONOMIDES, Chicago [1964], pp.215-217, figs.90, 91.

¹³ Accession number 1970.387 a-c. Diameter: 0.035 m. John Wheelock Elliott Fund.

¹⁴ R. A. HIGGINS: 'Recent Acquisitions by the British Museum', *Journal of Hellenic Studies, Archaeological Reports for 1962-63*, p.52, fig.5; C. CARDUCCI: *Gold- und Silberschmuck aus dem antiken Italien*, Vienna and Munich [1962], p.34, pl.35a.

¹⁵ Accession number 67.88. Diameter of wreath: 0.16 m; of ornament: 0.094 m. Arthur Tracy Cabot Fund. From an old American collection formed by an author and lecturer on exotic lands.

¹⁶ Pforzheim treasure: B. SEGALL: *Zur Griechischen Goldschmiedekunst des Vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden [1966], pp.9, 30-33, pl.2. Montefortino wreath: G. BEGATTI: *Oreficerie antiche dalle Minoiche alle Barbariche*, Rome [1955], p.192, No.356, pl.90. Several wreaths together: C. D. EDMONDS: 'The Tumulus of Pilaf-Tepé', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 20 [1900], pp.20-24, pl.V. Hair-net and cap: HOFFMANN, DAVIDSON: *Greek Gold*, pp.266-270, No.124, pl.VII; AMANDRY, *American Journal of Archaeology* 71 [1967], p.205; P. JACOBSTHAL: *Greek Pins and their Connexions with Europe and Asia*, Oxford [1956], p.70.

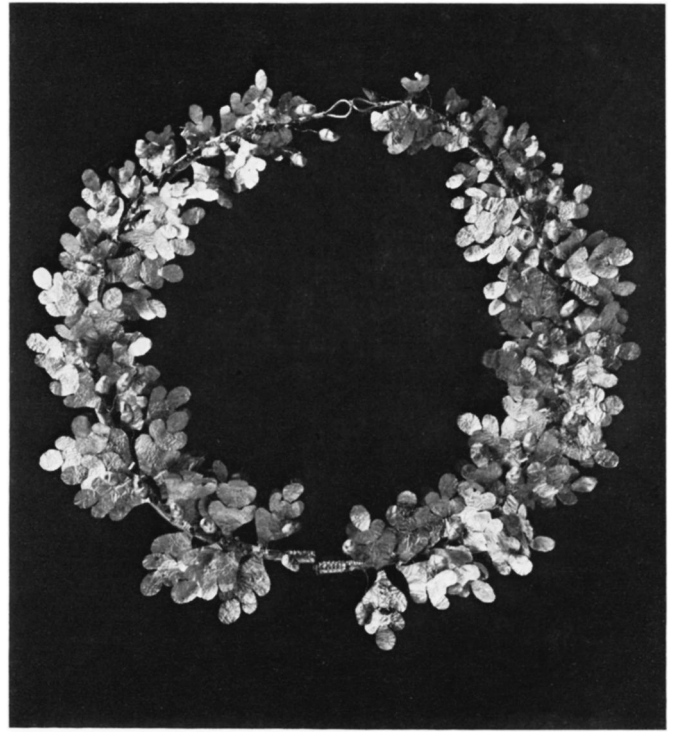
¹⁷ Accession number 69.1076. Diameter: 0.35 m. Centennial Gift of Landon T. Clay. *Centennial Acquisitions, Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 68 [1970], p.23, No.7; *Life Magazine* [13th February 1970], p.40, fig.; W. M. WHITEHILL: *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, A Centennial History*, Cambridge, Mass. [1970], II, pp.848-849, fig., with description of examination. Compare Sotheby Sale, 1st December 1969, pp.34-35, No.69.

¹⁸ Tzagézi wreath: AMANDRY: *Collection Stathatos*, III, pp.232-233, note 1, fig.139, also p.247, note 3. Mytilene wreath: L. POLLAK: *Klassisch-Antike Goldschmiedearbeiten im Besitze . . von Nelidow*, Leipzig [1903], p.1, No.1, pl.1. Dardanelles wreath: F. H. MARSHALL: *British Museum*, pp.174-175, No.1628, pl.28.

¹⁹ Accession number 69.1335 a-b. Diameter: 0.025 m. Gift of Paul E. Manheim. From the collection of His Excellency Polys Modinos, Strasbourg: *Trésors de Chypre*, Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Exhibition, *Catalogue* [1967], pp.67-68, No.64; Sotheby Sale, 17th March 1969, p.8, No.8.



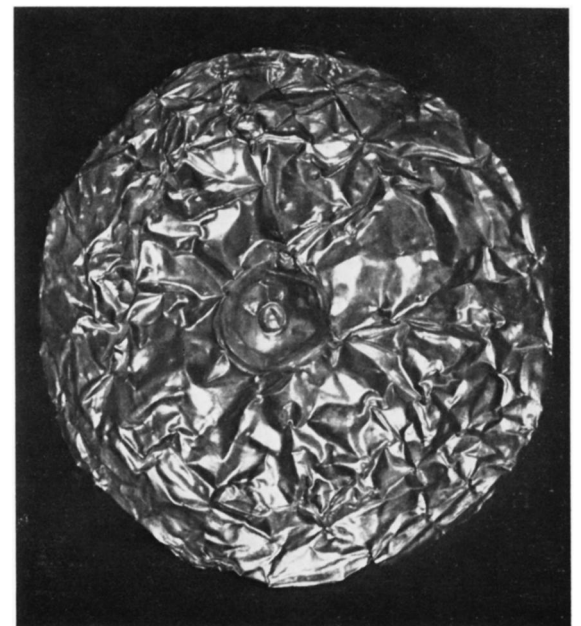
49. Three Gold Rosettes. Greek, fifth or fourth century B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



50. Gold Wreath of oak-leaves and acorns. Greek, fourth century B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



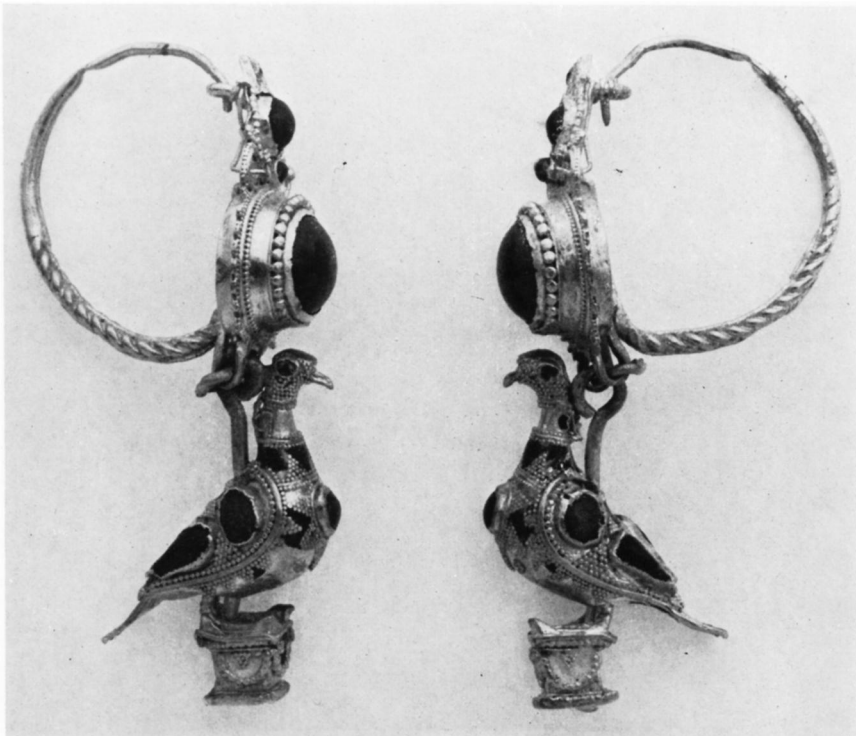
51. Gold Olive Wreath. Greek, c.350 B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



52. Gold Hair Ornament. Greek, c.350 B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



53. Gold Earrings terminating in Bulls' Heads. Greek, fourth to third century B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



54. Inlaid Gold Earrings, Doves on Altars. Greek, third century B.C. or later. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



55. Front view of the Earrings reproduced in Fig.54.

postulating a workshop or a taste for such things among the rich of the period of Demetrios Poliorcetes and Ptolemy the First, who conquered the island in 312 B.C. Bovine cults, allusions to the Zeus of Salamis and other, provincial divinities, have been shown to have been a prominent feature of Cypriote civilization in the Hellenistic age, and the great double bulls' head capital from Salamis is evidence that such artistic impulses could range from earrings such as these up to the monumental architecture of a civic or military hall.²⁰

INLAID GOLD EARRINGS, DOVES ON ALTARS (Figs. 54, 55). Earrings of this general form, the doves of Aphrodite on small altars or bases, are found frequently, in contexts that demonstrate the richness of Greek jewellery in the century from 300 to 200 B.C. This pair of dove earrings is unusual both as to large size and richness of decorative details. The birds are covered with granulation and inlaid with glass pastes in green and blue, also with garnets set in the wings, breast, and eyes. They are suspended from the circular earring proper by a gold pin which runs through the body of the bird into the garlanded altar with its tiny akroteria. The upper elements are enriched with large and small garnets, and other inlays which are now missing. When acquired these earrings were heavily encrusted, their present beauty being due to a skilful cleaning by Mr William J. Young in the Museum's Research Laboratory.²¹

An earring from the same atelier, now in the Stathatos collection in the National Museum at Athens, has double pigeons on a stylized East Greek altar. Sometimes doves of this nature can be thought of as harnessed or reined, to draw the heavenly chariot of Aphrodite, but the decoration of the pair of birds illustrated here seems thoroughly schematic, their static aspects in the cult of the goddess being reflected by their positioning on the detailed little Hellenistic altars. Dove earrings have been found in western Asia Minor, in Greece, and in a tomb complex near Canosa in Apulia, together with a host of rich vases, glass, and terra-cotta statuettes.²²

GOLD ARMLET, COILED SNAKE (Figs. 56, 57). Of a familiar type that can be dated in the third century B.C. or later, this armlet or bracelet in the form of a snake with scales shown near head and tail bears the name LYSAGORAS, in punched-out dots on the inside. Lysagoras was the name of a famous Archon of Athens about 508 B.C., of an infamous Parian of the Marathon period, and of a man from Miletos indicating that the owner of this object bore a name common enough over a wide area. The armlet was evidently made in two sections and repaired in antiquity with a rivet and clamp near the tail. It is said to have been found about 1938 at the ancient Greek site of Budva in Yugoslavia.²³

A pair of such armlets from Thessaly in the Stathatos collection bear the name Zoilas, and other examples have been found in Egypt. One of the most famous sets has plasma eyes and incision on the inside of the bodies; it comes from Pompeii, suggesting that such decorative creations were made, or at least treasured, into the first century of the Roman Empire. Occasionally, Graeco-Roman marble copies of early Hellenistic statues of Aphrodite are shown wearing such armlets, a notable instance being the crouching Aphrodite after Doidalsas from the Cook collection at Richmond and now in the J. Paul Getty Museum at Malibu, California.²⁴

GOLD PENDANT AND CHAIN (Fig. 58). The medallion, which was once perhaps made as the lid of a box or glass jar, and the heavy, woven chain may have been together in the Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman periods. They may have been assembled in this fashion in modern times, the ensemble having once belonged to the great Boston collector and benefactor of Oxford, Edward Perry Warren. Mrs J. Montgomery Sears purchased it in Paris from Jacob Hirsch on the advice of Warren's close friend Matthew Stewart Prichard, and Warren's niece Mabel (Mrs J. Gardner Bradley) presented it to the Museum in 1959. The medallion is of thin, hammered or punched gold without backing and presents a bust of Artemis in relief, her quiver visible over her right shoulder.²⁵

The type of the bust of Artemis is based on creations of the fourth century B.C. A similar medallion of Aphrodite and Eros in the British Museum comes from Egypt and has been dated to the Graeco-Roman period. Another repoussé disc of this general form, a helmeted bust of Athena, has been made the upper element of a large earring. It belongs with a treasure from Palaio-kastron (the site of Megalopolis) in Thessaly and has been dated variously in the third to first centuries B.C.²⁶

PAIR OF GOLD BRACTEATE MEDALLIONS, ITALIC GREEK (Figs. 59, 60). The first of these thin, hammered medallions presents a facing Gorgon's head, with protruding tongue all surrounded by a border of large dots. The second shows a female head facing slightly to the right, with locks of hair flying in all directions on a raised, circular background like a shield. The dots of the border are smaller, and there is a stylized wreath between them and the 'shield'.²⁷ Highly formal, decorative designs such as these are difficult to date, but comparative evidence suggests these bracteates, perhaps funerary offerings, were made in one of the Greek cities of central to southern Italy about 300 B.C.

A similar, although perhaps slightly more forceful, Gorgo in thin, hammered gold appears as the central element of an early Hellenistic gold diadem in the Museum's collections, one that has been variously termed South Italian or Etruscan under Greek influence since the same Gorgo appears on Etruscan silver coins. This diadem also has designs on the ends like the dotted borders of these bracteates. The Gorgo can be seen on

²⁰ See K. SCHEFOLD: *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst*, Basel [1960], pp. 314–315, No. 587; MARSHALL: *British Museum*, p. 196, No. 1812, excavated at Curium, Cyprus; twenty-six examples from tombs at Dali: L. P. DI CESNOLA: *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, III, New York [1903], pl. XV, Nos. 10 and 14 being from the same workshop as the Boston pair. Marble capital: V. KARAGEORGHIS, C. VERMEULE: *Sculptures from Salamis*, Volume II, Nicosia [1966], pp. 24–25, No. 90, pl. 19, and figs. 7–8.

²¹ Accession number 68.5a–b. Length: 0.052 m. Harriet Otis Cruft Fund. M. COMSTOCK, C. VERMEULE, *Apollo* [December 1969], p. 473, fig. 12.

²² CH. ROLLEY, P. AMANDRY: *Collection Stathatos*, III, p. 218, No. 155 bis, fig. 123; HOFFMANN, DAVIDSON: *Greek Gold*, pp. 188–191, No. 71, pl. 5; K. SCHEFOLD: *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst*, pp. 314–315, No. 593. Also A. OLIVER, Jr.: *The Reconstruction of Two Apulian Tomb Groups*, Bern [1968], pp. 19–20.

²³ Accession number 64.2172. Diameter: 0.075 m. William E. Nickerson Fund No. 2. H. HOFFMANN, *American Journal of Archaeology* 73 [1969], p. 447, and older references. Brought to Boston by a refugee from the Balkans, after the Second World War.

²⁴ AMANDRY: *Collection Stathatos*, p. 117, Nos. 256–257, pl. 46, fig. 70. Pair from Pompeii: L. BREGLIA: *Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, p. 86, Nos. 837–838, pl. 27, Nos. 3–4. Cook Aphrodite: R. LULLIES: *Die kauernde Aphrodite*, Munich-Pasing [1954], p. 12, No. 5, pl. 6.

²⁵ Accession number 59.310. Diameter: 0.046 m. Gift of Mrs J. Gardner Bradley (Mable Warren) in memory of Mrs J. Montgomery Sears.

²⁶ MARSHALL: *British Museum*, p. 342, No. 2883, pl. 68. H. HOFFMANN, P. DAVIDSON: *Greek Gold*, pp. 278, 285, fig. 135; also, for the latest on the Palaio-kastron treasure, H. HOFFMANN, V. VON CLAER: *Antiker Gold- und Silberschmuck*, Mainz [1968], p. 37, No. 26, with technical analysis of the alien components of this 'earring'.

²⁷ Accession numbers 65.617, 65.618. Diameters: 0.021 m., 0.024 m. Edward Jackson Holmes Collection. Mr. Holmes was Director of the Museum of Fine Arts from 1925 to 1934, President from 1934 until his death in 1950, and a Trustee from 1910. His forebears were early New England collectors.

Greek button-earrings of the fourth century B.C., the central elements of which could be produced in hammered gold, and the same general decorative experience forms part of a series of 'rosette' discs from a tomb-group of perhaps the second century B.C., excavated in the Neapolis suburb of Salonika.²⁸

The female head of the second bracteate would seem to be that of a goddess, perhaps the Persephone who appears on vases of the fourth century B.C. The design may come ultimately from Kimon's facing head of Arethusa on Sicilian silver coins near the end of the fifth century B.C. Ear-studs from the island of Rhodes about 400 B.C. or at least in the fourth century B.C., with a facing head of Helios similar to that of the local coins, provide a parallel for the numismatic inspiration of the design seen here. There are a number of large medallions of these two types, made into earrings or designed as brooches, in various collections, one spectacular example with facing head of the Pheidian Athena having been excavated at Kul Oba along the northern coast of the Black Sea. It can be seen in the Hermitage, Leningrad.²⁹

²⁸ Diadem: G. H. CHASE, C. C. VERMEULE: *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art, The Classical Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* [1963], p.188, fig.179. Button-earrings: B. SEGALL: *Zur Griechischen Goldschmiedekunst des Vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, p.44, pl.34. Neapolis, Salonika, find: M. S. F. HOOD, *Journal of Hellenic Studies, Archaeological Reports for 1958*, p.13, fig.15.

²⁹ Ear-studs from Rhodes: F. H. MARSHALL: *British Museum*, p.232, Nos.2068, 2069, pl.40, and other examples illustrated on this plate; R. A. HIGGINS: *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, pp.xxiii, 125, pl.31, A. Kul Oba and Berlin 'medallions': G. BECATTI: *Oreficerie antiche dalle Minoiche alle Barbariche*, p.201, Nos.460, 461, pl.130.

Letters

Dürer Portraits

SIR, In connection with the Dürer portraits of the emperors Charlemagne and Sigismund published by me, Dr Gerda Panofsky quoted a letter (see this *Journal*, March 1970) written by her late husband Erwin Panofsky to the New York art dealer Dr Hanns Schäffer on 6th April 1940. A photostat of this interesting document unfortunately only recently came into my hands, or I would have been happy to consider it closely in my publication.

Since my understanding of this letter and the conclusions I have arrived at regarding it differ widely from Gerda Panofsky's, and since it is an interesting contribution to Dürer research, I wish to submit the letter in its entirety to the readers of *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*.

Gerda Panofsky represents the letter as a quasi-final report, when she writes: 'Here Erwin Panofsky, a life-long friend of Schäffer's, examined the pictures closely and then put down his conclusions in a long letter to Dr Schäffer, dated 6th April 1940'.

With this affirmation Gerda Panofsky comes into conflict with her late husband who said: 'I have now to some extent looked up the literature about your emperor portraits . . .' and, at the end of the letter: 'I should therefore strongly advise you to have the *Sigismund* portrait – or both paintings X-rayed . . .'

From this wording it is quite clear that the letter does *not* present a final judgment after thorough investigation, but rather a mere loose notation of ideas and possibilities, such as occurred to Panofsky after looking up pertinent literary sources. The only completely clear statement in the letter is the mistaken identification of the paintings in Switzerland with the copies after them in Vienna, formerly Ambras. That the pictures from Ambras copy the *Swiss* paintings is made clear, among other reasons, by the fact that the crowns in the two sets of paintings agree with each other, while differing from the others in the

Nürnberg portraits.

The X-rays recommended by Panofsky were not made at that time, according to testimony of the former owners. Thus the questions raised by him have remained unanswered. Above all, Panofsky did not learn during the course of the several editions of his great Dürer work that instead of the postulated hidden fragments of coats of arms, the X-rays brought to light magnificent preliminary drawings, regarding which Prof. Dr Hanspeter Landolt, Ordinarius for art history at the University of Basle writes in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 5th August 1970, p.17:

'Today the authenticity theory defended by Friedländer, Musper and others may be taken as proven – not only because Friedländer's eye was undoubtedly superior to that of his more alert colleague and fellow exile Panofsky – but because new and valid arguments have been adduced. Above all, the photographs in infra-red light have revealed the preparatory drawing and made evident the great artistic difference between these paintings and a pair of unquestionable copies which now belong to the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum and came there from Schloss Ambras. The confrontation of the Nürnberg, the Zurich and the Vienna panels is striking.'

H. TH. MUSPER

The following is a translation from the German of Panofsky's letter to Schäffer, dated Princeton (N.J.) 6th April 1940: Dear Doctor Schäffer,

I have now to some extent looked up the literature about your emperor portraits and the conclusions resulting from this are that it cannot be doubted they are identical with the pieces from Ambras which are mentioned by Primisser (as well as by Heller in his monograph printed in 1827). These pieces must have come to Vienna in the latter part of the nineteenth century, where they were placed in the Depot of the Imperial picture gallery. Thausing already (in the 1870's) mentions them as being situated 'in the Ambras collection in *Vienna*'. The interesting part is this: The portrait of Sigismund is not only cited as being there in 1894 (by Kenner) but again as late as 1930, and this in such a manner as to leave no doubt about the identity: 'Of Dürer's emperor portrait [that is, the one of Sigismund] the former Ambras collection contained a partial copy dating from the time of Rudolf II . . . Now in the Depot of the picture gallery inventory No.4417, panel, 63 by 47 cm. Signed on the right with the Dürer monogram and the date 1514'. (*Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* NFF [1930], p.216).

This is the passage quoted in its entirety by Tietze under No.504 of his catalogue and which he was unable to remember. It explains why he mentions the picture of Sigismund only, and not that of Charlemagne. For Wilde, who speaks of the thing solely in connection with the portrait of Sigismund of about 1440, is naturally interested in Sigismund only as Sigismund and therefore cites only the one of the two pendants.

Thus the history of the paintings in the nineteenth century is made clear. The real problem is, what of their origin? The paintings, at least that of Sigismund, do not really look to me like 'copies from the time of Rudolf II'. An origin at least in the workshop of Dürer seems to me highly possible. Only the unfortunate bust form speaks *against* this assumption and *for* a later origin. There are no known examples of such partial repetitions in Dürer's environment and their emergence from it is therefore hard to imagine, while it is quite possible that Dürer himself might have repeated the entire compositions, as he did in the case of Maximilian's portrait, in order to sell the replicas to the Habsburgs.

I should therefore strongly advise you to have the *Sigismund* portrait – or both paintings X-rayed, especially one of the corners above the head. For, if my theory of the pictures, having been cut



56. Gold Armlet, coiled Snake. Greek, third to second century B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



57. Another view of the Armlet reproduced in Fig.56.



58. Gold Pendant and Chain. Greek, Hellenistic Period. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



59. Gold Bracteate Medallion. Italic Greek, fourth century B.C. or later. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



60. Gold Bracteate Medallion. Italic Greek, fourth century B.C. or later. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

Greek and Roman Sculptures in Boston

Author(s): Cornelius C. Vermeule, III

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of succeeding designs, it is earlier than the Burlington-Devonshire design. Otherwise it differs only in minor decorative details, such as a flat instead of pulvinated frieze, the reversal in the order of segmental and triangular pediments, and the balustrades rendered as slightly projecting aprons.

The designs by Palladio for the façade of San Petronio in Bologna have long been known, since 1786 when Bertotti Scamozzi published three of them from the Museo di San Petronio,¹⁸ and 1933 when Guido Zucchini published a picture book of all the architectural projects for the façade.¹⁹ More recently, Wladimir Timofiewitsch discussed the chronological order of Palladio's projects,²⁰ and James Ackerman published an important additional fourth project from Phyllis Lambert's collection in Chicago.²¹ Ackerman's discovery (Fig.41) was important because here was the first visual proof of Palladio's only portico project extensively documented in correspondence and first mentioned in January 1578. The design, however, was missing from the San Petronio archives.

Palladio had been concerned with the façade problem since 1572 when in co-operation with the Bolognese architect, Francesco Terribilia, he produced a scheme with three floors of superimposed orders and a great deal of mannerist façade decoration. The two other projects were designed in 1578 and they follow this basic pattern of superimposed orders. By January 1579, however, the idea of a portico was obviously dear to Palladio's heart, and on 27th January he sent the design to Bologna under cover of a marvellously descriptive letter. Ackerman has shown how all the conditions mentioned in the letter can be matched to the Lambert drawing – a half elevation – and he was able to reconstruct the plan of the portico. Although there was not the slightest doubt that here was Palladio's lost project, Ackerman rightly criticized certain blurrings of design principles, and some errors in drafting. He concluded that the design, although perfectly legitimate, was probably by one of Palladio's assistants. The project could be called the Pantheon one, for not only was the Pantheon obliquely alluded to in Palladio's letter, but the gigantic eight column portico and the relationship of its pediment to the upper pediment of the nave behind, are clearly derivative from that Roman monument.²² In the Lambert design the upper part of the façade, necessary because of the great height of the gothic nave, is treated as a temple front and unlike the superimposed façade projects, sits in a somewhat incongruous relationship to the portico below.

There are no incongruities in the splendid Worcester design (Fig.42),²³ also a half elevation. As in the Pantheon the great bare pediment of the portico is simply related to the pediment above and behind. We may never know how Palladio intended to join his upper pediment to the gothic front of the nave, unless he intended a masking of the front with an immensely tall façade. Indeed his portico in this Worcester design is much taller in relationship to the pediment behind than the Lambert one. The Worcester project is probably earlier, for it does not

fulfil the conditions in the letter. It can be grouped with Palladio's two other portico projects of this time, indeed year; the church at Maser with a four column portico, and the church of San Nicola Tolentino with a six column porch-portico that seems to have been based upon Palladio's reconstructions of the Roman Theatre at Verona.²⁴ At about the same time Palladio proposed a portico for San Giorgio in Venice, designed with a façade in 1565, but not, in fact, completed with that façade until 1597.²⁵

²⁴ Burlington-Devonshire, Palladio, IX/4.

²⁵ W. TIMOFIEWITSCH: 'Eine Zeichnung Andrea Palladios für die Klosteranlage von S. Giorgio Maggiore', *Arte Veneta*, XVI [1962], pp.160–3.

Recent Museum Acquisitions

Greek and Roman Sculptures in Boston

BY CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III

THE fourteen works of sculpture in marble, limestone, bronze, and clay presented here were all acquired, mostly as gifts, in connection with the 100th anniversary celebrations of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.¹ They embrace all major epochs of Greek and Roman art from the Archaic Period through to the beginnings of the Late Antique in the third century of the Christian era. In addition, the art of the Cycladic islands of Greece in the early Bronze Age is represented by one so-called idol, a figure of monumental proportions. The regional diversity of these sculptures is noteworthy, including an excellent example of Tarentine art in the fourth century B.C., a large limestone architectural tondo from Graeco-Roman Egypt, an Attic sarcophagus of at least the late second century A.D., and a triad of unusual votive reliefs of the imperial period from southwest Asia Minor. As a group these sculptures provide an insight into the best of ancient art that collectors can acquire in the 1970's. As gifts to an institution already rich in the visual arts of Greece and Rome, they demonstrate that collections however large and diverse can always be developed by selective additions which broaden our understanding of ancient civilization in all its aspects.

Cycladic Figure of a Woman (Fig.46). This is a classic example of the best, so-called Cycladic sculpture from the central Aegean in the third millennium B.C.² A photograph can hardly do justice to the carving, for this figure is larger than nearly every other complete idol that has survived from antiquity and has a rich, yellow patina made up of incrustation tempered by areas of surface pitting. The statue was broken in antiquity, evenly through the neck and just below the knees. This suggests that, after use in some form of funerary ceremony, the image was deliberately separated into three sections for placement in a rectangular, rock-cut tomb which otherwise would have been too small for this extraordinary sculpture.

¹⁸ O. B. SCAMOZZI: *Le fabbriche e i disegni di A.P.*, Vicenza [1786], IV, pp.24 ff, and pls.18–20.

¹⁹ GUIDO ZUCCHINI: *Disegni Antichi e Moderni per la facciata di San Petronio di Bologna*, Bologna [1933].

²⁰ WLADIMIR TIMOFIEWITSCH: 'Fassadentwürfe A.P.'s für San Petronio in Bologna', *Arte Veneta*, XVI [1962], pp.82–97.

²¹ JAMES S. ACKERMAN: 'Palladio's Lost Portico Project for San Petronio in Bologna', *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. D. Fraser, H. Hibbard, M. Lewine [1967], pp.110–115. For the background to the history of the projects I am indebted to Professor Ackerman's article.

²² Palladio published the Pantheon in his *Quattro Libri*, lib. 4, 77.

²³ Worcester College, H.T.68 (old No. I/47H) in the supplementary series.

¹ In addition to the donors, several of whom have provided previous histories for these works of art, I would like to thank Herbert Cahn, Mary Comstock, Jerome Eisenberg, André Emmerich, Geraldine Gilligan, Robert Hecht, Patricia Preziosi, Eberhard Slenczka, Penelope Truitt, Emily Vermeule, and William Young for help with this article. The author's Guggenheim Fellowship for 1969 afforded time and chance to collect information on the monuments of East Greek and Greek imperial popular art included in these pages.

² Accession number 67.758. Height: 1.11 m. Gift of Miss Alice Tully and Centennial Purchase Fund. *Centennial Acquisitions, Art Treasures for Tomorrow*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [4th February 1970], p.14 f., No.1.

Cycladic figures of this type are always exhibited standing up, in modern museums and on collectors' tables.³ Harpers that sit and flutists that stand were clearly designed to be viewed vertically, but a woman like the one shown here, with toes pointed down, clearly could have never stood without a complex support like the one now attached to the back. Perhaps these images were conceived in their series of flat planes and horizontal angles (when viewed from the side) to lie on a ceremonial table or bier at a wake, so to speak, and were then later broken apart for placement in a small tomb. In this respect, it would be daring of some museum director or private collector to exhibit his complete, unbroken idols stretched out on a sheet of glass rather than propped up with tubing.

Relief Pithos Fragment (Fig.43). This monumental section of a giant vase includes much of the neck, a section of the rim, and the beginning of the shoulder.⁴ The surviving decoration is in a metope-like arrangement featuring a stamped pattern of heraldic horses. Each pair of beasts have their inside hoofs on a central altar which is decorated with a double cable, perhaps representing two sacred snakes. The fragment preserves most of three sections. There must have once been twelve panels. Part of a fourth survives at the left, with the remains of a figure or scene seemingly different from the pairs of horses with near front hoofs and knees touching. The clay is the usual gritty-reddish-orange of these large storage vessels. If there ever were traces of added paint, they have long since vanished.

This jar was probably made about 625 B.C. on one of the Cycladic islands such as Thera or on Crete just to the south, where Greeks of the pre-Archaic to Dedalic periods hit upon the happy notion of stamping these otherwise dull containers with figured scenes, including some of the first sculptural narrations of Homeric or Cretan-Athenian mythology. The design of horses' heads and necks or additional portions of the beast in heraldic display, such as this fragment provides, can be traced from Sub-Geometric painting in the Cyclades, through bronze armour found on Crete, to Corinthian and Attic vase-painting of the generation from 560 to 530 B.C.⁵

East Greek Kouros (Figs.44, 45). Unfinished and therefore enigmatic in form and surfaces as well as in expression, this head in

marble from western Asia Minor appears to have been part of a high relief.⁶ Such a monument must have been on a grand, architectural scale, perhaps the lower section of a column or the altar of a temple. The face and hair were left as completed, with a fine claw chisel, possibly at the time of the Ionian Revolt or subsequent conflicts along the Aegean coast, that is the disturbances leading up to the Persian defeats at Marathon in 490 and, ultimately, Salamis in 480. The youth, therefore, must have been carved about 510 to 490.

Attic kouroi of 540 to 510 B.C. can be well studied in New York, Boston, Cleveland, and Kansas City, but there has never been, until this example, an East Greek kouros or major part thereof in the western hemisphere, larger than small bronzes. Those who dedicate so much time and thought to Greece in the East, at Sardis for instance, should find this round, oriental yet schematic face a revelation of the late Archaic to early Classical tradition as developed in the Greek areas on the edge of the luxurious Persian empire. The complete figure was presumably draped, like those seen in such abundance from the excavations of the Heraion on the island of Samos. If this head did come from a large column drum, the building in question could have been at Didyma or Miletos, where late Archaic monuments to Apollo were left unfinished.⁷

Tarentine Mirror with Handle (Figs.48, 49). This manifestation of South Italian Greek metalwork at its classical best was created about 325 B.C.⁸ Found many years ago in the sea near Tarentum itself, the polished surface of the disc is heavily encrusted, while all elements are covered with a pleasing, light green patina. Sections of the figured surface have been filled in with wax.

The reverse of the disc has a series of concentric mouldings culminating in a point at the centre. The attachment at the upper back of the handle takes the form of a tall palmette with volutes. The openwork scene on the front of the handle, below the ovolo and tongue mouldings and between the flaring acanthus, is set on wavy ground above the Ionic capital. Achilles, wearing helmet, cloak, and his shield over his shoulder, has dragged the panic-stricken young Troilos by the hair from his horse and is about to stab him with a short sword. The youth's cloak trails on the ground beneath his body, and the horse is about to gallop away, reins flying free.

The pose of the figures and the pathetic gesture of Troilos are derived from older Greek paintings and sculptures, notably the scenes of combat between Greeks and Amazons on the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Bassae. From South Italian Greek metalwork, such as this mirror handle, the composition passed into late Etruscan or native Italian art to the northwest, where variations on the theme were popular in a number of decorative works.⁹

³ On the provenance and condition of Cycladic sculptures such as this, see the remarks by E. VERMEULE, *Classical Journal* [March 1970], p.240, in a review of CH. DOUMAS: *The N. P. Goulandris Collection of Early Cycladic Art*, Athens [1968]. Large-sized idol with similar head, position of the arms left over right: H. A. CAHN: *Early Art in Greece, The Cycladic, Minoan, Mycenaean, and Geometric Periods 3000-700 B.C., An exhibition organized in cooperation with Dr Herbert A. Cahn, Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basel (Basle), Switzerland* [7th May to 11th June, 1965], Andre Emmerich Gallery Inc., New York, p.8, No.11 (height 0.76 m., with legs below knees missing). Compared to CH. ZERVOS: *L'Art des Cyclades*, Paris [1957], p.222, figs.300 f., in Athens, from Amorgos. ZERVOS, p.219, p.221, figs.297, 299 is 1.485 m. high; it is inarticulate, with a long body, thin arms, and straightish legs.

⁴ Accession number 1970.231. Height (max.): 0.28 m. Width (max.): 0.52 m. Gift of Miss Jeanette Brun.

⁵ See K. SCHEFOLD: *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder*, Munich [1964], figs.12-25, the examples with early myths. Finds since 1960: M. ERVIN: 'A Relief Pithos from Mykonos', *Archaiologikon Deltion* 18 [1963], pp.37-75, chronology pp.72-74. Parallels or earlier developments in Sub-Geometric painting include Cycladic amphorae of 700 to 650 B.C. from Thera, Naxos, and the Delos area; the Heraldic Group has panels containing the head and neck of a horse: R. M. COOK: *Greek Painted Pottery*, London [1960], pp.109-111, especially p.110, fig.15. Compare also the horse protomes of a bronze abdominal shield, from Afrati on Crete, dated shortly before 600 B.C.: D. G. MITTEN, S. F. DOERING: *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, Cambridge (Mass.) [1967], pp.45 ff., Nos.29-32, esp. p.49, No.31, pl.2. Attic black-figured vases with double horse protomes: *Classical Journal* 64 [1968], pp.57-58. Corinthian plate about 560 B.C., Munich No.6449 (the cover design of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE): (D. OHLY) *Die Antikensammlungen am Königsplatz in München*, pl.14.

⁶ Accession number 1970.239. Height (max.): 0.279 m. Diameter: 0.145 m. Gift of Paul E. Manheim. Jerome M. Eisenberg Collection. From Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Auktion 34 [6th May 1967], p.12, No.17, pl.6, 3 illustrations, with discussion.

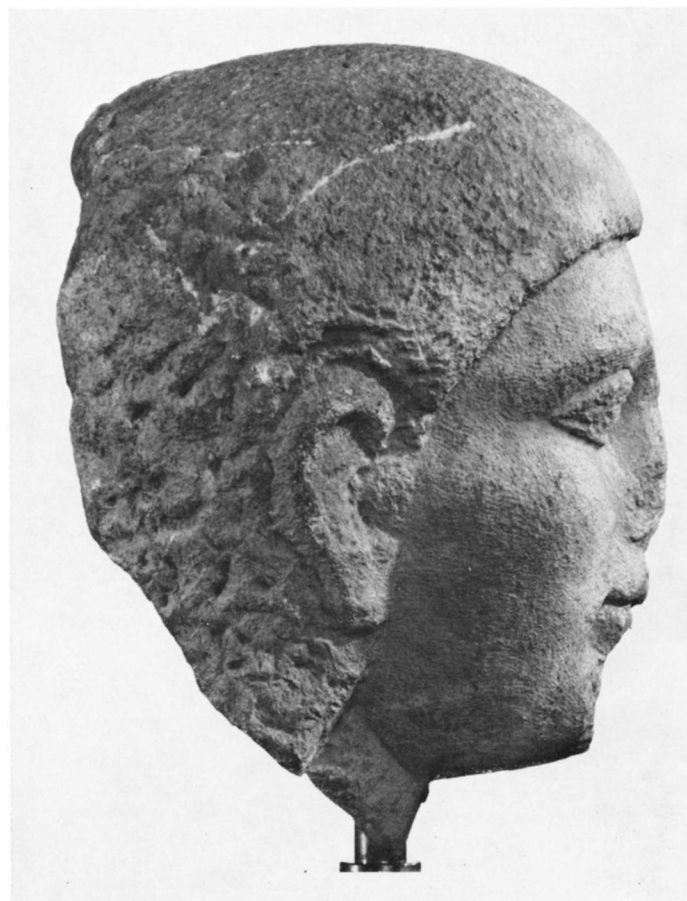
⁷ Achilles and Troilos in earlier Greek art, in connection with an Attic black-figured amphora of about 530 B.C. in Boston, Accession number 1970.8: Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Auktion 40 [13th December 1969], p.39, No.68, pl.21.



43. Section of Relief Pithos. c.625 B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



44. East Greek Kouros. c.510–490 B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



45. Another view of the head reproduced in Fig. 44.



46. Cycladic Statue. Third millennium B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



47. Tondo: *Athlete crowning himself*. A.D. 117-38 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



48. Tarentine Mirror: *Achilles and Troilos*. c. 325 B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



49. Another view of the Mirror reproduced in Fig. 48.

Commemorative or Funerary Tondo, An Athlete With Wreath and Palm (Fig.47). This unusual presentation of the athletic human figure in sculpture is an *imago clypeata* or shield used to display the head, shoulders, and, in this instance, much of the body of a heroized person.¹⁰ A young man of the Hadrianic period (A.D. 117 to 138), with a decidedly ideal face, holds a large palm in his left hand, the right having been raised to touch the wreath on his head. There are two ribbons, partly roughed out and partly in red paint, hanging from the palm on the upper background. The tenon at the bottom was for insertion into a rectangular base, and the area of similar shape in relief just below the tondo's inner rim may have had a metal plaque fixed over it, perhaps one bearing an inscription.

It has been suggested, from the size and form of the palm, that the young man was a charioteer, although nothing of his costume is shown. The youth is conceived in the tradition of the so-called Westmacott Athlete and other bronzes of the later years of Polykleitos, about 430 B.C. A marble athlete crowning himself, now in the Museo Barracco in Rome, shows the Polykleitan motif as a Graeco-Roman copy that could lead to this monumental tondo. The design was perpetuated not only in Graeco-Roman marbles but on 'Campana' terra-cotta plaques or even on Greek imperial coins from Asia Minor and in the high-relief figure on the large marble capital of the late third century A.D. in the Giardino della Pigna of the Vatican Museums.¹¹

Tondo with Canopic Image (Fig.54). To the late Hadrianic or early Antonine periods of the Roman Empire in Egypt belongs a large limestone architectural relief in the form of the Canopic Osiris or Sarapis.¹² The sacred jar and its anthropoid lid have been placed on a wreath, this in turn on an altar or cippus, all within and above a circular frame. The head of the unusual divinity bears features seen in Romano-Egyptian decorative, architectural statues of Hadrian's favourite Antinous found at Canopus in Egypt, in the Villa Adriana near Tivoli, and on the estates of Herodes Atticus in Attica. The jar is enriched with birds on an altar and figures of Harpocrates amid the foliage on either side. The ensemble was found near Mallawi, a relatively modern town between Thebes and Cairo, on the west bank of the Nile, at a point triangulated with Deir-el-Bersha and El-'Amarna. The building must have been a shrine or a large tomb. Antinoupolis, the city named in honour of Antinous, was not far away.

The design was popular as a reverse on Greek imperial coins of Alexandria, from the time of Domitian (81 to 96) through Marcus Aurelius (161 to 180). Such precise indications of sculptured decoration on the jar of the image suggest that a popular cult statue was the source for all these appearances, on coins or in monumental relief. There are also images of the Canopic Osiris or Sarapis as freestanding figures, one being from Aboukir and another from Canopus itself. The former is even set on a base with a crown between it and the bulbous body.¹³

Relief to the God Men (Fig.50). Found years ago near Lake Burdur (Askania) in southwest Phrygia, near the Pisidian border, this vigorous interpretation of the young moon-god of classical Asia Minor must be dated in the second century A.D., probably around 150. The scene in its panel on the front has been carved from a reused or unfinished architectural element, for there is a splendid set of curved and rectangular mouldings on the lower reverse of the carefully-finished slab.¹⁴ The god wears his characteristic 'Phrygian' cap and traveller's costume. A crescent appears over his shoulders, a pinecone in his right hand, and the head of a bull or cow beneath the horse's raised left front hoof.

Men was the most popular of the several rider-gods of Asia Minor, divinities that were the young and old counterparts to or companions of Cybele or some similar, regional or local form of a maternal goddess. He appears on a number of coins struck by cities of western and southwestern Asia Minor in the second and early third centuries of the Christian era. Some bronzes that show him standing with these same attributes (the bovine head under his own foot) are works of good quality, but most reliefs in which his image appears are visual works of little more than rustic significance.¹⁵ The relief shown here has long been recognized as among Men's best appearances in Greek and Roman art.

Votive Relief to the Carian God (Fig.56). The carving and the forms of the letters suggest a date early in the third century A.D.¹⁶ A young horseman, older than the almost childlike Men of the previous relief, carries a double-axe over his left shoulder and proceeds towards a polos-crowned goddess. This form of the mother goddess Cybele is seated on a throne with elaborate legs. She feeds a snake with a phiale in her right hand, while her left arm rests on a tympanum or tambourine. The inscription on the frame below this stiffly-posed pair reads, 'Glykonianos the son of Lysanios dedicated this to the Carian god.'

The local style of reliefs such as this, whether carved in Caria or the nearby parts of Phrygia and Pisidia, is based on models of the fourth century B.C., going back to the artists of the time of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. The rider-god is again probably a form of Men, a variant that can be called Sozon and has been connected with the classical Apollo. Apollo (Sozon) in this aspect, without the crescent and bull's head of Men proper, was worshipped in western Phrygia and the regions to the south. Cybele was always popular as a reverse type on imperial coins of Asia Minor, as patroness of cities in Phrygia and elsewhere. The 'Carian god' could also be Zeus, whose images were scattered widely about the southwest provinces of the Roman Empire in a variety of media, from large marble statues to small bronzes and terra-cottas.¹⁷

Votive Reliefs to Apollo Sozon (Figs.51, 52). These two reliefs were evidently found together and were probably carved and dedi-

¹⁰ Accession number 67.948. Height: 0.795 m. From the Tarsus area (Pompeiiopolis?). Gift of Charles S. Lipson. *Centennial Acquisitions*, p.24 f., No.8; R. WINKES: *Clypeata Imago, Studien zu einer römischen Bildnisform*, Diss. R. Habelt Verlag, Bonn [1969], p.144 f., pl.1.

¹¹ See C. VERMEULE: 'Herakles Crowning Himself. New Greek Statuary Types and Their Place in Hellenistic and Roman Art', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77 [1957], pp.283-292, especially figs.3 f. (Herakles in Oxford), fig.5 (Barracco athlete). Vatican capital: F. CASTAGNOLI, *Bollettino Comunale* 71 [1943-45], pp.1 ff.

¹² Accession number 1970.243. Diameter (max.): 0.98 m. Gift of Paul E. Manheim.

¹³ Coins: G. DATTARI: *Nomi Aug. Alexandrini*, Cairo [1901], pl.XI, Nos.472-3623. Statues: EV. BRECCIA: *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, I, 1, 'Le rovine e i monumenti di Canopo', Bergamo [1926], p.63, No.32, pl.29, Nos.6, 8.

¹⁴ Accession number 69.1223. Height: 0.327 m. Width: 0.374 m. Samuel Putnam Avery Fund. E. LANE: 'A Re-Study of the God Men', *Berytus* 15 [1964], p.45, No.13. This and its supplement, *Berytus* 17 [1967-68], pp.13-47, are the fullest recent studies of Men from the literary, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence. Numerous inscribed parallels are quoted, e.g. p.22, No.1 in section C (of the basic article), after L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 3 [1946], pl.111 A.

¹⁵ For the artistic aspects of Men in Anatolia: C. VERMEULE: 'An Equestrian Statue of Zeus', *Bulletin MFA* 56 [1958], pp.69-76; also the bronze statue in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge (Mass.): 1964.126; Fogg Art Museum, *Acquisitions* 1964, p.69; U. HIESINGER, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 71 [1966], pp.303-310, dated about 220 to 240.

¹⁶ Accession number 1970.234. Height: 0.356 m. Width: 0.413 m. Anonymous Gift. From the Sotheby Sale, London [1st July 1960], p.59, lot 113, with plate.

¹⁷ For the relation of such statues, the Cybele copied in this relief for example, to Carian cult images, see the marble head, the bronzes, and terra-cottas adduced in *Classical Journal* 63 [1967], pp.58-60, in connection with the Carian Zeus (of Mylasa and elsewhere).

cated at the same time, in the third century A.D. Each was the work of a separate sculptor.¹⁸ The Phrygian rider-god Sozon wears his travelling costume and holds his double-axe over his right shoulder. The frame of the stele takes the form of an arcuated baldacchino above and a groundline below. Floral akroteria complete the decoration in each case, although the second rider, on the awkward little horse with a pig-snout, appears to move through a rocky landscape. The inscriptions of these Anatolian expressions of Graeco-Roman folk-art record two vows to Apollo, the first dedication by Atimetos son of Heraklidos and the second by one Eutykhios. It is easy to see whence developed forms of Late Antique and Byzantine official narrative art, when these two reliefs are taken as typical of a widespread creativity in the western and southwestern provinces of Asia Minor.

There are many visual and epigraphic parallels for these two Anatolian provincial monuments. A rider-god from a village named Süpü Ören between Dorylaeum and Nacoleia, and others from the Tembris estates region also in Phrygia, are accompanied by appropriate dedications to Apollo. This is the Phrygian deity Men-Sozon-Sabazios, who appears on coins of Eumeneia (Isheki) in Phrygia, also on horseback and with his double-axe. As Apollo Propylaios he is likewise a patron god of Cremna not far away in Pisidia, as large bronze coins of Septimius Severus (193 to 211) indicate. They are special, medallion pieces of that Roman colony which has been such a rich source of antiquities over the years.¹⁹

Fragments of an Attic Sarcophagus (Figs. 53, 55). This important monument in Greek marble, perhaps from the islands rather than Attica, was found in Rome where the mutilated central section was sawed out and, tragically, discarded, something one usually associates with the Dark Ages, barbaric peoples, or the restorer Cavaceppi in the eighteenth century.²⁰ The very high relief, the forceful modelling, and the powerful movement of the figures in the best traditions of the fourth century B.C. make what remains a splendid example of Greek sculpture in the Antonine baroque or its Severan continuation into the third century A.D. Attic mythological sarcophagi at their biggest and best have always been truer works of sculpture, much less copy-book monuments of literary pictorialism, than their counterparts fashioned in Italy, and this tantalizing brace of fragments represents this later classical phase of Greek funerary carving in its finest form.

The scene represented is possibly the Rape of the Daughters of Leukippos by the Dioskouroi, Kastor and Pollux. The harnessed horses drew one or both of the Dioskouroi's chariots. The central torso could be either Kastor or Pollux, while the figure wearing a petasos or traveller's hat (rather than a pilos or conical, cloth helmet-liner) at the right may be the second Dioskourous or, more likely, an attendant standing just beyond, that is in front of the centre of the action. The outflung hand behind the central figure and the horse's head to the right should certainly belong to a maiden in distress.

If this is not an unusual, Attic sculptural version of the Rape of the Leukippides, then the scene could be the Rape of Per-

sphone, in which a chariot and violent gestures were also necessary parts of the composition. The standing man at the right in petasos and cloak could then be Hermes, preparing to lead the chariot of Hades toward the underworld. It has also been suggested, with perhaps the most probability of all, that the subject could be an unusual version of Meleager's hunt of the Calydonian boar, a myth found on a number of Attic sarcophagi. The headless man with the cloak could be Meleager himself, jabbing downwards with his spear, and the hand at the corner of the major fragment could belong to Atalanta, the cave with the boar being in the section cut away. The man in his petasos and cloak at the right might thus also be reaching back with his right arm and balancing with his left to hurl his spear at the unfortunate animal.²¹

Table-Support: Dionysos with Panther (Fig. 57). This support, with its plinth and rectangular back pillar, has been enriched with figures of a young Dionysos and his panther, the latter placing a forepaw on the sacred cista or basket.²² The god wears a crown of grape-leaves and the skin of a fawn. His lowered right hand doubtless once held a kantharos or drinking-cup, and the raised left may have grasped his thyrsos or pinecone-topped staff. The soft forms and hipshot pose of the youthful divinity are based on statues created in the fourth century B.C., humanistic and technical concepts generally associated with Praxiteles working in Athens, the Peloponnesus, and for central Greece or western Asia Minor. Drilling of the eyes with two holes each to form rough crescents, as well as other details, suggest this combination of function and decoration was carved between A.D. 150 and the second quarter of the third century.

There is a considerable debate as to how and where these supports were used. They were certainly placed in tombs, beneath altar-tables or as consoles flanking the entrances. They were also used to support tables or as decorative elements in themselves in houses or attached gardens during the Roman imperial period. Dionysos is found more than once in the repertory of subjects, as would be natural in view of the many Dionysiac cults in the centuries during the spread of Christianity, and in the later decades of pre-Byzantine classical civilization pagan themes of suffering, such as the flayed Marsyas, were set side by side with figures from the new, triumphant religion, notably the Good Shepherd. One of the most complex presentations in this class of sculpture was the carrying-off of Ganymede by Zeus in the guise of an eagle, symbolic of the flight of the soul into the lands of eternity.²³

Tyche-Fortuna of an Imperial City (Fig. 58). The goddess wears a polos-crown and holds a sheaf of grain in her lowered left hand. The right arm, missing from the shoulder, was also lowered.²⁴

²¹ Leukippides: Roman versions of the subject have distressed maidens, helmeted soldiers, and no sets of horses and chariots: G. A. MANSUELLI: *Galleria degli Uffizi, Le Sculture*, I, Rome [1958], p. 234 f., No. 252; J. M. C. TOYNBEE: *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge [1934], pl. 40, No. 4 (Vatican); K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN: *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, Baltimore [1942], figs. 11, 14, 15, especially the last two for the positions of the horses' heads (on the ends). Meleager: Eleusis sarcophagus and parallels: A. GIULIANO, *Annuario* 33-34 [1955-1956], pp. 183-205; G. DALTRÖP: *Die Kalydonische Jagd in der Antike*, Hamburg [1966], especially pls. 28 f.

²² Accession number 1970.241. Height: 0.80 m. Gift of Paul E. Manheim. J. M. EISENBERG: *Art of the Ancient World*, I, New York [1965], p. 20, No. 37, plate. The kantharos in the right hand touched the nose of the panther; the left arm was attached with iron pins.

²³ See generally, K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, *Roemische Mitteilungen* 38-39 [1923-24], p. 271 ff.; also *American Journal of Archaeology* 63 [1959], p. 152, pl. 35, fig. 7. Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., Auction Sale, *Antiquities*, New York [24th and 25th April 1970], p. 106, No. 217, illustrates a Dionysos after a later classical prototype and mentions a similar funerary trapezophoros in the Greek royal collection.

²⁴ Accession number 1970.242. Height: 0.81 m. Gift of Paul E. Manheim.

¹⁸ Accession number 69.1255. Height: 0.243 m. 69.1256. Height: 0.336 m. Gifts of Mathias Komor.

¹⁹ See *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* 5 [1937], p. 76, No. 163, pl. 41; also p. 73, No. 153, pl. 40. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER: *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, Vienna [1901], I, p. 229, No. 4, pl. VII, No. 22 and discussion. M. N. TOD, after A. J. B. WACE: 'Inscriptions from Eumeneia', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 11 [1904-05], pp. 27-31.

²⁰ Accession number 1970.267A, B. Height (major section): 0.41 m. Width: 0.46 m. Height (smaller section): 0.40 m. Width: 0.24 m. Charles Amos Cummings Fund.



50. Relief to the God Men. Second century A.D. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



51. Votive Relief to Apollo Sozon. Third century A.D. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



52. Votive Relief to Apollo Sozon. Third century A.D. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



53. Attic Sarcophagus: *Mythological Scene (?Rape of the Leukippides)*. Third century A.D. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



54. Tondo with Canopus (Canopic Osiris-Sarapis). Late Hadrianic or early Antonine period. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



55. Figure from Attic-Roman Sarcophagus reproduced in Fig. 53.

This arm and hand, and the attribute on the plinth, were made separately and attached with iron pins, or else they were broken away and replaced in antiquity. The right hand presumably held the tiller, leading to the conventional rudder or orb of the Roman Fortuna.

The body forms of this votive or commemorative statue go back to Praxitelean draped figures in the fourth century B.C. The attribute in the left hand replaces the usual cornucopiae and suggests this statue represents a city rich in agricultural products, like the upland cities of Anatolia. Otherwise, this is an excellent example, of better-than-average quality, of a form of image popular throughout the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire in the second and third centuries A.D., continuing to be an accepted standard of civic decoration long after the pagan divinities had been overthrown. In Rome itself, an entire chapel to Tyche-Fortuna was found about 1885 near San Martino ai Monti, the cornucopiae-bearing image being in the principal niche at the back of the cella and smaller statues or busts in the niches on either side.²⁵

Lady of A.D. 230 to 240 (Figs.60, 61). This young Roman matron with full cheeks or cheek bones and oval face wears her hair waved around her forehead and caught up into a tightly coiled braid or braids behind, above the nape of her neck.²⁶ The views of this hair-style in profile resemble a Roman helmet of the later Empire, and, with modifications, this 'helmet-style' continued well into the Constantinian period. The manner of doing the braids on the head just above the neck developed out of the fashion of a large, flat bun behind, affected by Severan ladies of the time of the Empress Julia Domna, that is in the generation from 205 to 225. The lady shown here was a contemporary of the later empresses of the Severan dynasty, Orbiana wife of Severus Alexander (222 to 235) and his mother Julia Mamaea. It would seem that this head, with its almost brooding, introspective glance sideways and up, belonged to a statue, probably one of the usual standing, fully-draped figures set up in public places of cities throughout the Empire where Romans lived.²⁷

The years from 210 to 240 produced numerous sensitive portraits of women because these were years when women directed the destinies of the Roman Empire. Septimius Severus's widow Julia Domna could not control her brutal son Caracalla (211 to 217), but her sister Julia Maesa and the latter's daughter Julia Soaemias ruled Elagabalus (218 to 222), son and grandson of this pair. The raffish emperor, priest of the sun Elagabalus also had a succession of attractive young wives, and the last Severan, Alexander, was thoroughly dominated by his mother. It is small wonder, therefore, that nearly two generations of female power in the world's destinies produced a demand for more portraits of quality representing the women influenced by these brilliant empresses.

Three Men Playing a Board Game, Palmyrene, about A.D. 200 to 250 (Fig.59). While lifesized Palmyrene funerary portraits in very high relief are found in most museums, narrative or daily-life reliefs are relatively few, even in the major collections such as those of the Damascus Museum and the Musée du Louvre. The relief published here shows three men seated around a gaming table.²⁸ The bearded man on the left watches the chequers or chips; the bearded man on the right is moving one in front of him; and the man in the centre holds a stack in his left hand, the right hand raised in the Late Antique gesture of victory, or of a Consul giving the signal for circus games to begin.

As prosperous citizens of a caravan city famed for its commercial enterprise, these men doubtless enjoyed being shown sculpturally, perhaps in a family tomb complex. They certainly relaxed in this fashion in the *caffeneia* or *tabernae* of ancient Palmyra. The deceased might have been the young man (acting as judge?) in the centre, and the other two, older men his business associates or his father and uncle, since Palmyrene tomb-chambers were dynastic to a considerable degree. Symbolically speaking, the game could be 'the game of life', and the victory thus could be suggestive of eternal happiness in an *elysium* of *trictac* and *tabernae*.²⁹

Students of ancient furniture will surely find the articulated chair at the left an example of unusual domestic craftsmanship. The linear drapery and tilted perspective presents Palmyrene sculpture at its Greek imperial best, foreshadowing aspects of popular art in both East and West at the outset of the Middle Ages.

²⁸ Accession number 1970.346. Height: 0.45 m. Width: 0.54 m. Limestone. Edwin E. Jack Fund.

²⁹ For the form of the relief, and the type of waterleaf moulding, in a funerary banquet scene, see H. INGOLT: *Studier over Palmyrensk Skulptur*, Copenhagen [1928], No.22A, pl.VII, fig.1. The date is suggested by comparison with details from a votive relief, in the Damascus Museum, to a group of five gods in A.D. 225; it comes from Wadi el Miyah east of Palmyra: *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume of Plates V [1939], pp.120-121. Palmyrene ornamental mouldings are collected by H. SEYRIG, in *Syria* 21 [1940], pp.277-337. The gaming-table relief could have come from the rear centre wall, beneath the carved funerary couch, of a small tomb chamber: compare SEYRIG, *Syria* 27 [1950], pp.250-252, pls.XI-XII; also *Syria* 28 [1951], p.93, fig.12. For a list of thirty-square draught-boards from Egypt, see W. NEEDLER, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39 [1953], pp.60-75 (scenes: pp.63-66).

Letters

The Royal Barge

SIR, In the August 1970 issue Mr Beard states that the carpet in the British Royal Barge was laid in 1732 by George Cure. As the existing carpet shows a pattern of lions passant guardant for Britain and chaplets of rue for Saxony it must have been made at a date later than 1839, and therefore cannot form part of the original upholstery. It seems to me that the style of the carpet suggests a date between 1840 and 1849.

CORNEILLE F. JANSSEN

Provinciaal Museum
van Drenthe, Assen

Mr Beard writes:

It should have been obvious to me that the normal wear and tear on carpets would render it unlikely that the one provided by

²⁵ Compare *Centennial Acquisitions*, p.28 f., No.13, collection of Professor and Mrs. Benjamin Rowland, Jr., Cambridge (Mass.). Another such statue is inscribed 'To the Tyche of the Colony' indicating the particular popularity of these statues in the Roman colonies of southwest Asia Minor: see Münzen und Medaillen, A.G., Auktion 40 [13th December 1969], p.103 f., No.176, pl.66. Chapel in Rome: THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE [November 1968], p.612, figs.23, 24.

²⁶ Accession number 1970.325. Height: 0.22 m. Greek mainland marble. Anonymous Gift.

²⁷ Orbiana, Julia Mamaea: B. M. FELLETTI MAJ: *Iconografia Romana Imperiale*, Rome [1958], pp.103-114, especially p.104, pl.VI, 16-18. FELLETTI MAJ: *Museo Nazionale Romano, I Ritratti*, Rome [1953], p.143, No.284, so-called Tranquillina (238 to 244), notes that this helmet-like way of dressing the hair comes into vogue about 240. Ephesus: J. INAN, E. ROSENBAUM: *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor*, London [1966], pp.135-137, Nos.164-168, pls.96-98, Roman ladies of this hair, and facial, type from the British and Austrian excavations.



56. Votive Relief to the 'Carian God'. Early third century A.D. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



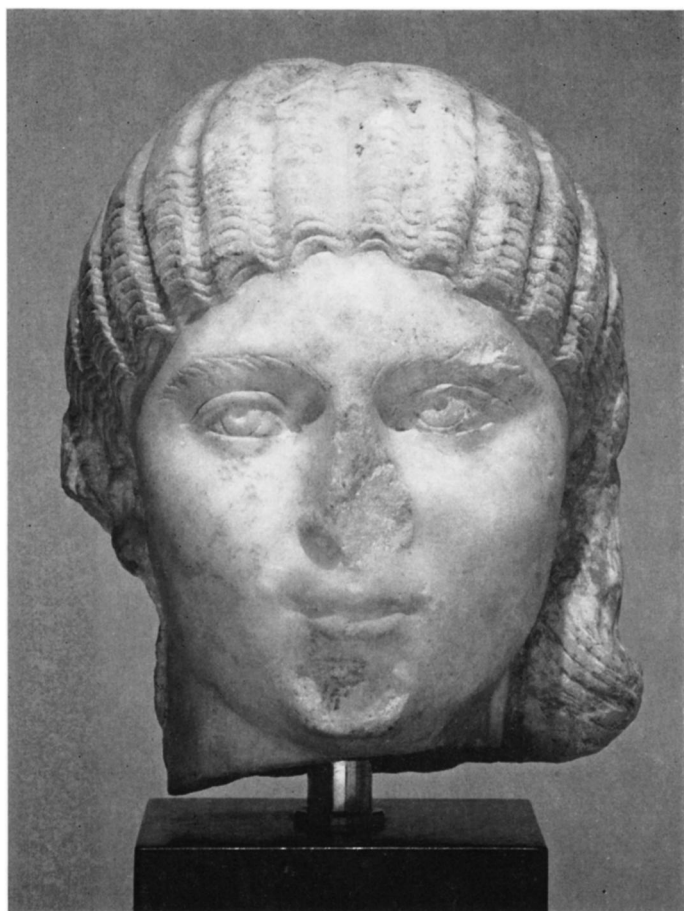
57. Table-support: *Dionysos with Panther*. A.D. 150 to second quarter of the third century. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



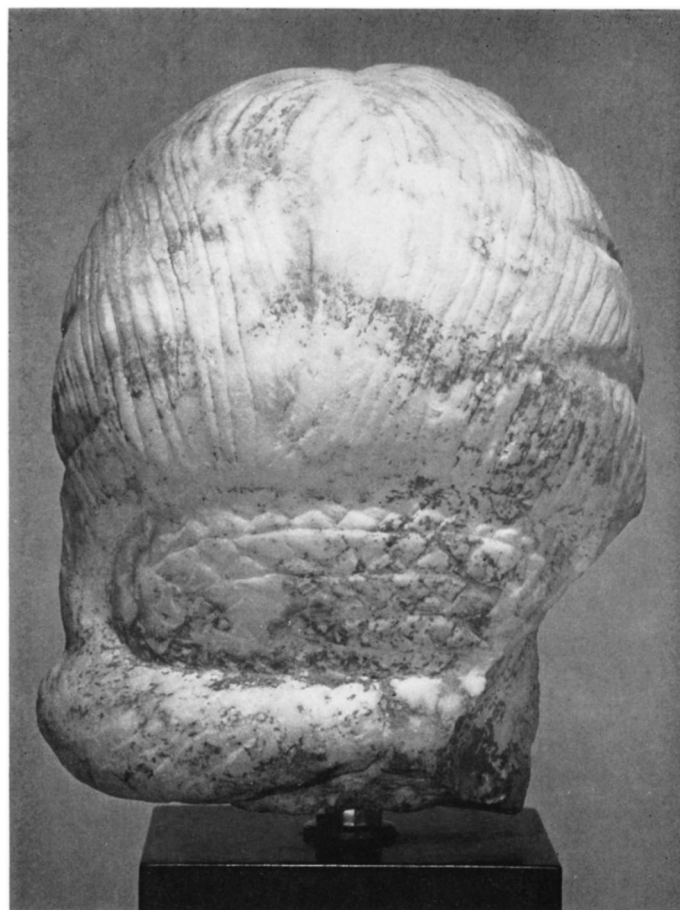
58. *Tyche-Fortuna*. Second or third century A.D. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



59. *Men playing a Board Game*. Palmyrene, c. A.D. 225. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



60. *Roman Woman*. c. A.D. 230–40. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



61. Back view of the head reproduced in Fig. 60.

Greek, Etruscan, Roman Gold and Silver-II: Hellenistic to Late Antique Gold and Silver

Author(s): Cornelius C. Vermeule, III

Source: *The Burlington Magazine*, Jul., 1971, Vol. 113, No. 820 (Jul., 1971), pp. 396-407

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As for the lower part of the altar, the contract specifies that the legs or feet (*'col piè dell'altare'*) be carved from used marble. Antique spoils come to mind.

As to the fee for the entire work, 250 papal ducats were agreed upon, or a higher sum which Bindo Altoviti would specify at the moment of appraisal. But he was not to exceed the total sum of 300 papal ducats. The sum was to be paid by instalments, as follows: 70 ducats at once, for obtaining freshly quarried marble and to provide for their shipment to Rome; 8 ducats per month, starting from the day of the actual commencement of the work. Included in this fee were all the incidental expenses, which would be required for carrying out the work, excepting those for its installation in the church.

In order to facilitate Sansovino's work in Rome and save him the expense of rent, Lodovico saw to it that a small house belonging to the Martelli heirs, located near San Rocco, was put at the artist's disposal for the duration of his work on the Madonna.

For his part, Sansovino promised to finish the commission within two years from the date of the contract. He also promised to come back to Rome to begin the work towards September or October of the same year.

In his signature, Lodovico Capponi added a sentence to modify the currency of the agreed upon fee: he was content to pay Sansovino in Florentine ducats, i.e. in *fiorini larghi d'oro in oro* (literally, large gold florins in gold). To a Florentine at this time, ducat and florin were synonymous. Consequently, where papal ducats were stated, it was to be understood as the same figure in Florentine currency. In these months, papal ducats were rated circa $1\frac{3}{4}$ – $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent more than the Florentine ones, or – in other words – circa $101\frac{3}{4}$ – $102\frac{1}{2}$ papal ducats were equivalent to 100 Florentine ducats.¹⁰ Therefore Sansovino succeeded in obtaining a small increase of a few ducats in his fee: instead of a sum between 250 to 300 papal ducats, he was going to receive 250 to 300 Florentine ducats, that is an amount corresponding roughly to 255–306 papal ducats.

The signature of Bindo Altoviti, the appraiser, presents the uncommon feature for a businessman, of being undated. Certainly it must have been written at least two years later, when Sansovino's work was complete; but if expressed, it would have given us a precise *terminus ante quem* for the *Madonna del Parto*, in lieu of the approximate one of 1518. Bindo Altoviti's signature meant that, having carefully examined Sansovino's work, he adjudged the result worth the maximum provided for in the contract, which amounted to 300 large ducats.

+ Addi XX di maggio 1516.

Sia noto a chi vedrà la presente scritta come Lodovico di Gino Capponi, come procuratore delli heredi di Giovan Francesco Martelli per li quali intende [e] vuole essere obligato, s'è convenuto con maestro Iacopo d'Antonio scultore fiorentino di fare un'opera di marmi nuovi in Santo Agostino di Roma, acanto alla porta di detta chiesa dove è la sepultura di detti Martelli: quale opera si debba fare secondo il disegno che detto maestro Iacopo ha mostro al decto Lodovico, cioè un tabernaculo con colonne, fregi e architravi e altri finimenti di sopra, col piè dell'altare tutto di marmo e detto piè ha essere di marmi vecchi, drèntovi in detto tabernaculo una figura di Nostra Donna, alta braccia 3 in circha, con un puttino o dua secondo parrà megl[i]o al decto maestro Iacopo, al quale decto Lodovico liberamente si rimette che facci più o mancho secondo che giudicherà stia megl[i]o et più honorevole. Et per pagamento son convenuti et rimasti d'achordo che il decto Lodovico gli dia ducati dugento cinquanta d'oro di camera et più quel giudicherà Bindo Altoviti, non possendo il decto Bindo passare ducati trecento simili, in questo modo cioè: al presente ducati LXX simili, li quali dice per comperare detti marmi, li quali ha a ffar condurre a Roma a ssuo risigho e spesa, et poi ogni mese ducati otto dal di che comincerà detta opera in Roma. Intendendosi che il decto maestro Iacopo habbi a ffare ogni cosa a ssua spese di

lavorare et far lavorare detta opera, salvo che di metterli su, che questo s'intenda a spese di decto Lodovico. Il qual li promette darli una casetta in Roma, di dette rede, appresso di Santo Rocho, per lavorare detta opera. Et il decto maestro Iacopo s'obliga haver finito detta opera per da oggi a anni dua proximi, salvo iusto impedimento. Et per tanto osservare, ciaschuna delle parte si soscriverrà qui appiè di sua propria mano, questo di e anno sudetto in Roma. E detto maestro Iacopo promette esser qui a settembre o ottobre proximo, per cominciare detta opera.

Io Lodovico Capponi come procuratore di dette rede per lle quali voglio essere ublighato, mi obliho et prometto osservare quanto di sopra, et in fede mi sono sottoscrito di mia mano propria questo di detto in Roma. Et sono contento che detti danari siano ducati d'oro in oro larghi, dove di sopra si dice ducati di camera.

Io Bindo d'Antonio Altoviti avendo visto la sopradetta opera e bene examinato, giudicho che detto Lodovico la debba pagare fino alla somma di ducati trecento d'oro larghi, e per fede mi sono sottoscrito di mia propria mano.

Source: Florence, Capponi archive.

Recent Museum Acquisitions

Greek, Etruscan, Roman Gold and Silver—II: Hellenistic to Late Antique Gold and Silver

BY CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III

THE fourteen single and pairs of examples of jewellery and silver plate published here range from the so-called baroque phase of Hellenistic art through to the age of the emperor Justinian (527 to 565) in the Eastern Roman Empire. The most important pieces are the goddess with violently wind-blown drapery (perhaps Juno Sospita), the dancer putting on her slipper, the anniversary plate of Licinius I, and the plate with a scene of a tigress attacking an ibex. Of these four works of art in silver, the first and the last were shown in the spring of 1970 in the centennial exhibition of the Museum of Fine Arts. The *Largitio* plate of Licinius I (307/8 to 324) has long been known as the ornament of a private collection in Lucerne, but the Late Antique dancer has, so far as is known, never been published before.

The remaining works of art include those that are important iconographically (the section of Dionysiac box), unusual in terms of classical archaeology as a whole (the gold and iron spearhead), and simply pleasing to look at (the earrings in the form of golden globes inlaid with coloured glass). As a group the emphasis is on the later periods of antiquity since there is still much to be learned of these centuries, particularly concerning statuary in gold and silver.*

GOLD FINGER RING WITH EMERALD, HELLENISTIC (Figs. 41, 42). Two serpents are intertwined in a complex series of loops and patterns. They support a plain, convex (that is scaraboid) emerald in a rough, capsular setting with heavy granulations all around. Clusters of even heavier granulations, forming rosettes, appear on either side of the stone's setting, on the bodies of the snakes, at the points where these loop down in

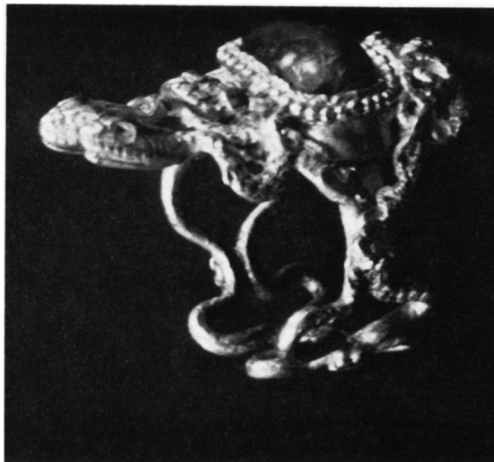
* This article continues that appearing in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, CXII [December 1970], pp. 818–826. Mary Comstock, Penelope Truitt, Claire Blackwell, and William J. Young of the Museum's staff have helped in various ways with the works of art discussed in these pages. The number of statuettes in gold and silver published in both articles has emphasized the need for a comprehensive study of ancient statuary in the precious metals (excluding jewellery and utensils, which have been thoroughly covered in the various books cited in both these articles). An exhibition of such Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and early Medieval sculpture is planned in several United States museums, to be accompanied by a full catalogue.

¹⁰ Florence, State Archives. Stroziane, V, 92 (*Debitori e creditori A*, di Lorenzo e Filippo Strozzi di Firenze, 1519–1519), fols. 112, 128 left sides.

41.



42.



41. Gold *Finger Ring* with Emerald. Hellenistic. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

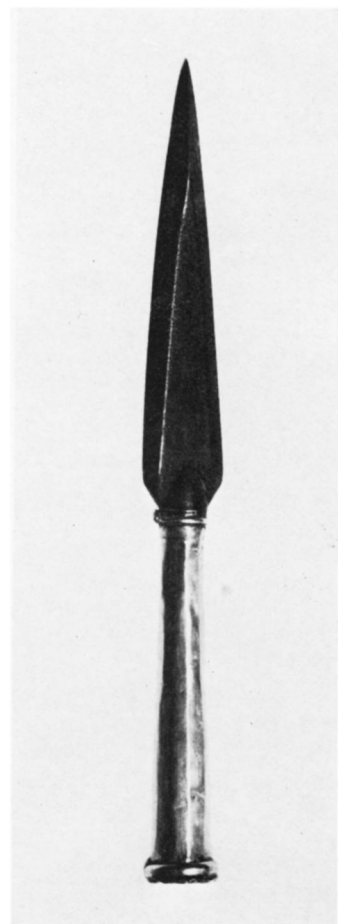
42. Another view of the *Ring* illustrated in Fig. 41.

43.



43. Gold and Blue Glass *Earrings*. Early Roman Imperial. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

44.

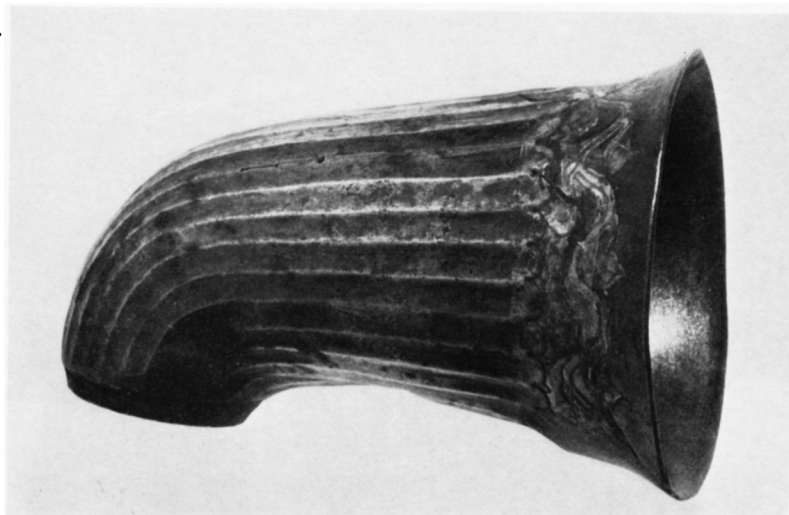


44. Gold and Iron *Spearhead*. Greco-Roman. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

45. Silver *Rhyton*, with Gold Inlay. Early Hellenistic Period. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

46. Gold Funerary *Mask*. Classical Period. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

45.



46.





47. Fragment of a *Bos* with Dionysiac Scenes. Roman, c.A.D. 200 or later. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



48. Another view of the *Bos* illustrated in Fig.47.

further configurations to form the functional part of the ring. This elaborate finger ring is said to have been found at Damanhûr, in the Nile Delta, and was presumably manufactured at Alexandria, the source of other such rings in the later Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman periods.¹

The 'baroque' qualities of this ensemble are in keeping with the general development of Hellenistic decorative sculpture in the period from about 250 to 150 B.C. The design is very like that of the two coiled serpents flanking a bow-case on the reverses of 'cistophori', silver four-drachma pieces struck throughout western Asia Minor from about 200 B.C. onwards well into the period of Roman occupation, under the initial auspices of the kings of the Pergamene dynasty. The end of the second century B.C. marked the height of this coin's popularity, and it also probably coincided with the date of this finger ring. Bracelets or armlets from early Ptolemaic Egypt, that is about 300 to 250 B.C., show the Hellenistic origins of this form of jewellery, the use of snakes' bodies to create imaginative spirals and loops. From this period the motif can be traced back to the simpler snake bracelets of the fourth century B.C.²

GOLD FUNERARY MASK, NORTHERN GREECE OR ASIA MINOR, CLASSICAL PERIOD (Fig.46). The head of a bearded man, presumably a warrior, is represented in thin, hammered gold. The eyes and mouth are closed, being shown as slits. There are pairs of small holes running all around the edge, for attaching the mask to a cloth or similar inner covering.³

Ever since Heinrich Schliemann's sensational discoveries nearly a century ago in the shaft graves at Mycenae, such funerary masks have been identified with Greece in the Bronze Age. Later finds and further study of sepulchral customs on the fringes of the classical Greek world have revealed that these masks were created by several different peoples into times as late as the second or third centuries of the Christian era. Examples similar to the mask shown here have been found in Thrace (that is the southeastern Balkans), in northwest Asia Minor (the home of the Phrygians and related peoples), and even along the Phoenician coast, particularly in the necropolis of Sidon.⁴ There appears to have been no question of direct connections with or survivals from the age of the pre-Homeric heroes. It was merely that strongly-masculine face-masks of hammered gold made excellent funerary adornments in civilizations where women could be buried with gold sewn on their costumes and with jewellery in their hair rather than such masks on their faces and inlaid daggers or drinking goblets at their sides. These masks have a natural appeal to collectors of primitive art in the modern world, especially since they are so different from the conventional canons of classical Greek sculptural form.

IRON SPEARHEAD WITH GOLD SHEATHING, GRAECO-ROMAN (Fig.44). The spear and the socket for fitting over the shaft are of iron, and the gold sheathing has been riveted on the outside of the socket from the base of the point to the rolled-fillet mouldings at the lower end. This unusual object was found in Egypt.⁵ It must have topped the spear or lance held by a small commemorative or votive statue in metal, a hero, a ruler, or a divinity such as Alexander the Great (portrayed with a lance in a famous statue by Lysippos) and Athena, shown in a variety of Pheidian and later types standing with spear and shield.

It would be logical to associate this combination of metals with one of the gold-and-niello statues in bronze of the type found at Pompeii or Herculaneum or at sites in Gaul and Britain. A good example in this respect, doubtless once equipped with a sceptre-staff, is the Jupiter from Brée in the province of Limburg, Belgium, with extensive silver and copper inlay on the body and the sandals.⁶

GOLD EARRINGS INLAID WITH BLUE GLASS, EARLY ROMAN IMPERIAL (Fig.43). Each sphere has a symmetrical arrangement of five inset pieces of glass, four oval around one round. The looped ear attachment of each has another oval ringstone setting soldered onto it with a blue glass 'stone', also imitating onyx, set in this element. The backs of these upper decorations are plain. The pieces of glass in the main globes are faceted on the back and are held in place with red paste, which can be seen amid the encrustation of burial in the ground on some of the 'stones'. The attachment was made to clip around the ear lobe and to pierce it, in a reversed position, for comfort and to prevent the ensemble from becoming detached without a locking device.⁷

Plain gold earrings of this type, with hollow gold globes, were evidently popular throughout the classical world in the first and second centuries A.D. These earrings can be documented from a number of sites and regions, including Pompeii, Boscoreale, Amasia in the Pontus region of northern Asia Minor, Smyrna, Cyprus, and even Eleutheropolis about twenty miles southwest of Jerusalem in Judaea. An often-illustrated pair in Naples, from the Casa del Menandro at Pompeii, were set with carnelian stones in their globes and in the relatively small elements above, while others from Pompeii are entirely composed of glass pastes or have stones and pastes mixed in their upper and lower settings. The arrangement of semi-precious stones or glass pastes in this form survived into the Byzantine period, as can be demonstrated from jewellery in the rich collection at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington. One of the best of these is the gold and glass paste necklace of the early seventh century evidently found at Hadra near Alexandria in Egypt.⁸

¹ Accession number 63.1247. Diameter (max.): 0.029 m. Length: 0.035 m. H. HOFFMANN, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 61 [1963], p.110.

² See F. H. MARSHALL: *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum*, London [1907], p.126, No.771, pl.20. Single coiled snake ring: *Antike Kunst aus Privatbesitz Bern-Biel-Solothurn*, Solothurn [1967], p.164, No.406, pl.49, emphasizing the fine anatomical detail of the snakes.

³ Accession number 65.1310. Height (max.): 0.20 m. Gift of Dr Maurice H. Shulman. *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 1165 [February 1966], p.38, fig.153.

⁴ See P. AMANDRY: *Collection Hélène Stathatos, Les bijoux antiques*, Strasbourg [1953], pp.49 f., No.110, pls.19 f., from the Chalcidian region and set in a bronze helmet; L. POLLAK: *Klassisch-Antike Goldschmiedearbeiten im Besitze Sr. Excellenz A. J. von Nelidow*, Leipzig [1903], p.19, No.40, pl.7, from Sidon; H. HOFFMANN, V. VON CLAER: *Antiker Gold- und Silberschmuck, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg*, Mainz am Rhein [1968], pp.195-198, No.131, also from Sidon and dated second to third century A.D.

⁵ Accession number 66.492. Length (max.): 0.157 m. Gift of Mary B. Comstock.

⁶ See H. Menzel, in D. G. MITTEN, S. F. DOERING: *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, Cambridge, Mass. [1967-1968], p.264, No.255, colour plate 6.

⁷ Accession number 66.270. Diameter (max.): 0.023 m. Seth K. Sweetser Fund. Brought from Asia Minor by a Greek refugee.

⁸ See B. SEGALL: *Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten, Museum Benaki, Athens* [1938], p.98, No.127, pl.34; D. VON BOTHMER: *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections*, New York [1961], p.72, No.285, pl.102. Pompeii: R. SIVIERO: *Gli ori e le ambre del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Rome [1954], p.73, No.281, pls.188 f.; L. BREGLIA: *Catalogo delle Oreficerie del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Rome [1941], p.59, Nos.246, 247, pl.33, Nos.3, 4. M. C. ROSS: *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, II, Washington, D.C. [1965], pp.19 f., No.13, pl.21, and pls.78, 79.

SILVER BRACELET WITH CULT-IMAGE OF CYBELE, GREEK IMPERIAL (Fig.51). The medallion set in the centre presents the Phrygian Magna Mater seated and facing, a patera in her extended right hand and a tympanum or tambourine held vertically in her left. A pair of lions flanks the high-backed throne. The circular frame takes the form of a crescent with three large beads represented nearly in the round. This crescent is symbolic of the moon-god Mên, who was a consort or companion of Cybele in western Asia Minor during the Roman imperial period. Around these two elements is a border of reels, as in the bead-and-reel of architectural carving.⁹ The body of the bracelet, onto which the medallion and its frame have been soldered, has been made in overlapping sections, with clasps, so that it could be opened or closed depending on the size of the wrist for which it was intended.

This type of Cybele, in full or three-quarters profile, was very popular among the Lydian, western Phrygian, and Ionian cities in the second century A.D. Indeed, the close relationships between the medallion of this bracelet and a number of Greek imperial coin dies suggest that the artist who created this unusual adornment for the wrist was normally employed in fashioning these dies for the cities lying in a wide semicircle around the gulf of Smyrna. The so-called Mên crescent as a pendant was a motif often used in Roman jewellery; when accompanied by the uraeus, the emblem of the hooded cobra, it seems to have been an Egyptian design, an indication of interconnections wider than just those between imperial Rome and western Asia Minor. In Hellenistic Greek art, the form of a bracelet with a medallion in the centre can be traced back to Egyptian Alexandria in the late fourth to early third centuries B.C., as witnessed by the gold bracelet with medallion bust of Isis in the Ashmolean Museum from the temple treasure unearthed by C. C. Edgar at Toukh-er-Quarmous not far from Bubastis in 1905. Coins of Alexander the Great (336 to 323) through the early years of Ptolemy Philadelphos (285 to 246) provided evidence for the dating of this treasure.¹⁰

SILVER RHYTON WITH GOLD INLAY, EARLY HELLENISTIC PERIOD (Fig.45). What has been preserved is the horn or container part of a drinking vessel, with portions of the rim broken away and restored. The leaf, tendril, and vine-stem pattern of gold inlay below the rim has been marked off from the fluted body by an incised, scalloped border. The bottom of the rhyton is closed or capped, and a separate handle, doubtless an animal protome or a foliate terminal, was attached here.¹¹

A famous silver horn rhyton in the Plovdiv (ancient Philipopolis) Museum in Bulgaria, from a burial mound at a place called Duvanli, shows how the complete ensemble would have appeared. This rhyton has a band of engraved lotus and palmette on the upper part of the horn and leaf ornament on the lip. The protome takes the popular form of a galloping horse, and the whole work has been termed Attic or East Greek workmanship of the late fifth century B.C. Such vessels also existed in terra-cotta, as an example in the Norbert Schimmel collection in New York bears witness. This appears to be work of the fourth century B.C., and there are other such rhyta in the precious metals, with an

annular joint between the beaker and the protome.¹² The ultimate inspiration came from Achaemenid Persia, and the shape was used for rhyta made in the Greek cities of the Black Sea, for export to Scythian lands in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

SECTION OF A LARGE SILVER OVAL BOX (PYXIS) WITH DIONYSIAC SCENES, ROMAN, ABOUT A.D. 200 OR LATER (Figs.47, 48). Of monumental size and therefore commanding interest, this broken fragment probably represents barbarian spoil from an imperial temple or private villa in the Greek East. The band of gilded silver, cast and chased in a style that betrays workmanship at the beginning of the Late Antique period of ancient art, shows the Dionysiac (Bacchic) procession accompanying the triumphal progress of Dionysos and his consort Ariadne to India.¹³ At the extreme left, Eros pokes his hand through a bearded mask, in the direction of a Maenad who holds a snake (a hooded cobra?) and has a cushion beside her. A Satyr dancing with pedom or rustic staff and pipes comes next. Beyond a Bacchic wicker basket, used for gathering grapes, appear a Maenad with castanets, a Satyr running violently in a wild animal's cloak, with another pedom shown below, and finally Ariadne on a cart drawn by a biga of Centaurs, one of their equine tails visible at the right.

While the subject is one that can be completed in the imagination or by graphic reconstruction from numerous Roman sarcophagi of the later second and third centuries A.D., there are very few surviving examples of such rich artistry in the precious metals. Beyond Ariadne's Centaurs doubtless were seen the god of wine on his vehicle drawn by another pair of Centaurs or by panthers, then Silenos on an ass, and finally, to complete the decorative circuit, more Satyrs and Maenads in various stages of intoxicated agitation. The scene recalls the motifs of the large plate and its two smaller counterparts from the Mildenhall Treasure, found in Suffolk about 1942 and generally dated in the fourth century A.D. A similar scene, more abbreviated and in higher relief, forms the design on a gilded silver handle to a shallow bowl, found at the eastern extremity of the Graeco-Roman world and acquired nearly two decades ago by the Metropolitan Museum in New York. The cover of a large, flanged bowl from the same group of silver plate found near Mildenhall in Suffolk, showing Bacchic heads in profile and Centaurs in combat, provides a suggestion as to how the frieze illustrated here must have looked when it was complete. Finally, a Late Antique bowl with a Bacchic procession, at Dumbarton Oaks, shows that there could be another frieze below the principal scene; the bowl in Washington has indications of animals and trees in the area of the lower band.¹⁴

¹² D. E. STRONG: *Greek and Roman Silver Plate*, London [1966], pp.86 f., pl.20A, citing another in the National Museum, Prague; *The Norbert Schimmel Collection, Fogg Art Museum*, Cambridge, Mass. [1964], No.32. See also M. I. ARTAMONOV: *Treasures from Scythian Tombs in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad*, London [1969], pp.31, fig.52, 81, figs.156 f., etc.

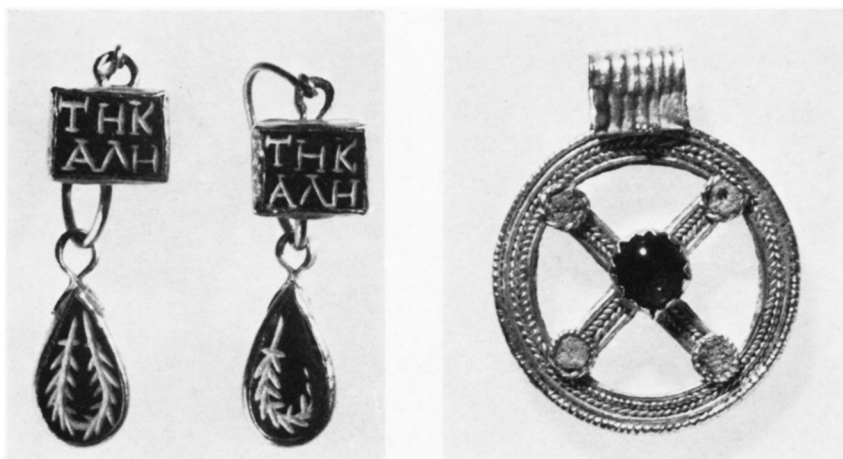
¹³ Accession number 1970.491. Width (max.): 0.32 m. Height (max.): 0.12 m. Otis Norcross Fund. Found in northwest Phrygia, near Mysia and Bithynia, it is reported, during the Greek advance to the Sangarius River.

¹⁴ See J. M. C. TOYNBEE: *Art in Roman Britain*, London [1962], pp.169-171, pls.115-117 (plate 113 shows the cover of the flanged bowl); CH. ALEXANDER: 'A Roman Silver Relief. The Indian Triumph of Dionysos', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 14 [November 1955], pp.65-67 and parallels; also D. E. STRONG: *op. cit.*, p.171, pl.47B. E. KITZINGER: *Handbook of the Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks*, Washington, D.C. [1967], p.16, No.57, a reference I owe to Professor W. Grünhagen; H. PEIRCE, R. TYLER: *L'Art byzantin*, II, Paris [1934], p.83, pl.45. See also W. GRÜNHAGEN: *Der Schatzfund von Gross Bodungen* (Römisch-Germanische Forschungen, Band 21), Berlin [1954], pp.39-49, pl.4, with friezes of fishes and the abduction of Hylas by the nymphs; amphora in Leningrad, similar in schema (Amazonomachy) and also later: J. BECKWITH: *The Art of Constantinople*, London [1968], pp.10-12, figs.7-9.

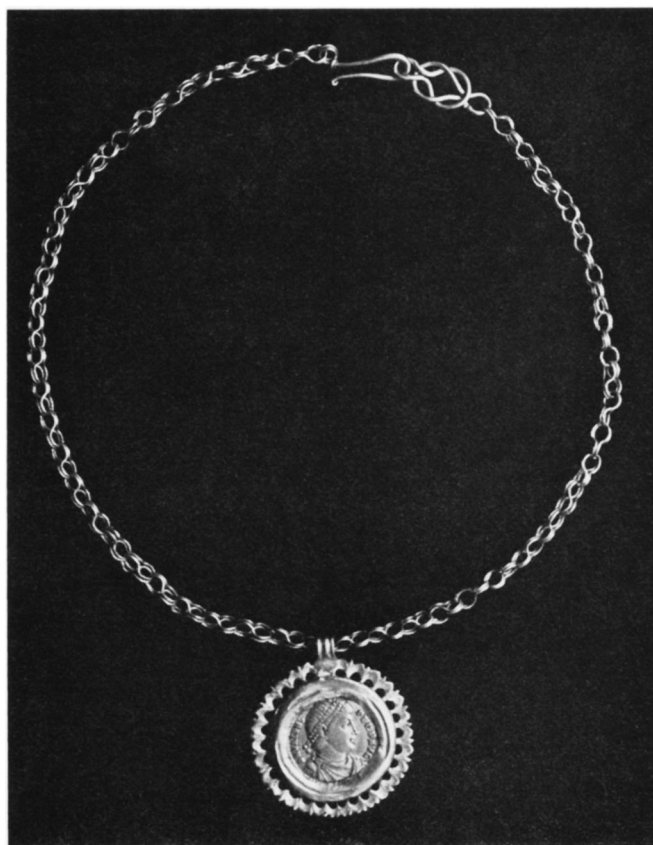
⁹ Accession number 61.1130. Diameter (max.): 0.053 m. Theodora Willbour Fund in Memory of Zoë Willbour.

¹⁰ See F. H. MARSHALL: *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum*, London [1911], pp.314 f., No. 2719, pl.58; also, A. OLIVER, JR., *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 24 [May 1966], pp.282 f., fig.30. Ashmolean bracelet: H. HOFFMANN: *Greek Gold, Jewellery from the Age of Alexander*, Boston [1965], pp.173 f., No.64.

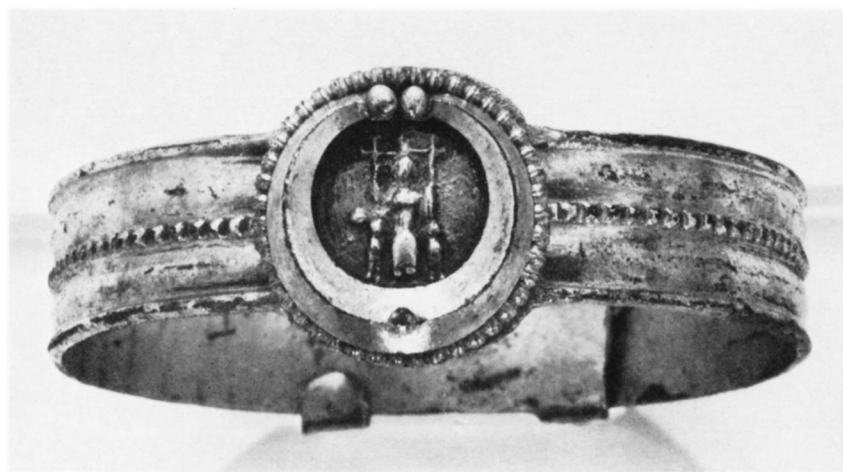
¹¹ Accession number 1970.240. Diameter (at rim): 0.08 m. Length (max.): 0.20 m. Gift of Paul E. Manheim.



49, 50. Gold and Sard-Stone *Earrings* and *Pendant*. Late Roman. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



52. Gold *Necklace* with Solidus of Valens. A.D. 364 to 378. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



51. Silver *Bracelet* with Cult-Image of *Cybele*. Greek Imperial. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



53. Silver Statuette of *Hermes*. Greco-Roman. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



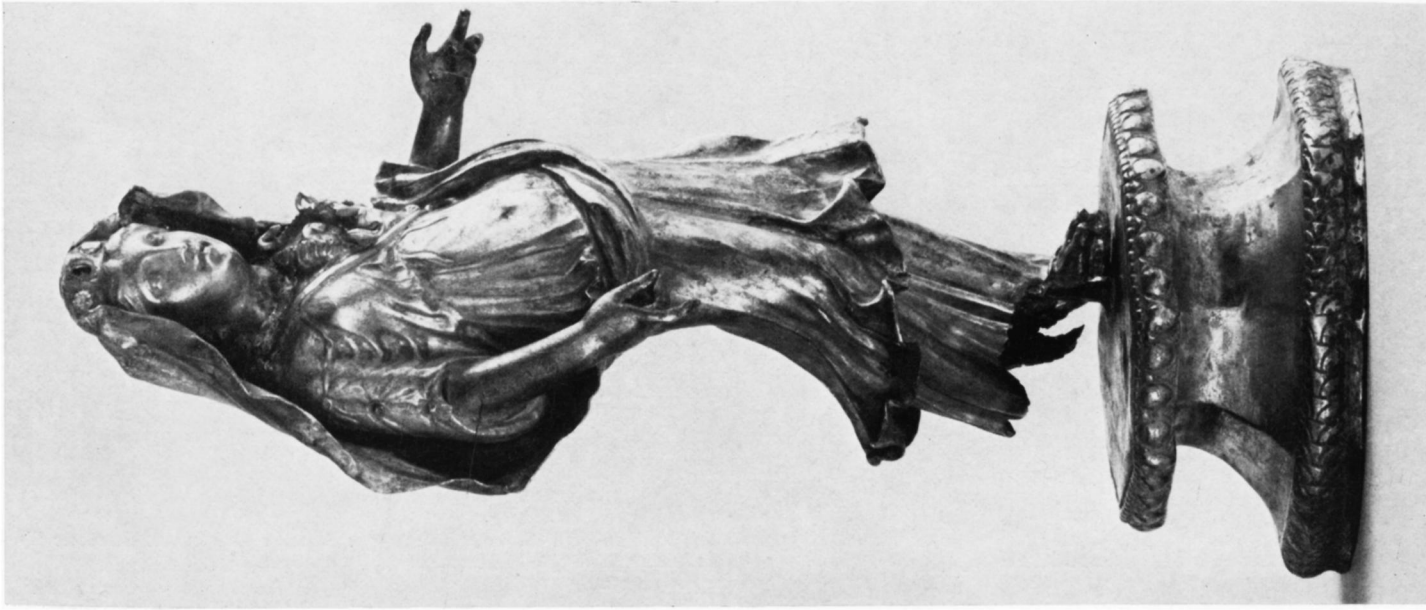
54. Another view of the Statuette illustrated in Fig. 53.



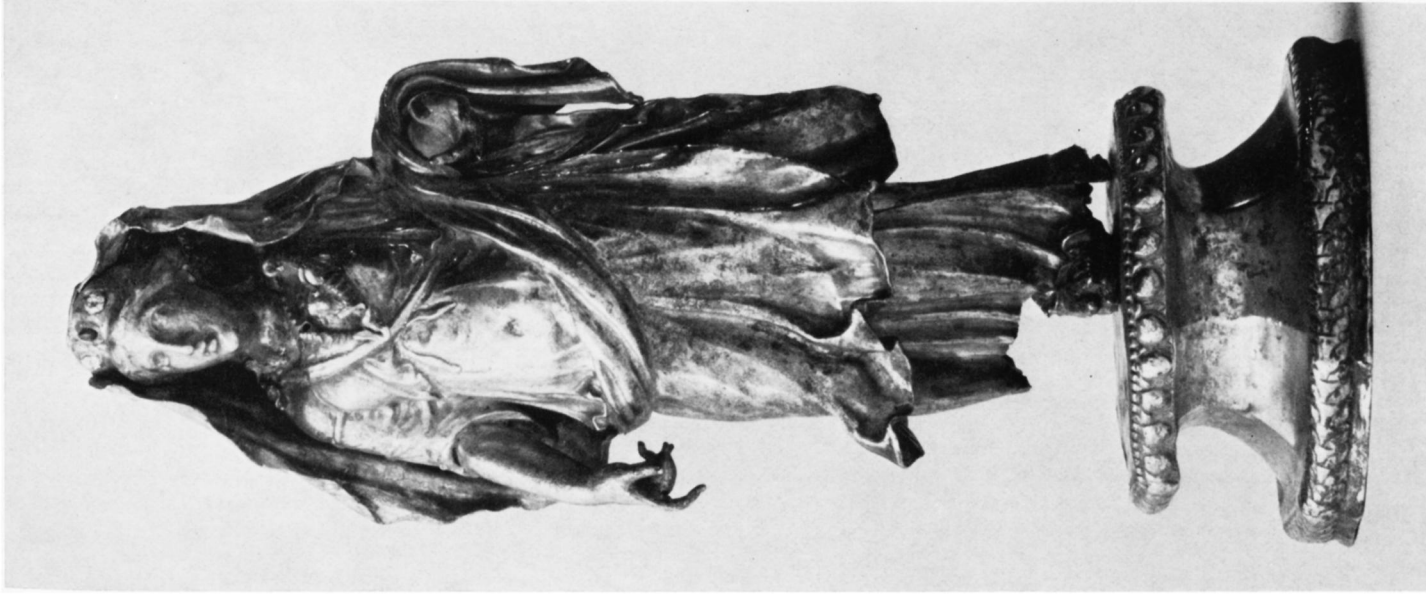
55. Silver Statuette of a *Dancer*, inlaid with Gold. c.A.D. 350. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



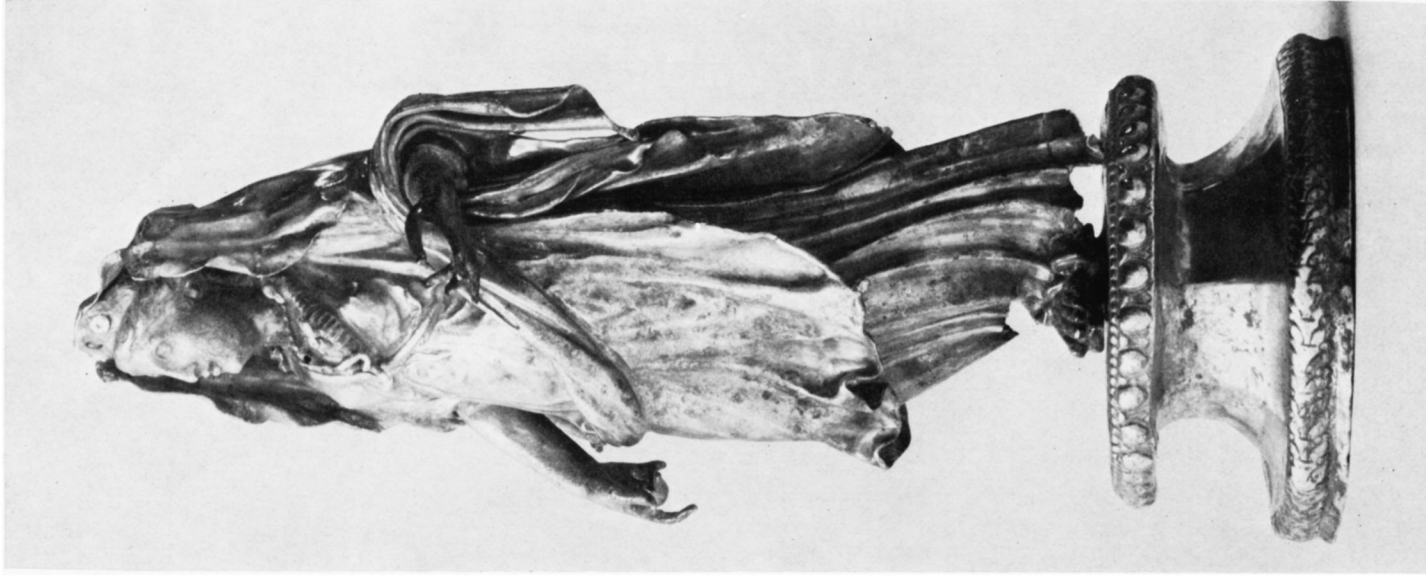
56. Another view of the Statuette illustrated in Fig. 55.



57. Silver Statuette of a Goddess, inlaid with Gold and Stone. Third to fourth centuries A.D. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



58. Another view of the Statuette illustrated in Fig.57.



59. A third view of the Statuette illustrated in Fig.57.

INLAID GOLD EARRINGS AND PENDANT, LATE ROMAN, A.D. 300 TO 400 (Figs.49, 50). The earrings are inset with cameo-stones of sard, carved into low relief. Each earring has one square stone inscribed 'Ti Kale' ('How Beautiful') and one teardrop-shaped pendant carved with a wreath, this being inverted and with the ends untied. The inscriptions and wreaths are in the white layer, against the reddish-orange background of the rest of the stone. The separate pendant found with the earrings is in the form of an encircled cross; it was designed for suspension from a chain. Made of twisted and stamped wires, it is inset with four glass pastes and one garnet (bloodstone) in the centre of the cross. The loop is a wide, rolled band with slight ridges.¹⁵

The pendant for jewellery with phrases or sayings carved in cameo settings was a phenomenon of the Late Antique phase of ancient art. This development in decorative earrings and pendants was connected with the mounting of coins as jewellery and the production of contorniates or jetons related to Roman history, pagan politics, and circus life. The techniques and designs seen here were also found in provincial Roman enamels and can be traced back to examples from Pompeii, that is before A.D. 80. A famous specimen of this form of disc and cross (or wheel with spokes) used as a fastening for a chain was found at Blackworth in Northumberland and is preserved in its entirety. The cross is a decorative motif borrowed from the jewellery of barbarian peoples along the northern frontiers and has no specific connection here with Christianity.¹⁶ Such sets of jewellery, and similar finger rings, were often presented at wedding ceremonies, hence the references to beauty, love, or eternal harmony. The dating in the fourth century is suggested here by comparison with the techniques of jewellery in which datable coins or medallions have been mounted, as the instance of the necklace to be discussed forthwith.

GOLD NECKLACE AND FRAME WITH SOLIDUS OF VALENS, A.D. 364 TO 378 (Fig.52). The mounting for the gold coin is in the form of a gold case enclosing the back and the obverse to the border of dots. Beyond this, there appear thirty linked floral (lotus) buds and a loop. The chain has a so-called Herakles knot for fastening. The solidus in the centre shows the diademed head of the emperor Valens, his shoulders covered by a tunic and a cuirass. Around this appears the inscription D(ominus) N(oster) VALENS PER(petuis) F(elix) AVG(ustus). The reverse, hidden by the gold case, may have featured Valens standing with a small image of victory on one hand and the labarum or banner with the Christogram in the other. This second inscription would have read RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE.¹⁷ As events turned out, this would have been a fitting design to have concealed in view of the emperor's unhappy fate.

The Goths destroyed Valens and his army in a great battle at Hadrianopolis (Edirne in Turkish Thrace) northwest of Constantinople, an engagement that in many ways changed the course of history for Western Europe. Some admirer of the emperor or, equally likely, some lucky barbarian may have worn this necklace. Mounted Roman imperial gold coins or medallions were, generally speaking, a symptom of the inflationary cycles which gripped the classical world from the end of the second century A.D. into the Middle Ages. In Constantinian and later times large gold medallions, multiples of the regular coinage, were created not only for private purposes but as imperial gifts to important officials and powerful barbarians. In addition to these several uses, traceable back as far as the first century of the Christian era, mounted aurei or solidi were prized by historians or numismatists in antiquity. For example, a famous necklace with eleven mounted aurei, found near Alexandria in Egypt, contains one coin of different emperors and their wives from the time of Hadrian (A.D. 117 to 138) through the reign of Gordianus III (238 to 244). A group of four elaborate hexagonal and circular pendants with double solidi of Constantinus Magnus and his sons in the centres, ideal male and female busts of a decorative, Dionysiac nature around, give a precise dating for this form of numismatics and jewellery combined at the beginning of its Late Antique phase. The medallion coins are dated in the years 321 to 324, when Constantine the Great was winning control of the entire Roman world from his rival Licinius, a subject to be considered in greater detail presently.¹⁸

SILVER STATUETTE OF HERMES, GRAECO-ROMAN (Figs.53, 54). The messenger of the gods and patron of commerce stands with his right foot advanced, in the pose of a monumental statue. The extended right hand once held a purse, the young god's typical Graeco-Roman attribute symbolic of his interest in business activities. Hermes wears a crested cap, a traveller's cloak, and wings (now mostly missing) on the ankles. He holds a large caduceus or herald's staff in his left hand.¹⁹ From the details of the face, which has an overall Polykleitan cast to it but also certain evidences of individuality, the statue on which this tiny image was based may have been a cult-figure of the emperor Augustus (27 B.C. to A.D. 14) as Hermes-Mercury. Hermes was a special patron of the first emperor, and monumental representations of the god created in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were adapted in bronze and marble to represent Augustus and younger members of the Julio-Claudian family.

A silver Hermes of fourth-century B.C. type, also draped in a cloak but of more elegant craftsmanship, was found in the Macon treasure of 1764 and is in the British Museum. The more immediate iconographic parallels for the silver statuette published here are to be found in small votive bronzes from all over the Roman world, particularly from the Latin West. Two such statuettes, for example, discovered on the temple-site at Bruton, Somerset, have been dated in the second or third centuries A.D., and may have been manufactured locally, at least

¹⁵ Accession numbers 66.318a, b; 66.319. Length (of earrings): 0.02 m. Diameter (max. of pendant): 0.021 m. Helen and Alice Colburn Fund.

¹⁶ See F. H. MARSHALL: *op. cit.*, p.318, No.2738, pl.61, which is G. BECATTI: *Oreficerie antiche, Dalle Minoiche alle Barbariche*, Rome [1955], pl.150, figs.529, 530; also P. AMANDRY: *op. cit.*, III, Strasbourg [1963], pp.195-197, under Nos. 105, 106.

¹⁷ Accession number 65.1 Length (max. with loop hooked): 0.215 m. Diameter of mounting (including loop for suspension): 0.04 m. Theodora Wilbour Fund in Memory of Zoë Wilbour. Bought from Ars Antiqua Sale V, Lucerne [7th November 1964], p.40, No.159, pl.41. Exhibited at Brandeis University, Rose Art Museum: *Art of the Late Antique* [18th December 1968-16th February 1969], p.56, No.54, pl.22.

¹⁸ See W. DENNISON: *A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, XII), *Studies in East Christian and Roman Art*, Part II, New York [1918], pp.103-107, figs.1-4, pl.5; H. HOFFMANN, V. VON CLAER, *op. cit.*, pp.85 f., No.56; A. OLIVER, JR., *op. cit.*, pp.282 f., fig.29, Philip the Arab. Also William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, *Handbook of the Collections*, Kansas City, Missouri [1959], p.40.

¹⁹ Accession number 67.860. Height: 0.07 m. Gift of Mary B. Comstock. From Asia Minor and long in a Hungarian private collection.

in Roman Britain.²⁰ Since these bronzes were, more often than not, also placed in private, household shrines, a counterpart in more precious metal was probably preserved in the home of a wealthier citizen of the Roman Empire. It is therefore logical that such statuettes of major and minor divinities have been found together with silver plate (as in the instance of the Macon treasure), suggesting that in the provinces rich Romans of the second through the fourth centuries A.D. buried them along with their most valuable possessions in times of national or regional emergency. It is difficult to date this silver Hermes, irrespective of whether or not the features recall those of Augustus, for the first emperor continued to be commemorated in Roman art into the period of Constantine the Great.

SILVER STATUETTE OF A GODDESS, INLAID WITH GOLD AND SEMI-PRECIOUS STONES. THIRD TO FOURTH CENTURIES A.D. (Figs.57, 58, 59). A female divinity of majestic aspect stands on a curved, octagonal base with heavy architectural mouldings above and below. Her cloak is drawn up over her head to form a veil, which is partly secured by a large diadem enriched with a garnet flanked by rosettes of gold. The bodice of her chiton has gold borders, and three snakes of gold writhe in all directions from the area within these borders. The right foot and the attributes in the hands are missing, but the fact that the base belongs is clearly indicated by the imprint and fitting of the sandalled left foot. The most unusual qualities of this statue, dated in the style of the face to the early part of the Late Antique period, lie in the delicate restlessness of the draperies, the chiton and himation. These are handled with the effects associated with the monumental marble sculptures of Gianlorenzo Bernini about the middle of the seventeenth century.²¹

The enriched diadem implies a major goddess, and the snakes, without the usual martial attributes of Athena, suggest the Roman divinity Juno Sospita who was worshipped widely in the Latin West and, indeed, wherever the Roman legions set up praetorian chapels. The base, found in a number of other statuettes in the precious metals, is of a conventional Roman imperial form, starting presumably in the second century A.D. and continuing well into Late Antiquity. A similar figure in silver with a base like this, although in all respects many times less elegant, was found with the Chaource treasure of the second century A.D. and is in the British Museum. It is an image of Fortuna, diademed and with a cornucopiae in the left hand. In the statuette shown here, the attributes could have been a sceptre-staff and a libation dish.²²

SILVER STATUETTE OF A DANCER, INLAID WITH GOLD. CIRCA A.D. 350 TO 400 (Figs.55, 56). A girl approximately the same age as the famous statuettes by Edgar Degas is shown in the act of putting on her right slipper. She sits on a spool-shaped hassock which is set on a raised, rectangular base. A number of details have been carried out in gold. These include the hair, the cuffs of the sleeves and belt of the short chiton, the bracelets, the slippers, the upper and lower mouldings of the

hassock, and the lion-headed supports at the corners of the base. Figure, hassock, and base have been hollow cast, with details finished by chasing, inlay, and the use of heavy gilding.²³

The key to the dating of this charming and unusual example of Late Antique genre sculpture lies in the face and hair style of the girl. Comparing the profile with coins, the possibilities range from Helena the mother of Constantine the Great around A.D. 325 to Eufemia, A.D. 467 to 472, daughter of Marcianus and wife of Anthemius in the West. Coins of Eufemia show the same vigorous treatment of the strands of hair seen in the statuette. This may or may not necessarily be a chronological criterion for the latter. In this respect, the shape of the face is like that of the marble statuette of an empress in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, from Cyprus. This statuette has been identified as Helena, around 325 to 326, or Aelia Flaccilla (379 to 386), the first wife of Theodosius I. In the latter connection, the seated dancer may be considered the three-dimensional counterpart of those figures seen in the reliefs of the base of the so-called Obelisk of Theodosius I (379 to 395) in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. These reliefs, with dancing girls performing before the crowd in front of an emperor and his two young sons as he launches the games, have been thought to relate to the family of Valentinianus I (364 to 375) and to be dated as early as A.D. 369. All these possibilities suggest a dating for the dancer putting on her slipper in the second half of the fourth century A.D., but the date could easily be lowered to the time of Constantine the Great or extended well into the fifth century.²⁴

The composition of the seated figure adjusting a sandal or putting on a slipper has a long history in Greek sculpture. The most famous manifestation is the seated nymph from the early Hellenistic group of a satyr with foot-clappers and a nymph facing him, known as the 'Invitation to the Dance'. A bronze in Berlin from Dodona in western Greece is closest in spirit to the girl from Constantinople at the height of the later Roman Empire. A girl is seated on a rocky hillside strewn with flowers and reaches for her right slipper. Her long chiton, animal's-skin cloak, and elaborate cap and flowers suggest a woodland goddess, a maenad, or a nymph, and the style of the figure goes back through Hellenistic art to the height of the classical period. There are also similar seated statues of Muses, and a seated, sandal-binding Artemis in Vienna can be placed midway between the early Hellenistic nymphs and the Late Antique silver girl considered in these pages.²⁵

SILVER BOWL, EASTERN ROMAN IMPERIAL, A.D. 317 (Fig.61). During the autumn of 316 the civil war, a duel of power between the Roman emperors Constantine the Great and Licinius, raged throughout the cities and open areas of modern Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, northern Greece, and European Turkey. After an indecisive battle on the plains between Philippopolis (Plovdiv in Bulgaria) and Hadrianopolis (Edirne in Turkey),

²³ Accession number 69.72. Height: 0.12 m. Base: 0.061 by 0.059 m. Frederick Brown Fund.

²⁴ See R. DELBRUECK: *Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs*, Berlin-Leipzig [1933], pl.10, No.2 (Helena), pl.11, No.8 (Fausta, wife of Constantinus), pl.25, Nos.8, 9 (Eufemia). H. P. L'ORANGE: 'Der Subtile Stil. Eine Kunstströmung aus der Zeit um 400 nach Christus', *Antike Kunst* 4 [1961], pp.72-73, pl.30, figs.5-7. J. BECKWITH: *op. cit.*, pp.15 f., dates the base of the obelisk in the Hippodrome to about 390, at the height of the reign of Theodosius I.

²⁵ See R. KEKULÉ VON STRADONITZ, H. WINNEFELD: *Bronzen aus Dodona in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin [1909], pp.20-23.

²⁰ Macon figure: H. B. WALTERS: *Catalogue of the Silver Plate (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the British Museum*, London [1921], pp.8 f., No.32, pl.6. Bruton statuettes: J. M. C. TOYNBEE: *op. cit.*, p.134, Nos.22, 23, pls.13, 14, 21, 22. Compare, especially, the bronze of about the same height and with similar details: *Verres et Bronzes Antiques, Ancienne Collection J.-A. Durighello*, Paris [16th May 1911], p.35, No.325, pl.XIII.

²¹ Accession number 66.425. Height: 0.21 m. Theodora Wilbour Fund in Memory of Charlotte Beebe Wilbour. *Centennial Acquisitions, Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 68 [1970], p.28, No.12.

²² H. B. WALTERS: *op. cit.*, p.38, No.144, pl.23.

negotiations toward a permanent peace were set in motion between December of the same year and February of 317. Constantine accepted the terms on 17th February, and peace was confirmed in Serdica (Sophia in Bulgaria) on the first of March. By this agreement Constantine received all of the Balkans save Thrace from his brother-in-law and rival. At the same time three new Caesars or junior rulers were created, Constantine's two sons Crispus and Constantine II and the younger Licinius. Clearly this acquisitive peace and the creation of two imperial dynasties could only lead to the renewal of hostilities, and eight years later, on 18th September 324, Licinius I was totally defeated at Chrysopolis (Üsküdar) just across the Bosphorus from Byzantium where Constantine the Great was to found a great new metropolis in the following year. Licinius surrendered and was soon put to death, allegedly while trying to escape.

On 11th November 317, just over eight months after the treaty of peace had gone into effect, Licinius I celebrated the tenth anniversary of his elevation to imperial power and undertook vows for a second decade of successful rule, a wish which he did not live to see fulfilled. In honour of this occasion an imperial official at Naissus (Niš in Yugoslavia), probably the master of a travelling mint, prepared a series of cast and hammered silver bowls with a punched inscription hailing Licinius and his vows, and with the hallmark of the city prominently displayed in front of the emperor's name.²⁶ This commemorative issue must have been intended in part as an act of reconciliation, since Naissus was the birthplace of Constantine the Great and since he visited the city frequently during the years before and, especially, after these bowls were made. Four or possibly five of these bowls, the earliest surviving datable Roman imperial anniversary dishes, were found together on the site of ancient Naissus in 1901. Two have long been in the museum at Belgrade, and the best-known example is that in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. All differ somewhat in the position of the lettering and in the form of the wreath.²⁷ That the bowls were official in nature is confirmed by the fact that the design of the major inscription in a medallion frame around a wreath containing the anniversary vows has direct parallels in the types of imperial gold medallions and coins struck at mints close to or within the parts of the Roman Empire remaining to Licinius after the civil wars of 316.

LICINI AVGVSTE SEMPER VINCAS SIC X SIC XX may be rendered as 'Oh Licinius the Emperor, may you always be victorious! As the vows were for ten years, so may they be for twenty!' The coin of Licinius most closely related in every respect to this issue of medallion silver plate is a gold aureus of November 317 to 318, struck at the old imperial capital of Nicomedia (Izmit) in Bithynia. The reverse reads IOVI CONS[ERVATORI] LICINI AVG and shows the old pagan chief Olympian Jupiter standing holding a small image of Victoria on the orb of the universe. At his feet the eagle holds the wreath, and the inscription SIC X SIC XX appears on the face of the god's podium. Here are all the elements of the anniversary bowl, with the additional iconographic statement that the victorious August-

tus Licinius is to be protected on the renewal of his vows by Jupiter. An aureus of Licinius struck in 315 to 316 at Heraclea in Thrace shows an arrangement of the decennial and vicennial vows within a wreath corresponding exactly to that of the bowls from Naissus.²⁸ This indicates that material commemoration of the event began before 11th November 317 and could also postulate a slightly earlier date for the Licinius dishes. The earlier date would mean that a mint official at Naissus could have issued this commemorative series of silver plate in a part of the Empire soon to be wrested from Licinius by Constantine the Great at the peace of February to March 317. After this peace few if any coins of one emperor were issued in the name of the other in the opposite halves of the divided Empire. In any case, this famous group of early anniversary bowls with their strong hopes for the victorious Licinius must have only survived the catastrophes of September and October 324 because they were hidden away rather than melted down, to the visual and historic benefit of the twentieth century.

SILVER PLATE, EASTERN ROMAN IMPERIAL, CIRCA A.D. 500 TO 550 (Figs. 60, 62). A ferocious feline, seemingly a tigress from the stylized stripes about her body, downs an ibex or long-horned mountain goat in a landscape of rocks and clumps of grass. A lizard watches the two animals at the lower right, and a gnarled old tree fills the upper part of the tondo. As with comparable plates, the inner circle was cast, hammered and chased in one piece, while the solid foot and the backing including the heavy rim were fashioned in two additional units. On the underside of this backing within the area of the circular foot is a rectangular hallmark or, perhaps, control stamp of a major imperial treasury of the Eastern Roman Empire, one that on numismatic evidence would appear to support a stylistic dating for this plate in the expansive and cosmopolitan era of the emperor Justinianus, A.D. 527 to 565, or in the twenty-five years preceding his accession.²⁹

The traditional animal scene of this plate, one common in Near Eastern through to Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman iconography, was doubtless from its scenic presentation in this instance a Late Antique copy of a famous painting. The composition probably symbolized the attack of imperial power (the obviously-female feline) on eastern mountain barbarism (the ibex). The

²⁸ P. M. BRUNN, in *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, edited by C. H. V. SUTHERLAND, R. A. G. CARSON, VII, *Constantine and Licinius, A.D. 313-337*, London [1966], p.543, No.9, pl.17, No.9; pp.601 f., No.18, pl.20, No.18.

²⁹ Accession number 69.1146. Diameter: 0.208 m. Theodora Wilbour Fund in Memory of Zoë Wilbour. *Centennial Acquisitions, Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 68 [1970], p.30, No.14; *Archaeology* 23 [1970], p.117. The inscription in the rectangular stamp on the reverse reads BACIAIOY, each pair of letters being separated by a cross or the border in the form of a wreath. The name *Basilioi* occurs on plates stamped in the reign of Heraclius (A.D. 613 to 629/30), always in monogrammatic form, notably the Meleager plate in Leningrad: E. CRUKSHANK DODD: *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, No.7), Washington, D.C. [1961], pp.170 ff., especially pp.176 f., No.57. It seems impossible to conclude that the same official used this different stamp at a much earlier period in his career. Mary Comstock's astute numismatic eye detects effaced stamps on the foot, which could make the plate older than the current marking.

Mrs. Dodd studied the plate on a visit to Boston in January 1971 and expects to publish the stamps in the Dumbarton Oaks series (Papers), 'Byzantine Silver Stamps', Supplement III. She informs me that the stamp is related to other stamps of the period 450 to 500 from Constantinople, and to coins from 450 to the end of the reign of Justin I (518 to 527). The plate's obverse design links with that of the Shepherd Plate in Leningrad, a work dated around A.D. 542: see DODD: *op. cit.*, pp.70 f., No.9.

²⁶ Accession number 1970.568. Diameter: 0.165 m. Height: 0.038 m. Edward J. and Mary S. Holmes Fund. Exhibited: *Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern, Kunsthhaus Zürich* [7th June-2nd August 1964], p.39, No.375, pl.33. Mr E. Kofler has been most helpful with information about this famous piece from his collection. Its acquisition from funds bequeathed by one of the Museum's greatest figures (Director and President) reflects the Holmes' lifelong interest in Late Antique art of the Eastern Mediterranean world.

²⁷ See D. E. STRONG, *op. cit.*, p.199, pl.63B (Vienna). M. VASSIJS, *Revue archéologique* 1 [1903], pp.17-32, the original find.

design can be traced back to such famous classic Achaemenid architectural reliefs as the lion attacking the bull, one of the carved staircase blocks from Palace H at Persepolis.³⁰ It is amusing, not without the possibilities of truth, to speculate that the animal of imperial attack is very definitely female in deference to the empress Theodora, who was so politically powerful during the major part of Justinian's reign and whose legendary exploits could hardly have been any less fascinating in the reigns of the great emperor's immediate successors.

The general composition and many specific details, from the oak or olive tree curving into the upper ground and the treatment of clumps of grass, are the same as those of the plate showing Herakles and the Nemean lion in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, from an old collection in Milan. This plate presumably also should be dated in the sixth century A.D.³¹ It would likewise be interesting to know, at least to speculate further, whether or not more of these Justinianic and later imperial or mythological or decorative plates can be considered allegories of government rather than just attractive designs handed down from the earlier Empire or Hellenistic Greek times. These plates come in sizes that relate to the concentric dimensions of multiple solidi in Late Antiquity, and it could thus be said in truth that these were 'coins', having a relationship of size and weight akin to gold and silver bars in a modern economy. The plate published here has been worked in a style like that of Late Antique mosaics, particularly those in the imperial palace at Constantinople. The large eyes of the animals, their somewhat flattened bodies, and their strong silhouettes have an almost-Oriental flavour, and in this creation it is possible to see the connections with early Islamic metalwork in the so-called Sassanian tradition.³²

seeing evidence of the magnificent results that have already been achieved. In the light of your article, however, many of those who are thinking of sending money will surely require immediate and convincing reassurance at the most authoritative level that none of it will be used in the manner to which you draw attention: until such reassurance is given they may well feel that there are better artistic causes to which to devote their resources.

FRANCIS HASKELL

Professor of the History of Art, Oxford

William Beckford's Collection

SIR, In his article 'Objects from William Beckford's Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum' (May 1971, p.254), Mr Wainwright asserts that no copies of the catalogues of the 1801 and 1807 sales of the contents of Fonthill House ('Splendens') are known. Both are on my desk as I write this letter. That of the 1801 sale is the auctioneer's own marked catalogue. Although it lacks its title page, annotations in Phillips's own hand make it perfectly clear that it is in fact the allegedly missing catalogue. The copy of the 1807 catalogue is complete but lacks prices or purchasers' names. I also have before me a second 'Splendens' catalogue, also dated 1807, of the sale of 16th September 1807, of the materials from the destruction of Fonthill House. Unlike the other two catalogues this is not unique as a second copy survives in the Bodleian Library.

None of these catalogues is recorded in Lugt's *Répertoire* but all three will eventually appear in the final supplementary volume. As it will be a number of years before this appears I believe it to be worthwhile putting the facts concerning the 1801 and 1807 catalogues on record here in order to squash a frequently repeated error.

FRANCIS WATSON

³⁰ See E. L. B. TERRACE: *The Art of the Ancient Near East in Boston*, Boston [1962], fig.47; also H. FRANKFORT: *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, London [1958], pp.218-230, pls.178 f. (elsewhere at Persepolis).

³¹ See G. M. A. HANFMANN: *Classical Sculpture*, Greenwich, Conn. [1967], p.343, fig.348. Also the David and the lion dish from the Cyprus treasure, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: O. M. DALTON: *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, New York [1961], p.99, etc., fig.58; J. BECKWITH: *op. cit.*, pp.52 f., fig.68, this group and others dated 610 to 629. It has slightly more stylized details in the tree and landscape, not to mention the animals' fur.

³² A plate with a griffin, dated in the fifth century A.D., shows that the division between East Roman and 'Sassanian' at this time (and presumably later) can be very subjective, or purely stylistic: see E. KITZINGER, *op. cit.*, p.14, No.51; see also *Sassanian Silver, Late Antique and Early Mediaeval Arts of Luxury from Iran*, The University of Michigan Museum of Art [August-September 1967], pp.113 f., Nos.26, 27, and pp.68-71 (discussion by O. Grabar).

Letters

The Restoration of Tuscan Monuments

SIR, Your most interesting and alarming leading article on current plans for the 'restoration' of certain Florentine churches (December 1970) must be of direct concern to many of your readers in this country and indeed all over the world. Since the terrible floods of a few years ago significant contributions to the saving of works of art in Florence and elsewhere in Italy have come (and are still coming) from foreign sources, and those who have helped in this way have hitherto been amply rewarded by

The Literature of Art

The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance

BY ANTHONY BLUNT

OVER the last fifty years the architecture of the Italian Renaissance has received much less attention than the painting of the period, and the literature on the subject is still slight and not always satisfactory. Monographs like Ackerman's *Michelangelo* or treatments of particular themes like Frommel's *Farnesina* are regrettably rare; but there are signs of a change, and some at least of the books reviewed below help to fill important gaps.

Milan Cathedral can certainly count among the buildings which deserve detailed treatment, and the two volumes devoted to the congress held in 1968 are worthy of the subject.¹ It is impossible here to give more than a brief summary of the contents of the book, which covers not only the architecture of the building but also certain objects in the Treasury, paintings and sculpture in the cathedral itself, and the history of the music connected with the choir. Several authors deal with aspects of

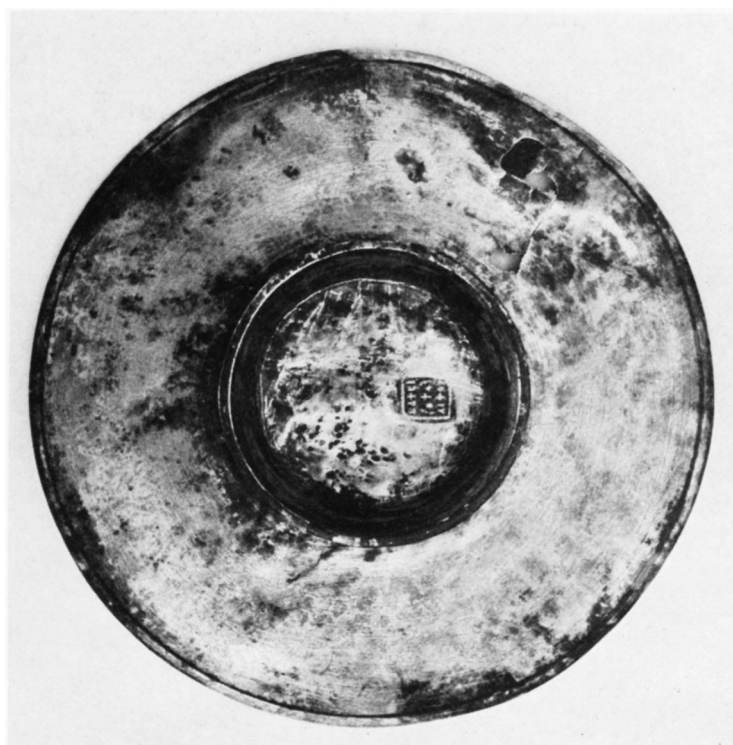
¹ **Il Duomo di Milano**. Congresso Internazionale Milano - Museo della Scienza e della Tecnica - 8, 12 Settembre 1968. Ed. Maria Luisa Gatti Perer. 2 vols.: I, 306 pp., heavily illustrated; II, 348 pp., heavily illustrated. (Edizioni La Rete, Milan), Lire 20,000.



60. Silver *Plate*. Eastern Roman Imperial, c.A.D. 500 to 550. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



61. Silver Anniversary *Bowl* of the Emperor Licinius I, A.D. 317. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



62. Back view of the *Plate* illustrated in Fig. 60.



Greek Funerary Animals, 450-300 B. C.

Author(s): Cornelius Vermeule

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Greek Funerary Animals, 450-300 B.C.

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

PLATES 11-14

Of all the sculptured animals that adorned Greek cemeteries in the classical periods, Attic lions are best known. The lions that surmounted Boeotian and northern Greek *polyandria* or private tombs have also been investigated. The least studied animals are the leopards ("panthers"), which occur in Attica and Boeotia. Between these lie the Attic bulls, and the dogs of various breeds from Attica and Boeotia. Lions from western Asia Minor and the islands performed similar funerary functions, often resembled their Attic cousins in physique, and have attracted some, usually casual, notice in the literature of travelers and excavators.

Mythological beasts, the sphinx chiefly, belong in a wider study of classical grave monuments, but it can be noted that among the Attic animals of the fourth century there is at least one griffin, poised nowadays on top of a Roman rectangular tomb in the little park behind the Hephaisteion. The creature is, unfortunately, headless and thus cannot be associated to a satisfying degree of precision with any cousins that are birds in the Mycenaean period (Lefkandi), self-contained quadrupeds in archaic times (Olympia bronzes, Burdur plaques), and felines in the Hellenistic age (Belevi, Tarentine gilded terracottas). The mourning Siren atop marble shafts falls outside this study.*

ATTIC FUNERARY LIONS

Attic funerary lions, the center of this investigation, are directly related to the major class of grave stelai in their chronological span (post-Parthenon period to Demetrios of Phaleron), their locations and provenances, and their size and sculptural styles. Since sculptors saw humans but never (at least hardly ever) lions, Attic lions are more "ideal" than human figures, more removed from reality, and develop within themselves rather than

in relation to living lions of any sort. Only in the generation of giant, multfigured stelai do they begin to relate to the facts of leonine life. From 450 to 315 marble lions show all the changes well documented in monumental decorative sculpture and even in the best statuary and relief. Asia Minor lions have a more oriental, more conceptual and (perhaps) more conservative development of their own, but about 350 B.C. they, too, swing into the Attic mainstream, thanks to the work of Skopas and Bryaxis or Leochares at Halikarnassos. From then on they begin to take on all the proto-Hellenistic and post-Alexandrian characteristics, and it is certain that they were not given up because of any anti-luxury decrees in Athens. Not all of western Asia Minor, however, continued to adhere to the canons of the Mausoleum sculptors, and there are several leonine individuals in the late fourth and third centuries that combine up-to-date attributes with mannerisms going back to the archaic period.

PROVINCIAL LIONS

Under this heading belong the beasts from Boeotia, Euboea, Macedonia, Epirus, and certain animals from the islands. The islands (Rhodes in particular) are a battleground, a jungle of Attic and Asiatic influences. So also is Cyrene in North Africa, just to the southwest of Crete (an island where classical lions are, surprisingly, so far non-existent). It can be shown that Attic or Asia Minor lions (or their marble and their sculptors) were also shipped to the Aegean islands, Cyrene, and early Hellenistic Egypt, so that good working models for local sculptors were always at hand. Boeotian lions, it might be added, are as irregular in their styles, qualities of carving, and types of material as are grave stelai or votive reliefs from Thebes, Thespieae, or cities to the north and west.

* These remarks about funerary animals are based on the lists prepared in collaboration with Penelope (von Kersburg) Truitt and published in *AJA* 72 (1968) 98-101. The listings comprised mainly dogs and lions, but the latter also contained she-panthers, leopards, she-leopards and bulls. Additions here and there have in no way affected the conclusions presented here, and they will all be embodied in a full catalogue at some

future date. Mrs. Truitt has done much of the preparatory work for this article. The museums in question have kindly allowed use of the photographs selected for this study, a number of which were taken by Mrs. Truitt and myself. Mary Comstock, Sarah Dublin and Emily Vermeule have also helped, as has Jiri Frel.

REAPPRAISING SCULPTURED ANIMALS

Why offer a reappraisal of classical Greek funerary animals, chiefly lions, at this time and in the fashion presented here? For one reason the body of material is large and, save for the admirable set of lists published in connection with the drain-spouts from Olympia, really little studied beyond single, isolated examples.¹ In Greece, the islands, and Asia Minor, lions are the itinerant archaeologist's delight. They are inevitably tethered in the courtyards or gardens of museums, or even outside their entrances. Therefore there is no complex red tape, no frustrating delays or refusals in photographing or otherwise studying them. No one is jealous or possessive of the *droits de la publication* of a marble lion. Indeed, some of the key beasts in this study have reclined until recently in the countryside (Liopesi), remain on the sites of their discovery (Kerameikos, Didyma), or have been artistically placed in accessible "sculpture gardens" (behind the Hephaisteion, just inside the Beulé Gate of the Acropolis). Professional colleagues, particularly those working in Greece and Turkey, tend to feel that anyone studying lions is either perpetuating a big joke or slipping into second childhood. Like marble cuirassed statues, lions are everywhere, and their pursuit meets with such success that one is encouraged to travel far and wide in the byways of classical lands. Conclusions derived from such investigations will be set forth in greater detail shortly.

LIONS IN AMERICA

For chauvinistic purposes, a study of Attic lions is most profitable because, like Attic grave stelai, a considerable number came to America in the artistic migrations of 1900-1940. These emigrations were corollaries of the building expansion of modern Athens and the nearby ancient deme-sites. Many lions in European museums have been published only in line drawings or even in unillustrated catalogues. Such is also the case with the many other lions that have traveled no farther than the lower courtyard and the basements of the

National Museum in Athens. Of the American beasts, the faceless but elegant fellow of strongly Lysippic proportions in New York, ca. 335 B.C., and the key masterpiece in Cincinnati, ca. 345 B.C., have appeared in catalogues and journals, although the latter is on occasion published from an old photograph before a second restoration and filling in of surfaces (pl. 11, fig. 2).² Kansas City's proto-Hellenistic dog-lion from a major Athenian workshop is best known from a photograph that shows only his front half (pl. 11, fig. 3).³ The lion of ca. 325 B.C. in Minneapolis, allegedly from a building site just north of the Acropolis, has been well studied and illustrated in Willemsen's monograph on the comparable Olympia architectural sculptures.⁴ The lion of 390 B.C. in Boston (MFA 65.563) is the largest, most complete example of a group that includes beasts in the Rhode Island School of Design at Providence and a private collection in New York (pl. 11, fig. 1).⁵

CHARACTERISTICS OF ATTIC AND BOEOTIAN LIONS

Attic lions from 450 to 315 can be dated more precisely than in any previous study. They can even be assigned to workshops and specific hands. Since any additions to our knowledge of the greatest generations of ancient visual art is valuable, evidence offered by animals should hardly be overlooked. Ancient Athens lived as constantly and intimately with these beasts as it did with grave stelai or marble funerary vases. Since Attic funerary lions have been studied only as adjunct to Willemsen's major monograph on Olympia's drain-spouts, while the grave stelai or vases have been investigated in major and minor publications, the king of beasts deserves better understanding in the land of Perikles, Socrates, Aristotle and Demosthenes. This list of greats among whom the ruler of the jungle dwelt carefully omits Themistokles, Konon and Lysikurgus, who are alleged to have maltreated Attic marble lions for purposes of national defense. A number of lions, statues or reliefs, in this and other studies of the subject owe their

¹ F. Willemsen, *Die Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier vom Dach des Zeustempels, Olympische Forschungen IV* (Berlin 1959) (hereafter Willemsen).

² New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 09.221.9, said to be from Marathon: G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures* (Cambridge, Mass. 1954) 82, no. 145; the reversed pendant in Copenhagen is F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture* (1951) 181, no. 238a. Cincinnati 1946.40: A. Minto,

ArchCl 1 (1949) 115, pl. 27.

³ Kansas City, 33-94: *Handbook of the Collections* (4th ed. 1959) 26, full view.

⁴ Minneapolis 25.25: Willemsen 53, 131, pl. 63. Mr. Joseph Ternbach removed the restored legs, tail, support and base and remounted the body in 1960.

⁵ Boston: *CJ* 62 (1966) 106f, fig. 15; *Annual Report for 1965* 50.

survival to reuse in walls from the Persian wars to Sulla's siege.

Greek love of outdoor sculpture and interest in an ideal form, whether human or animal, are blended in the marble lions produced in the century from 420 to 320, the greatest age of Attic funerary reliefs. Like the sculptors working at Xanthos in Lycia, artists in Greece could have seen small mountain lions, but in the late fifth and fourth centuries their vision of the king of beasts was distilled from generations of using motives from Syria and Mesopotamia and from actual contemplation of large dogs and precocious cats. Their lions crouch like dogs over bones. Their bodies are as well-proportioned and smoothly ideal as those of Hegeso herself and her servant girl. Manes are like ruffs, and it is only close to the beginning of the Hellenistic Age, around 330 B.C., that they begin to look like the hair on lions seen nowadays in zoos and circuses. Round eyes, broad canine snouts, and ears like those of a Doberman pinscher add to the image of friendly conceptualism. Toward the end of the hundred years of Attic funerary lions, some beasts look as if they might bite but most of them are placid, occasionally even playful. The emotional faces which can be identified with the style of Skopas around 350 B.C. enter the repertory of lion sculpture, and the elongation of athletes by Lysippos in the generation after 340 is even translated into feline anatomy. Among the other animals that guarded Attic tombs (large, butting bulls; colossal mastiffs; mild leopards; and even griffins) the lion remained the favorite, and his decimation by the anti-luxury decree of 317 B.C. was an irreparable loss not only to Attic art but to that of all Greece. Hellenistic lions are nebulous and Roman lions are dull by comparison with the masterpieces of Attic funerary sculpture before the closing years of the fourth century. It is only really with Antonio Canova in Italy in the Neoclassic epoch that the king of beasts again becomes a worthy monument in sculpture.

Some Attic beasts, particularly those of the generations from 350 to 320, are huge works of sculpture. They are in fact the largest freestanding monuments of glyptic art that were produced in

a city where the classical standard, in sculpture, was the masterpiece that bore relationship to the size of man. Noteworthy exceptions in portrayal of the human form on a colossal scale were, of course, the Athena Promachos and the Athena Parthenos on the Acropolis, and the cult-statues, such as Apollo Patroos by Euphranor, in the Agora. When the men of Greece in her golden years could commission four or five tons of sculptured marble from an artist, neither the standards expected nor the results achieved could be habitually mediocre. The standards were the same as in grave stelai, works of sympathetic quality and disinterested mediocrity standing side by side in a cemetery. Outside of Attica, in Boeotia and farther mainland areas, provincial styles and local stones do not always imply mediocrity. The colossal seated lion found near the Thebes railway station, once no doubt the pinnacle of a public or private monument along the road to Chalkis, although now headless and bereft of its base, is as splendid a beast as one will encounter in any lion-loving civilization.⁶ It has been remarked that, whatever their dates, the colossi of Chaeroneia and Amphipolis are radically varying versions on the same theme, the latter a vigorous beast and the former a dry *tour de force*.⁷ Only one seated lion, a work of about 340 B.C. by the sculptor of the Cincinnati lion, can be attributed to Attica, having been found near Marathon (pl. 12, fig. 4), but the king of beasts in this pose dominated Boeotian and northern Greek funerary sculpture, and turns up in the islands and Asia Minor as the result of a tradition that may have begun in the Greek islands or the nearby coast in archaic times.⁸

When the surviving Attic lions of the late fifth and fourth centuries are arranged chronologically, the progression from lingering archaic conceptualism to Protohellenistic pseudonaturalism becomes very evident. The lions from 440 to 390 make a definite transition from somewhat stiff, lupine archaism to the doglike anatomy current from 390 to 350, the crouching animal found again and again in Attic cemeteries. This second general group comprises the largest number of relatively placid, round-bodied lions, singularly devoid of

⁶ M. Paraskevaïdes, *Kathemerini*, 8 Jan. 1965; *Deltion* 19 (1964) Chronica 200, pl. 235a; S. N. Koumanoudis, *Deltion* 21 (1966) 145f, pl. 53 c-d.

⁷ See generally, O. Broneer, *The Lion Monument at Amphipolis* (Cambridge, Mass. 1941) passim; A. W. Lawrence, *JHS* 62 (1942) 101f, etc.

⁸ See the chronology, *AJA* 72 (1968) 99-101, right col.; ex Branteghem-Marathon seated lion, with Lembessis in Paris: M. Collignon, *Les statues funéraires dans l'art grec* (Paris 1911) 230, fig. 150. Athens, NM no. 802, somewhat earlier but perhaps by the same sculptor, has the body roughened in similar fashion.

ferocity. From 350 to 330 the tempo picks up, and more decisive treatment of the strands of hair in the mane is combined with greater animation and muscular detail in the body. From 330 to 317 come the vigorous animals that embody the sculptural practices of Skopas, and in roughly the same years appear the elongated beasts associated with Lysippos. The biggest, most dramatic lions, naturally, can be dated just before and after 320. They have rich manes, powerful limbs, full bodies, and elaborate displays of bone and muscle beneath the surfaces. Survivors are relatively few in number, for private expense and public dissatisfaction must have made their creation a universal burden.

LIONS FROM THE ISLANDS AND ASIA MINOR

Asiatic and island lions do not enjoy the unity of Attic sculpture or the Boeotian-Euboean tendency to measure most local products by Attic standards. Just as there is no clearly definable break, the Persian wars through the Parthenon period, in eastern lions, so there is less difference between archaic and classical lions than in Attica. Asiatic lions before 350 B.C., the advent of the Mausoleum sculptors, are conservative without being retrogressive or unimaginative. The archaic recumbent lion survives longer in Asia Minor and the adjacent islands than in Greece, where it carries into the fourth century as a formula for poising panthers (more correctly, leopards). Manes, faces, legs, tails, and their poising in eastern classical lions are more like the archaic than are comparable aspects of Attic lions from 440 to 315 B.C. Yet lions on eastern gems are as progressive as their Attic counterparts, and in the fifth century in Caria a distinctive, tubular lion with close, matted mane is developed, a subspecies that can be traced on coins and identified in monumental sculpture in the Ionian or Carian marble lion of about 420 B.C. now in Florence, and the lion near the temple at Didyma (pl. 11, fig. 5).⁹ In one feature that becomes popular in Attica around 325 B.C. and widespread in Hellenistic and Roman times, sculptors in southwest Asia Minor seem to have pioneered. This is the motive of plac-

ing an animal's head, a bull or deer, beneath the lion's forepaws. Hellenistic art took up this classical motive and elaborated on its opportunities for ferocious naturalism.

LASTING INFLUENCE OF BRONZE AGE ANIMALS

The human form changed radically from Mycenaean to early Hellenistic Greek civilization. In contrast, there is a great affinity between the naturalism of prehistoric animals and that of beasts in the archaic and, especially, classical periods. Here naturalism means conceptual naturalism, and the animals most involved are the lion, the bull and the dog. The lions who leap at bulls and who face each other in various heraldic poses on Mycenaean gems are little different from the felines on coins and gems from 480 to 375 B.C. They have the same circumscribed manes, the same round, fairly flat faces, and the same long, feline legs with large paws. The affinity is not coincidental; prehistoric stones were certainly excavated and circulated in classical times, and the animals on the gate at Mycenae were not the first or the only testimonia to prehistoric ability in the natural, forceful rendering of animals that was available to archaic and classical sculptors. In the instance of bulls one has only to compare the large marble creature in the Kerameikos necropolis or its counterparts, sometimes reversed, in Copenhagen, at Rhamnous, or from the sea off Euboea, with the bulls on the Vaphio cups to realize how little the generations after Pheidias could improve on the art of the mid-second millennium B.C. (pl. 12, fig. 6).¹⁰ The art of rendering dogs may even have declined, comparing the Kerameikos mastiff with the whippet-like hounds in the Mycenae and Tiryns frescoes. In brief, animals offer the best subjective examples of artistic continuity from the art of the Bronze Age to that of Skopas and Lysippos.

CLASSICAL ANIMALS IN LATE

HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TIMES

The subject of continuity and survival in Greek animals, especially lions, is one that does not stop

⁹ Florence, Museo Archeologico: A. Minto, *ArchCl* 1 (1949) 113-116, pls. 25f; Willemsen 48, 131. Didyma: Willemsen 131, pl. 45; C. Weikert, *AM* 71 (1956) 145-148, pls. 78f; H. Hoffmann, *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 103.

¹⁰ Copenhagen: F. Poulsen (supra n. 2) 180f, no. 238; V. Poulsen, *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 25 (1968) 64f, fig. 9. Oraioi, from near Cape Artemision: Minas Nisiotis

(Paraskevaides), *Eleutheros Kosmos*, 11 Aug. 1968, 12. This and the Kerameikos bull face to the right, while the earlier, more ideal animal in Copenhagen moves to the viewer's left. Copenhagen is at least twenty years earlier than Kerameikos, and the very naturalistic creature at Oreos may be nearly a decade or more later than the example in Athens.

with the advent of Alexander the Great and Hellenistic art. Hellenistic and Roman lions become more faithful to the experience of the zoo than were their classical forebears. In the time of the emperors artists went to watch the munching of Christians just as did the rest of the population. A series of reliefs in the museum on Kos, in front of the Roman theater at Miletos, and in the Izmir Museum (near the railway station) from Miletos (no. 1192) aptly demonstrate the relationships between leaping lions of a certain naturalism and their settings or their human tormentors (pl. 13, fig. 7).¹¹ But there were throwbacks and revivals. A lion resting with forepaws on the head of a fallen animal is Roman in pose and details of execution but fourth century B.C. in general feeling. He is in the wall of the mosque by the castle on Kos. The more complete lion in the Metropolitan Museum, frequently published as an original of the fifth century B.C. is really an excellent Roman copy after a bronze or marble wolf-lion of about 440 B.C. Since the statue comes from Rome, and since the beast is somewhat of a zoological curiosity by Attic standards, he may be a copy of some work brought from Asia Minor (he resembles the lions associated with the Nereid Monument), or he may be a copy of some venerated lion (or wolf) from an Italic town.¹² If there are copies of fifth-century statues of human beings, there is no reason why there should not be copies of classical marble lions. In Attica the number of lions carved in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods are few indeed, for there must have been a huge reservoir to reuse among the animals of the fourth century. Several lions in and from Athens were evidently found with bases of the period 50 B.C. to A.D. 150, although they are clearly beasts of the fourth century. Since there are good Attic grave stelai of the Augustan, Julio-Claudian, and Hadrianic periods from around Athens, there is no reason why there should not be good sculptured lions to go with them.

CLASSICAL LIONS IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE

The survival of classical lions in the Middle Ages and Renaissance is a noteworthy phenomenon. A prime example is the colossal, seated lion of about 360 B.C. carried off by Francesco Morosini from the Piraeus to Venice in 1688, and now one of the four in front of the Arsenal there. As is well known he gave the Venetian name, Porto Leone or Porto Draco, to the harbor and its few buildings of the late Middle Ages and Turkish periods. In the centuries between 700 and 1000 members of the Viking imperial guard recruited by the Byzantine emperors observed the beast, for they carved a Runic inscription on his forelegs.¹³ Of the three other animals carted off to Venice, one big recumbent lion came with Morosini from the tombs along the Sacred Way to Eleusis; he was seen by early travelers, no doubt in his original position, not far from the Dipylon Gate. The head is a horribly natural restoration. This distorts the body which, from the veins near the belly, the delineation of the left hind paw, and the lay of the plinth seems to be by the sculptor of the Kerameikos mastiffs. A date, therefore, around 320 B.C. appears likely.¹⁴

The general whose fame rests principally on the destruction of the Parthenon was also responsible for bringing a small quadruped from the Acropolis, no doubt from one of the avenues of tombs in the Middle Ages. The damaged or missing head was renewed in Venice. Here, however, eagerness to honor the beast of the Evangelist Mark was misplaced, for Morosini's Acropolis animal was originally a dog, a mastiff similar to the colossal recumbent ones still in the Athenian Kerameikos.¹⁵ The original head of Morosini's "lion" is perhaps that handsome canine cranium found several years ago in Odos Achilleos, near the Hephaisteion, and now (1965) behind the offices of the Third Athenian Ephorate in the Library of Hadrian (pl. 13, fig. 8).¹⁶

¹¹ Miletos, Roman theater: *Réalités* 205 (Dec. 1967) 108f. Both the reliefs on the site and those in Izmir include the chastisement of various animals by small, Amorino-like hunters. The Miletos frieze must date about A.D. 200; the relief on Kos may be a century earlier.

¹² New York, 09.221.3: Richter (supra n. 2) 46, no. 72. See, in addition to the bibliography given, F. O. Payne, "The Weirdest Sculptured Lion in Captivity," *International Studio* 62 (1917) CI, CII.

¹³ Willemsen 48, 130; G. Q. Giglioli, *ArchCl* 4 (1952) 5,

pl. 3; E. F. Rambo, *Lions in Greek Art* (Bryn Mawr 1918) 36; G. Wheler, *A Journey into Greece* (London 1682) Book VI, 418f.

¹⁴ Wheler (supra n. 13) 418f; Giglioli (supra n. 13) 8, pl. 4.

¹⁵ *EA*, no. 827; Giglioli (supra n. 13) 7f; Le Cte. de Laborde, *Athènes aux XVe, XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris 1854) I, 217 n.; II, 225f, 241.

¹⁶ *Deltion* 19 (1964) Part B, 1, *Chronica*, 60, pl. 56b.

The fourth lion in Venice migrated in 1715, and he too received a new, very Italian Baroque head. A glance suffices to identify him as one of the archaic lions from the Lion Terrace at Delos.¹⁷ These are the direct, visual survivals, akin to those around the Mediterranean that give the name "colonna" to an area because parts of a classical temple are visible, or "bocca di leone" to a street because a sarcophagus has been turned into a fountain basin. A suburb of Thespieae in Boeotia is still called Leondari in memory of the *polyandron* or one of the other stone funerary lions that stood there.

Another kind of survival is subjective in type and important to the arts of the Middle Ages: the reuse of archaic and classical lions in the architectural settings of mediaeval and Renaissance castles. At Halikarnassos, for instance, in the Castle of St. Peter that gave its name, *ad Peterum* (Bodrum), to the modern city, there is a late archaic to early classical lion built into the seaward walls of the English tower (pl. 13, fig. 9).¹⁸ Large, well carved and clearly defined in good white marble, he reclines on his own plinth halfway up the tower, amid coats of arms carved on old blocks of the Mausoleum, a wonder of the ancient and early mediaeval worlds. This is the English tower, and naturally the lion motive predominates in the arms and crests. The ancient lion is, therefore, not without reason in his present location. A study of the fifteenth-century armorial sculpture around the castle reveals that he, and another lion over the gate at the entrance, exerted considerable influence on the sculptors who adorned the bastions of this last outpost of Frankish Europe in Asia Minor. No doubt many of the sculptors were locally-trained Greeks, but master craftsmen and gifted pupils must have returned to Europe and kept these lions and others from the Mausoleum in mind when they executed decorations for late mediaeval and Renaissance forts, palaces and churches.

LIONS AS CITY-BADGES AND TEMPLE-GUARDIANS

So far these remarks have presupposed the use of most monumental, marble lions as funerary monuments, whether the central figures of public tombs or the decorative adjuncts of private ones. Bulls and dogs are hardly found in other than funerary connections, although cities such as Thurii in southern Italy employed the butting bull as the principal emblem on coins, and the hound appears on coins of Sikyon. In Attica from 440 to 320 B.C. the lion was chiefly, if not exclusively, a funerary animal, save in his architectural function as a waterspout. In the islands and Asia Minor the beast had wider uses, especially in connection with the cult of Apollo. In this role he appeared in archaic times on the terrace at Delos, and the lions at Didyma were doubtless dedicated to the same god. In Asia Minor terraced avenues of lions have been rightly identified as an eastern influence or, at least, borrowing, for they reflect the ceremonial rows of animals, real and otherwise, in front of Mesopotamian palaces and Egyptian temples.

A standing, long-necked, long-legged lion is a fairly constant feature of the coins of Miletos in Hellenistic and early imperial times.¹⁹ He is distinctive and detailed enough to be compared with a number of lifesized and larger marble lions from Ionia and Caria (pl. 12, fig. 10).²⁰ Since the Milesian animal is a city-symbol connected with the cult of Apollo, it seems logical that many of the marble lions surviving out of context in these regions were also city or cult monuments. The lion was popular throughout Caria and Lycia as a coin-device, and he is constant on the coins of Cnidus.²¹ Here the principal surviving lion, now in the British Museum, seems to have topped a giant pyramidal tomb of about 365 B.C., like the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, but other lions, notably the small one in front of a schoolhouse on the Datça peninsula, have been found out of context.²² At Xanthos in Lycia a pair of fifth-century lions now

¹⁷ Well illustrated in J. Boardman, *Greek Art* (London 1964) 10ff, fig. 2; Giglioli (supra n. 13) pl. 1.

¹⁸ H. Gabelmann, *Studien zum frühgriechischen Löwenbild* (Berlin 1965) 91, 121, no. 130. The arms just above are those of Edward IV, the English having come from Rhodes to augment the garrison after 1480: see *AA* (1919) 67ff, esp. 70 fig. 6.

¹⁹ *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland, von Aulock*, vol. 6 Ionia (Berlin 1960) nos. 2089-2101.

²⁰ E.g. lions from the Mausoleum, especially BM no. 1075; G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture, A Survey* (New

York 1930) 51f, fig. 28; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture II* (London 1900) 129ff, no. 1075.

²¹ *SNG Deutschland, von Aulock*, vol. 7 Caria (Berlin 1962) nos. 2592-2614.

²² The lion at Cnidus was associated by Newton and others with the victory of the Athenian general Konon over the Lacedaemonians in 394 B.C. See Smith (supra n. 20) II, 214ff, no. 1350; Collignon 232, fig. 151; Fr. Krischen, *RM* 59 (1944) 173-181, pls. 29f, on the architecture of the Lion Tomb and its relation to the Mausoleum.

also in London were found with the Nereid Monument; they probably adorned its platform or superstructure, but they are clearly about two generations earlier than the Nereid tomb itself.²³ The lion-hunt scene on the sarcophagus of Lycian type from the princely necropolis at Sidon shows that in Lycia, as elsewhere, pursuit of the lion was associated with manly, warlike virtue.²⁴ In the Roman period in Greece, when naturalism in hunting scenes was popular, it was often the female "panther" or wild-cat who took on the task of adversary to impulses of virtue.²⁵ The mosaics at Pella provide excellent recent illustrations of these early Hellenistic hunting themes, close to their source.

SETTING AND CONTEXTS FOR ATTIC LIONS

The keystones to the use of lions in Attica as funerary monuments are the grave plot of Dionysios of Kollytos in the Kerameikos Cemetery, the stele of Leon (a man from Sinope) in the National Museum, and certain poems designed as epitaphs, including one attributed by the anthologists to Simonides, also concerning a man named Leon (pl. 13, fig. 11).²⁶ Careful excavation revealed that two crouching lions of about 325 B.C., animals' heads beneath their forepaws, were placed on each corner of the grave compound in the Kerameikos. Their associations with courage or virtue are really subordinated to their use as decorations, for they hardly differ from the tiny griffins that occur as akroteria on large grave stelai or the small, weeping Sirens that surmount funerary shafts. The tombstone of Leon, with its low relief of the head and shoulders of a seated lion of about 340 B.C., needs no further comment as an obvious rebus, a play on names similar to the devices on the tombs of mediaeval knights. The poems are similar, for had Leonidas gotten what he deserved after Thermopylae, he would surely have had a large, seated lion on top of his tomb or on top of the polyandron of the Spartan heroes. Courage, virtue, and a reference to the sculptural aspects of the tomb are the

qualities usually stressed or implied in the epitaphs. The contrast to these precious writings is the lion of Chaeroneia, which guarded the graves of all who fell in the tragic battle for Greek liberty with no written designation of victor or vanquished.

EVIDENCE FROM EXCAVATIONS

Evidence from excavations concerning the setting of Attic lions is, aside from the Kerameikos, unfortunately meager. Two stone bases, intended to be seen from at least some height and with elaborate moldings and sausage-like cuttings on their upper surfaces, were found set on end in the walls of a house of the fourth or fifth century A.D. west of the Areopagus. Homer Thompson has rightly concluded that they doubtless supported animals on plinths, and their measurements well match the dimensions of some of the fourth century crouching lions and recumbent leopards that are to be seen about Athens. The cut-out areas in the tops of these bases are pairs turned to left and right—the lions of the Dionysios monument in the Kerameikos were made to face outward and in opposite directions.²⁷

The two colossal lions in the Piraeus, from the suburb of Tampourias on the way to Eleusis, were found in front of an elevated tomb compound and evidently stood there rather than on top of the masonry (pl. 14, fig. 12).²⁸ Otherwise few if any records have been published of the way lions stood in relation to other marbles. They were often reused in Roman times or bundled into fourth century B.C. and later, especially Late Antique, fortifications because they made wonderful building material. If sculpture has to go into hasty defenses, there is nothing more comforting than the plump, round form of a marble lion, deprived of his tail, lower legs and plinth. They are second only to column drums in this respect, and you don't have to demolish a whole building to get at them. It has been stated by several authorities that the lions found in the Piraeus walls were part of Konon's defenses after the victory over the Spartans off Cni-

²³ Collignon fig. 160; Smith (supra n. 20) II, 41f, nos. 929f.

²⁴ C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque* II (Paris 1939) 880-893, pl. xxix.

²⁵ Based, ultimately, on the Hunt of Alexander, offered by Krateros at Delphi. See Picard (supra n. 24) IV, 2, 742-750, fig. 314; also the famous, very rare VIRTUTI AUGUSTI medallions of Hadrian: V. J. E. Ryan Sale, V, Glendining (London 1952) nos. 2588f, pl. 22.

²⁶ Grave plots: A. Brueckner, *Der Friedhof am Eridanos* (Berlin 1909) 74ff, figs. 48f; D. Ohly, *AA* (1965) 317-327, 344-347, plot dated 345-338 B.C. Leon of Sinope: P. Gardner,

Sculptured Tombs of Hellas (London 1896) 130, fig. 50; S. Karouzou, National Archaeological Museum, *Collection of Sculpture, A Catalogue* (Athens 1968) 107.

²⁷ Professor Thompson kindly furnished photographs for study. The base that was on the right front corner is no. 1193, and that from the corner opposite is no. 1194. The first is only slightly smaller than the leopardess within the Beulé Gate, for which see n. 32. Agora inv. A 3475-76: L. Shoe Meritt, *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 146-149, fig. 2, also her note 40a.

²⁸ Piraeus Museum nos. 2243-44: *Deltion* 10 (1926) Suppl. 80ff, figs. 30-32; *The Burlington Magazine* 110 (1968) 546.

dus in 394, but in fact they seem to have been, at the earliest, souvenirs of Lycurgus' hasty fortifications after the disaster at Chaeroneia in 338 B.C. None of the animals associated with repairs to the Long Walls can be dated earlier than a generation after Konon's activities.²⁹

Lions, bulls and dogs have been found along every ancient road leading from Athens. They stood wherever grave stelai were placed, but, since most of the finds have been made by building contractors or the Greek Archaeological Service harassed by anxious engineers, no records have been kept. In the spring of 1965 I saw two Attic lions of around 340 to 320 being dragged into the Ephors' courtyards of the lower city and the National Museum. The earlier, well preserved, came from under Odos Archarnon, beyond Omonoia, where a new apartment complex was being built, and the second, battered almost beyond recognition, was said at the time to have been unearthed during apartment construction in the suburb of Brahami, toward the airport and Sounion. No precise records of excavation exist, and the smaller, later animal has been officially assigned to the area just behind Hymettos on the lower road toward Marathon.³⁰ Both lions obviously adorned prominent exits from the city, and both owe their rediscovery to the massive, rapid rebuilding combined with the push to the suburbs that characterizes modern Athens.

The so-called lion of Liopesi is not the only other Attic beast who stood in the countryside or in a cemetery of one of the demes. This famous colossus of about 340 B.C. is now, alas, to be found in the garden below the Byzantine Museum.³¹ The lion of about 345 in the Louvre came from the deme of Aixone near Glyphada and Voula or Vari, along the coast of the Saronic Gulf toward Sounion, and the leopardess by the Beulé Gate was seen by Dod-

well in 1805 in this area, between Hagios Nikolaos and Cape Punta. Fauvel and others thought it probably marked the tomb of Harmodius' mistress.³² It is to be expected that more than one of the lions that emigrated to America in the 1930's came from Vari or farther along the coast, perhaps even from Anavyssos. Again, lack of records and hasty or illicit excavation make the plotting of precise provenances difficult. The pair of lions of about 360 on Rhodes was excavated in the necropolis of Ialysos, but had been moved in antiquity.³³

ATTIC BOVINES

Of the three principal Attic beasts the bull, or perhaps heifer, is a constant species, bearing a considerable relation to life but having certain conceptual features, the treatment of curls and dewlaps for instance, that come from early classical or even Achaemenid art as understood from statues and later survivals in western Asia Minor. A bovine, perhaps a heifer, found in an undescribed context in the Piraeus, can be compared to a tubular, schematic bull found near Söke (Sokia) in southern Ionia. This bull, with its characteristically Achaemenid eyes, is a typically provincial rendering of late Mesopotamian types and was probably one of a pair set up in front of a classical temple, perhaps as early as the fourth century B.C.³⁴ Such bulls, humped or otherwise, appear beside the steps leading to an altar and a baldachino-shaped temple on medallions of Caracalla (211-217) from Pergamon.³⁵ Two more bulls resembling the animal from southwest Ionia once stood in front of the temple of Roma and Augustus in Ankara (Ankyra) and may have been found in the excavations around that building.³⁶ Bulls were part of Anatolian and Mesopotamian cults, and there must have been examples about to distract the Greek, even the Attic sculptors (who,

²⁹ Piraeus Museum no. 375, in the garden, leads the "Cincinnati Group," and no. 281, lying beside it, heads the 370-360 class, that are all in Athens and from or in the Piraeus. See Willemsen, 48.

³⁰ The second is *Delion* 20 (1965) Part B, 1, Chronica, 123, pl. 97a. The first is inv. nos. 902, 902a, behind the Library of Hadrian. Published provenance for the second is "near the Police Station at Kharvati (Pallene), Attica." The late Mr. N. Verdelis helped me with one, Miss Barbara Philippaki with the other.

³¹ The most delightful account is E. Dodwell, *Classical and Topographical Tour Through Greece, during the years 1801, 1805, and 1806* (London 1819) I, 523f; Collignon (supra n. 8) 229. Prof. Eugene Vanderpool chronicled the recent migrations of this and other lions within Greece for me.

³² Dodwell (supra n. 31) 525; C. W. J. Eliot, *The Coastal Demes of Attika* (Toronto 1962) 15, 24. For the Louvre lion,

see Eliot, 11ff; Collignon (supra n. 8) 228f, fig. 149. Front paws, hind legs, and most of the tail are restored; the rock should be omitted, and the animal reposed. Leana was also identified as Aristogeiton's mistress, a "tongueless" bronze lioness in the Propylaea was said to commemorate her heroic death. See J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (London 1898) II, 273f, on Pausanias 1.23.1.

³³ Willemsen 59f, 130; *Clara Rhodos* 8 (1936) 203ff, no. 9, fig. 206; 19, fig. 6 rear.

³⁴ V. Poulsen (supra n. 10) 56ff, figs. 1-2. The Piraeus Museum bovines are nos. 696 a-b and 693.

³⁵ Also Septimius Severus and Julia Domna: W. Wroth, British Museum, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Mysia* (London 1892) 152, no. 315, pl. 30, no. 7.

³⁶ One of these, or a third, now on the terrace of the Ankara Museum, is said to come from Kastamonu. See V. Poulsen (supra n. 10) 55-58, fig. 3.

after all, traveled to Caria) from their barnyard researches. The calf carried by the famous "Moschophoros" from the archaic dedications on the Athenian Acropolis, a work of about 540 B.C., has the bulging eyes and large ears characteristic of bovines in Achaemenid art.

In the fifth century Myron's lifelike bronze cow on the Athenian Acropolis may have been a revelation of craftsmanship, natural enough to fool real calves and lions, but Roman copies indicate the beast was essentially a placid, votive animal. As mentioned previously, the true Attic funerary bovines are the large, stocky bulls carved between 350 and 320 B.C. (pl. 12, fig. 6). They were not then new to Attic art, for they had appeared in painting over a century and a half earlier as emblems on shields depicted on vases. In the latter part of the fifth century they were employed in high relief on the silver distaters and staters of Attic Thurii in Southern Italy. They must be thought of as snorting, pawing the ground, and swishing their tails in the bull's counterpart of the lion's roar. These bulls were revived in Augustan times on silver denarii, and Hyllos, son of the celebrated gem-cutter Dioskourides, evidently carved a magnificent intaglio of this theme in late Julio-Claudian or early Flavian times. Since 1928 these Attic funerary bulls have adorned the shilling of Ireland, in a composition by the famous die designer Percy Metcalfe, and their future is assured by their adaptation to the cupro-nickel five new pence coins of the Irish Republic, to be circulated early in 1971.

ATTIC CANINES

In Attic funerary art, the dog, particularly the hound, is the only beast with a possible personal relationship to the deceased. Men did not hunt with pet bulls, heifers or lions. Bull-jumping and lion-wrestling had long since become feats of the literary world rather than the Cretan palace or the Nemean hills. The dog is also the only Attic funerary animal of which there are several species or breeds. The big "mastiff" or pseudo-Molossian hound in the Kerameikos and his brothers are the best-known Attic dogs of the fourth century B.C., specifically of the

years 340-317. There is also the heavy-set cross between mastiff and hound, who is usually shown seated in Attic funerary sculpture of the fourth century. Most frequent is the hunting dog or hound, who graces both archaic grave stelai and monuments of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. He is less apt to be shown freestanding because of the thinness of his legs, but the popular archaic dogs on the Acropolis are proof that difficulty and delicacy were no bar to production. Of the same type is the controversial beast that for a number of years graced the Basel Museum—in my opinion a Roman version of the first or second century A.D. of an Attic animal of about 370 B.C.³⁷ Finally, there is the small pug-like creature that occurs on fourth century Attic stelai, usually with children, and on contemporary freestanding examples that probably topped the tombstones of the very young, most likely girls. This dog, to judge from Wheeler's late seventeenth century drawing, is also much akin to that shown in relief on the epitaph of Diogenes, allegedly brought to the Palazzo Erizzo in Venice from the Isthmian entrance to Corinth. Diogenes died about 325 B.C.³⁸

ATTIC HORSES

The horse, so frequent in Greek art as the adjunct of victors, heroes and the heroized deceased, does not appear as a freestanding funerary monument. In Athens the nearest possibilities are the stele honoring Alektas son of Leptines of Syracuse in 373-372 B.C. on the Acropolis or the Protoklelenistic horse-and-groom relief from near the Larissa railway station.³⁹ As the archaic equestrian statue in marble from the Kerameikos Cemetery demonstrates, if you are going to place a horse on top of a grave, it is just as logical to go one step further and place the deceased, as a courtly and heroic knight, atop the horse.⁴⁰ Although evidence is slight, it would appear that riderless horses in Attic funerary art were cenotaphs. Such would seem to be the case with the massive stallion, wearing the leopardskin blanket or saddle of a high officer, that catches everyone's attention as the princi-

³⁷ See *AJA* 72 (1968) 95-101, pls. 37f. An older colleague has recently reminded me that the Basel dog once possessed "strongly adhering rootmarks," the removal of which doubtless created the present surface so like that of other, cleaned Roman copies. The feet and plinth of the Basel dog must have resembled the ensemble recently found at Nemea: *Delion* 21 (1966) Part B, 1, *Chronica*, 125, pl. 122d.

³⁸ Wheeler (supra n. 13) 444f. The ancient reference is D.

Laertius 6.78; a real dog's grave is mentioned in Plutarch, *Themistokles* 10.

³⁹ Acropolis stele: S. Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum II* (Cambridge 1921) 255f, no. 1349. Latest on the horse-and-groom relief: Karouzou (supra n. 26) 127f, no. 4464, with only a detail illustrated, pl. 49. My opinions remain as stated in *AJA* 68 (1964) 336 n. 122.

⁴⁰ *BMFA* 64 (1966) 129-131, fig. 9.

pal component of the stele from the railway station. Like Alexander the Great, whose horses wear similar skins, the general whose monument consisted of his horse, groom, arms and armor surely died and was buried away from his native land. Dexileos was probably brought back to his family plot in the Kerameikos in 394, but other knights were not so fortunate. Late in the nineteenth century in Cambridge, Massachusetts, a Mr. Samuel Cooper (1830-1890) had a free horse of working breed carved on his tombstone, without comment, but this is a whim without wide commemorative significance.

ATTIC LEOPARDS AND CATS

Lions are felines, and within this general class belong also the Attic and Boeotian leopards and one or two cats that must have topped graves. The leopard is the most conservative of all Attic animals. The examples in the garden of the Piraeus Museum (no. 2242) and behind the Hephaisteion were made around 320 B.C. and derive from the traditions of Corinthian and Attic black-figured pottery (pl. 14, fig. 13). Such naturalistic details as they possess are borrowed from the repertory of sculptured lions: large paws with claws showing, tufts of hair along the backs of the legs, and studied treatment of hair around the faces, not to mention a display of veins and muscles also suitable to late fourth century mastiffs. Fourth century leopards are always shown recumbent, in a pose typical of small, painted terracottas and Etruscan *nenfro* sculptures in the first half of the sixth century B.C.⁴¹

There is one complete and rather splendid seated cat of 330-320 B.C. in the National Museum. His legs and paws are heavy, almost leonine, but they are needed to support his body. He is a large feline, perhaps a pet wildcat or cheetah-like creature rather than the domestic breed familiar in the twentieth century (pl. 14, fig. 14). Pet cats came into Athenian life as exotic imports in the era of the Peisistratids. They were brought from Persia, and one of the first to be immortalized in art is the cat on a leash who is being teased by a dog, similarly tethered, on one of the bases from the Themistoklean wall near the Kerameikos Cemetery. The cat and his master breathe courtly arrogance, and an aristocrat bored enough to sit around the Agora with

a cat on a leash would surely be quixotic enough to have such a beast placed on his tomb.

THE LION OF SAINT MARK

By coincidence, save for the lions at Porto Leone, the road to Eleusis, and on the Athenian Acropolis (the mastiff in front of the Arsenal), the Venetians ruled where classical lions are scarce. Crete and the Morea (Peloponnesus) come to mind. Chalkis on Euboea might be a possibility, but the Venetians were expelled by the Turks in the fifteenth century. They loved lions, however, and insertion of the badge of St. Mark into the walls of castle, fort, church and loggia gave Italian and Greek sculptors frequent opportunities to exercise their knowledge of the leonine form. Venetian lions of the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries are Byzantine or Gothic beasts, but in the sixteenth and especially the seventeenth centuries humanism begins to affect the king of the jungle. This revival of classicism naturally takes the form of fresh observation of monumental fifth and fourth century marble lions. While the thirteenth or fourteenth century lions of the seventeenth century Morosini Fountain in Herakleion resemble Gothic gargoyles, the lion of St. Mark that once adorned the wall of the castello at Chania and now lies in the small garden beside the museum has the mane and proportions of an Attic beast of 340 B.C. (pl. 14, fig. 15). He is as much a living revival of the classic Greek form as anything produced by the masters of the Italian Baroque in Rome, Bernini or Algardi. Perhaps the Venetian lion of Chania is an even truer testimonial to the persistence of classical purity because he goes straight back to the lions of Attica and western Asia Minor without intermediate Roman copies. From Konon and Lycurgus to the knights of St. John and ultimately to the Morosini ran a continuous road, lined with lions.

CONCLUSION

The cemeteries of Attica contained not only grave reliefs such as the examples from the Kerameikos in Athens but other commemorative monuments. Inscribed shafts topped by palmettes were placed in the family plots; often these stelai and those in the form of the Hegeso relief were flanked by large marble vases, one-handed *lekythoi* or two-handled

⁴¹ *BMFA* 62 (1964) 102-113, esp. figs. 1-7; 59 (1961) 13-21, esp. figs. 1-4. Attic panthers, those in Munich and Basel, crouch like lions.

loutrophoroi, in imitation of the small pottery vessels offered at graves and in sacred areas. On the corners of family plots lifesized or larger crouching lions served as symbolic guardians of the tombs, and sometimes as testimonies to the courageous nobility of the deceased. Greek love of sculpture in outdoor settings and interest in ideal physical form, both human and animal, are concentrated in the marble lions produced from 420 to 320, the greatest century of Attic funerary statues, vases, shafts and reliefs.

Like the artists in southwest Asia Minor, sculptors in Greece could have seen small mountain lions. Such beasts doubtless figured in the legends about Myron's bronze cow. In the late fifth and fourth centuries the artistic conception of the king of beasts was distilled from generations of using motifs from Syria and Mesopotamia and from actual contemplation of large dogs and comparable cats. The lions crouch like dogs in attitudes of protective anger. Their bodies are as well-proportioned and smoothly ideal as those of men or women on Attic stelai from the time of Hegeso and her servant girl. Manes are like furry garments, and it is only around 330 B.C. that they begin to look like the hair on the lions we see today. Round eyes, canine noses and clipped ears add to this image of friendly conceptualism. Toward the end of the hundred years of Attic funerary lions, some beasts look as if they could bite but most of them are placid and contemplative, occasionally even playful. The emotional faces which have been identified with the style of Skopas about 350 B.C. enter the repertory of

lion sculpture, and even the elongation of athletes by Lysippos in the generation after 340 was translated into feline anatomy.

Other animals also guarded Attic tombs: large, butting bulls; colossal mastiffs; mild panthers or leopards; cats of various sizes; and even griffins. The tendency toward large size confirms that most of these other creatures were carved relatively late in the prolific century of Attic funerary art. The lion, however, remained the favorite at all times, both in numbers and in the diversity of artistic effort involved. He is the only beast, outside of Attica at least, who had a demonstrable connection with Greek history, rather than being mere private sepulchral commemoration. At Amphipolis in Macedonia and Chaeroneia in Boeotia colossal marble lions on massive architectural bases watched over those who fell in famous battles of the fourth century.

Whatever their specific purposes, Attic funerary animals are without parallel in Greek or Roman art. The lions of Asia Minor never achieved the same combination of ideal nobility and physical grandeur. They usually managed to inherit something of the hieraticism of such animals in the ancient Near East. Hellenistic and Roman sculptured animals are plentiful, but, like comparable grave stelai, they are pale imitations, naturalistic adaptations, or, at best, relatively straight copies from their inspirations of the fourth century B.C.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON
HARVARD UNIVERSITY



FIG. 1. Attic lion, 390 B.C. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



FIG. 3. Attic lion, 325-320 B.C. Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery



FIG. 2. Attic lion, 345 B.C. Cincinnati Art Museum

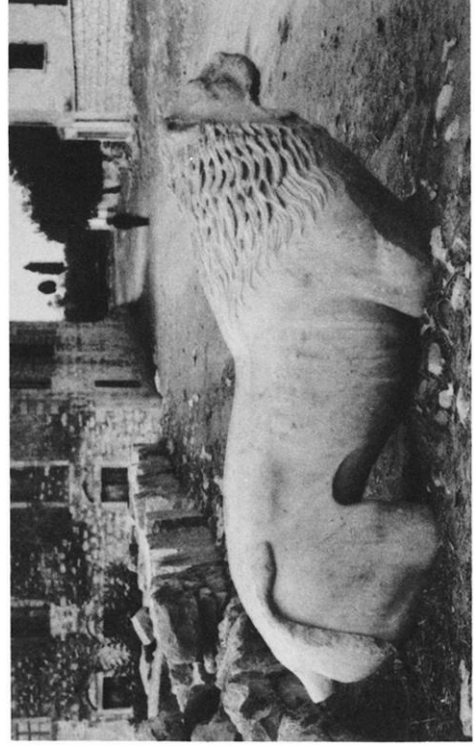


FIG. 5. Lion at Didyma, 415-400 B.C. (photo Andrew Oliver, Jr.)

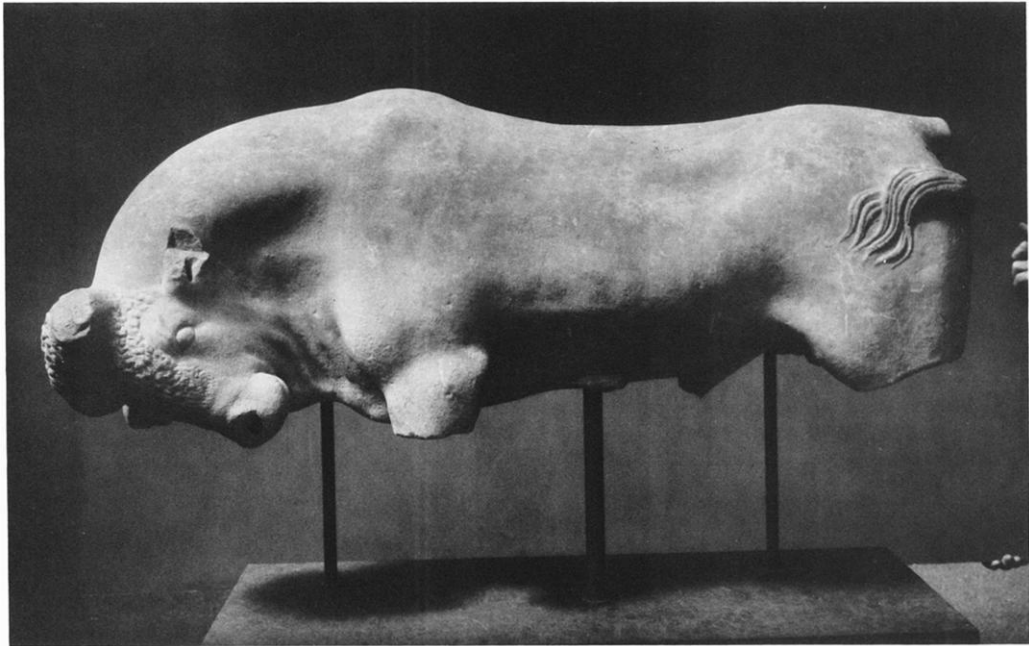


FIG. 6. Bull from Athens, 345 B.C. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek



FIG. 10. Lion from the Mausoleum, 340 B.C. London
(courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

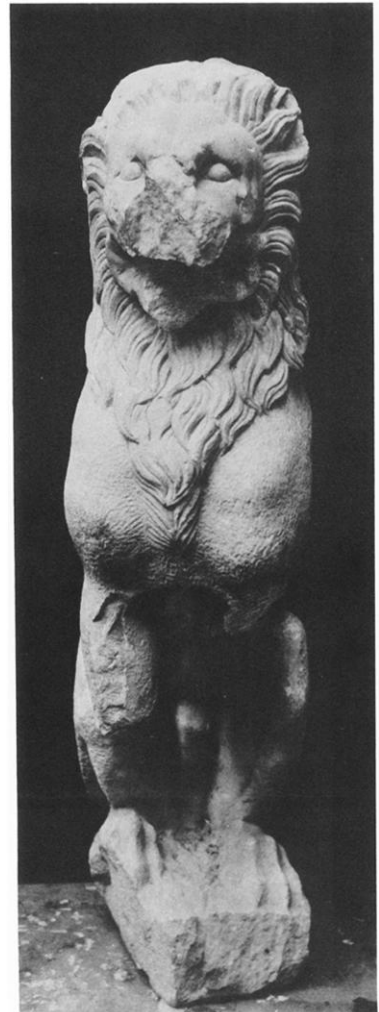


FIG. 4. Lion from Marathon, 340 B.C. Once Paris, art market



FIG. 7. Funerary or decorative relief,
Roman period. Kos Museum



FIG. 7

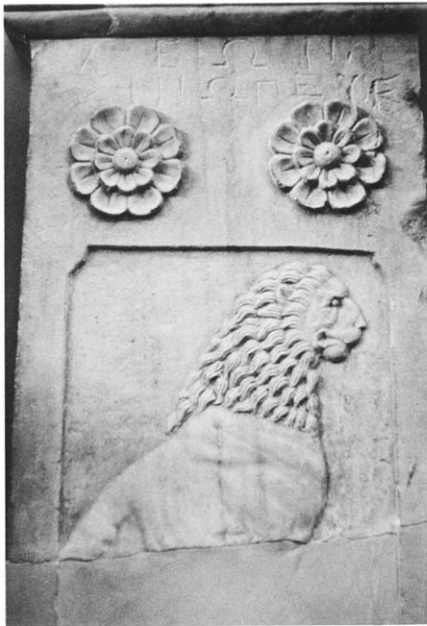


FIG. 11. Attic stèle of Leon of
Sinope, 340 B.C. Athens,
National Museum



FIG. 9. Lion of about 500 B.C.
Bodrum, Castle, English Tower



FIG. 8. Mastiff's head, 320 B.C. Athens, from near the Kerameikos





FIG. 12b



FIG. 12a

FIG. 12. Pair of large lions from Tampourias, 320 B.C. Piraeus, Museum

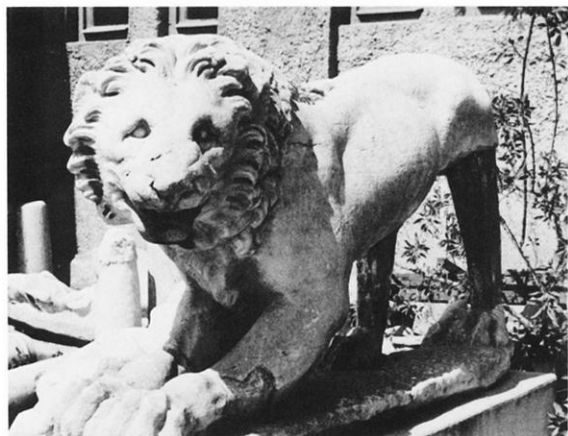


FIG. 12a



FIG. 13. Leopard, 320 B.C. Piraeus, Museum



FIG. 14. Cat, 330-320 B.C.
Athens, National Museum

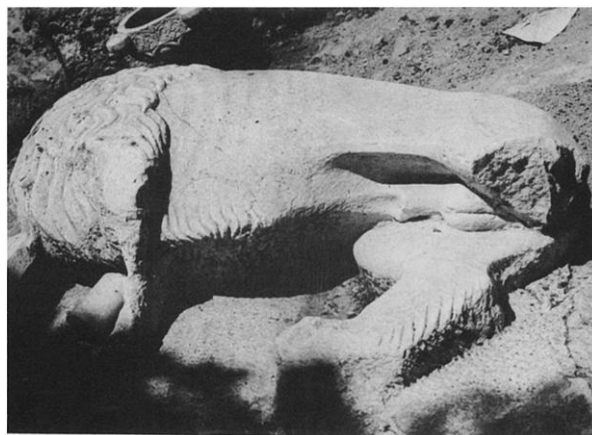


FIG. 15. Lion of Saint Mark, Venetian period.
Chania, Museum



A GREEK HEROIC STATUE IN DALLAS

Author(s): CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE and JOSEPH TERNBACH

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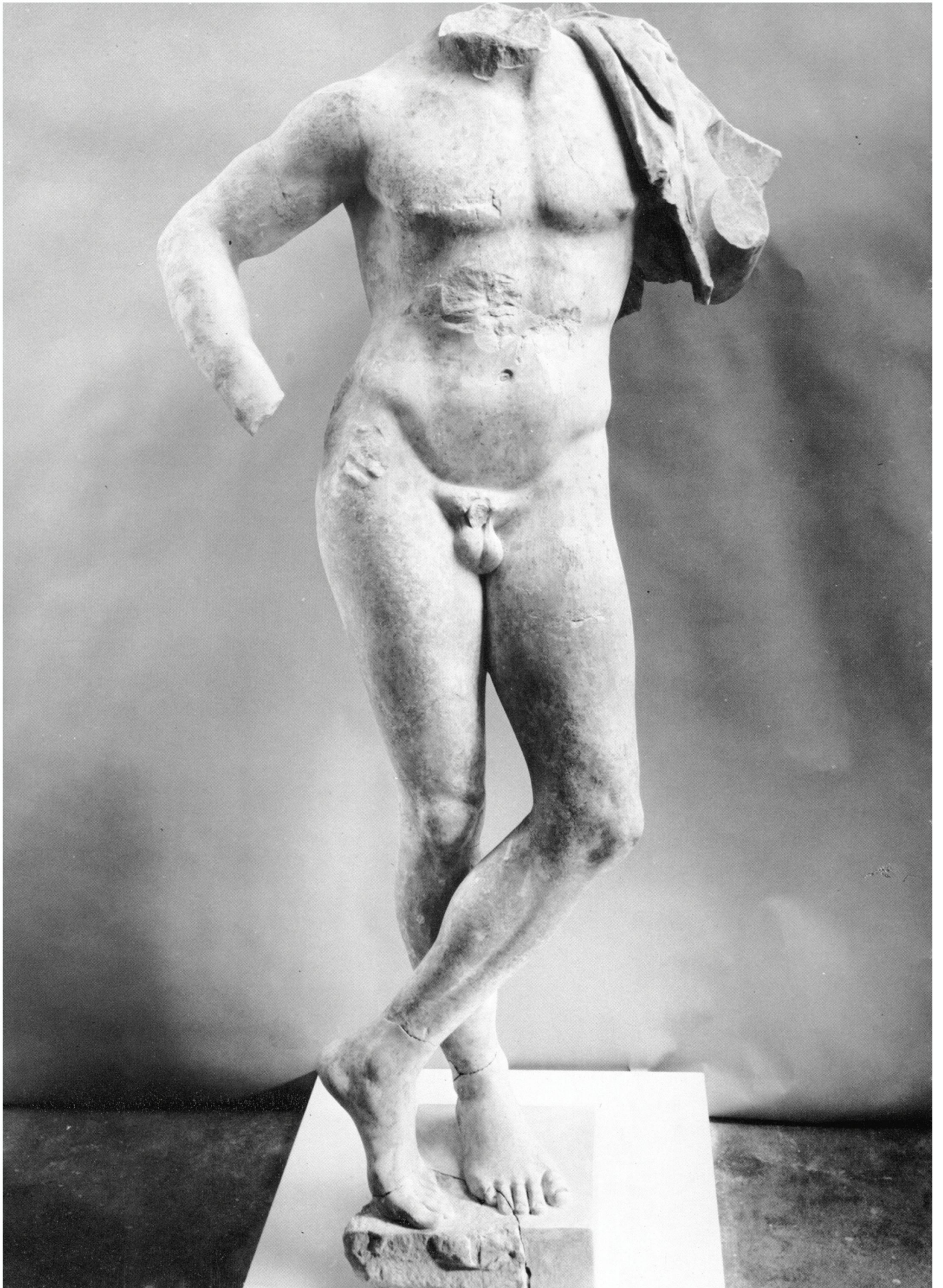
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A GREEK HEROIC STATUE IN DALLAS

By CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE

AND JOSEPH TERNBACH

Few major statues and reliefs of the classic periods of Greek art have become accessible to the world of vision in recent years. One of these is the life-sized figure of an athlete acquired by the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts. Carved of Attic marble, the figure was part of a funerary or votive relief, whose size would have depended on whether or not other figures were included in the composition. The probable ensemble was undoubtedly set in a frame composed of separate side blocks, carved to resemble Doric pilasters and supporting a triangular roof shaped to reproduce the pedimented front of a temple.

Although it was part of a relief, the figure is characterized by the completeness of its carving in the round. Only a portion of the back, at the shoulder level where the body was joined to the background, remains unmodeled. The remainder of the torso, the arms, legs and fragments of the feet are fully worked out in three dimensions. The bold broadness of the modeling, together with a sensitive delicacy of surface detail, gives the figure the qualities of harmony, vitality and idealization of nature so characteristic of masterpieces from the age of Aristotle and such great court sculptors as Lysippos. The perception of an ideal but slightly restless anatomy beneath somewhat softened surfaces gives this work the hallmarks of carving by a master sculptor, a major artist of the period rather than a routine craftsman.

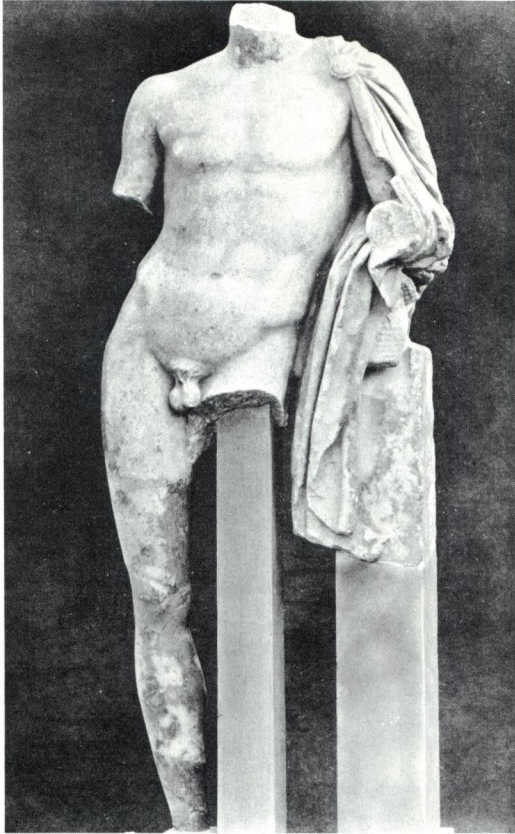
The pose and proportions of the figure, together with the arrangement of the small cloak on the left shoulder, are similar to those in representations of the messenger-god Hermes, but lack of an attribute, such as the herald's staff or caduceus in the left hand, makes this possibility only a conjecture. As a young man of godly aspect, representing in ideal terms someone recently deceased, the figure may have held a spear, or even an athlete's strigil, in the left hand.



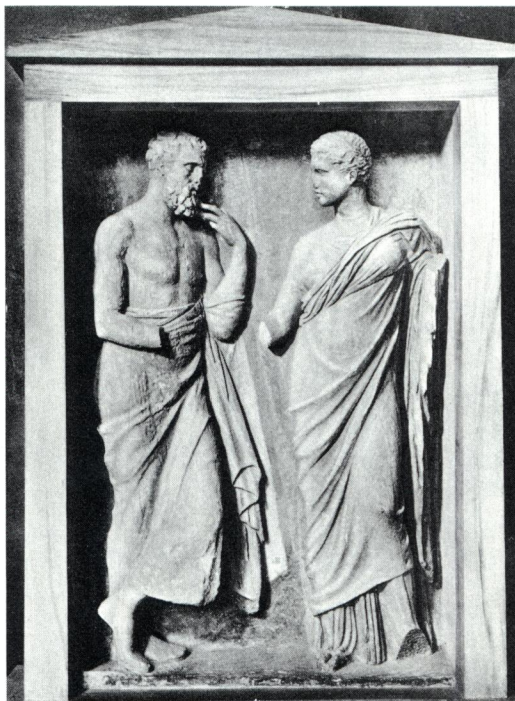
Stele from the Ilissos River, Attic, about 330 B.C. Athens, National Museum.

A celebrated Attic grave stele of about 330 B.C., found many years ago in the bed of the Ilissos River in Athens, suggests how the whole monument might originally have appeared. In the Ilissos relief a young man, an athletic hunter with his dog behind him, is posed at the same backward-slanting angle as the youth in Dallas and has his legs crossed in similar fashion. A major difference lies in the substantially lower

The completely restored statue of a young man in heroic guise as it is set up in the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts. Height, 1.475 m. Attic, about 330 B.C. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cecil H. Green.



Statue of Sisyphos the Second. About 335 B.C. Delphi Museum.



Stele with a man and a woman. Attic, about 335 B.C. Athens, National Museum.

carving of the stele from the Ilissos. The young man is very much a part of the background, and his cloak has been brought around to his right side as a kind of cushion over the pillar against which he leans. The broad head with its large, sunken eyes and its close, curly, almost kinky hair is hardly the prototype for the missing head of the youth in Dallas, which, in keeping with the high quality of the rest of the figure, was surely a more stimulating work. The other humans in the relief from the Ilissos, a servant boy weeping over the young hunter's premature demise and an old man who looks at him in sad seriousness, are merely suggestions as to what could have completed the missing portions of the monument in Dallas.

Two other large Attic grave stelai of the period around 335 to 320 B.C., the years when Alexander the Great was conquering the world from Macedonia to India, provide further comparative information about the figure in Texas. Both comprise figures in high relief, carved out of a slab and plinth, all of which was set in a niche like a small building. One relief has a fairly elderly man, legs crossed, face to face with a young woman. The second stele, of a man named Aristonantes, shows the deceased striding along in the full costume and equipment of an infantry officer. The man and woman are in considerably higher relief than that of the Ilissos stele, and Aristonantes is as much a free-standing statue as the heroized young man in Dallas. He gives a clear picture, on a slightly lower qualitative level, of how the complete, more static figure of the heroized young man with his cloak on his shoulder must have appeared.

A monument of the high sculptural quality and considerable size of the figure in Dallas must have been carved by a recognized master of the fourth century B.C. Praxiteles, Skopas and Lysippos were the three giants of Greek sculpture in the fourth century B.C., but at the time this monument was fashioned there were also other masters such as Silanion, Bryaxis and Leochares, capable of producing a work such as this or of directing its execution.

A group of eight marble statues of famous members of a Thessalian dynasty, then headed by Daochos, were set up on a row of bases near the Temple of Apollo at Delphi about 335 B.C. The sculptor of their contemporary bronze prototypes back in Thessaly was the great Lysippos,



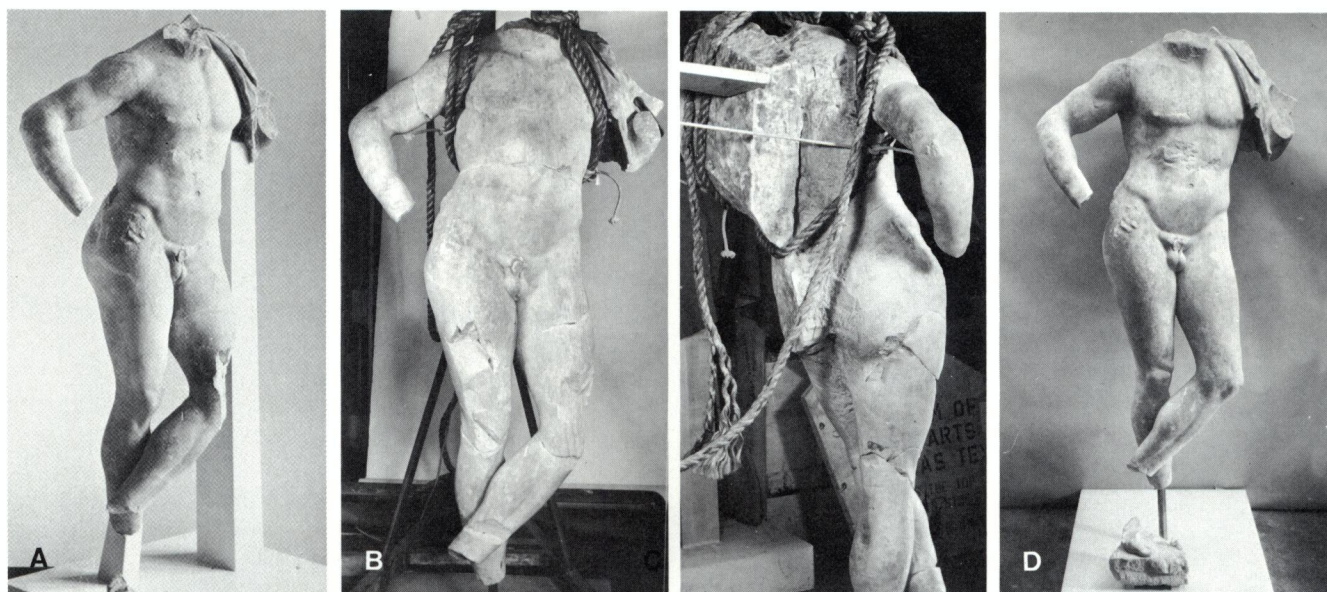
Statue of Agelaos, about 335 B.C. Delphi Museum.

pioneer in creating elongated, restless athletic statues. The sculptor of the marble versions for the shrine must have been one of his gifted collaborators. Among these figures, that of Sisyphos II, leaning on an Archaic terminal figure of Hermes, or that of Agelaos, replete with an ideal head and standing with his long left leg drawn back, are excellent qualitative parallels for the new figure. The sculpture of Agelaos provides the type of head that must have completed the young hero in Dallas.

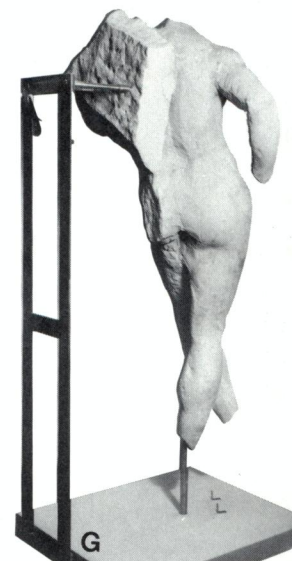
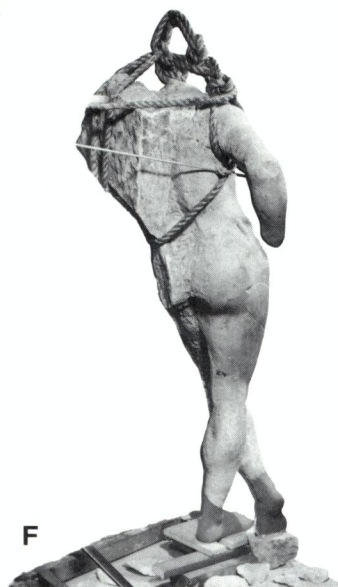
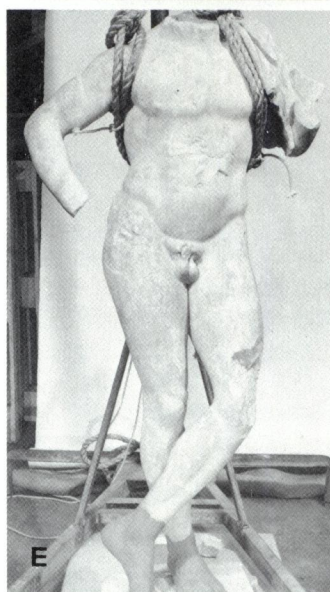
The Attic figure presented here has a slightly broader body than the Lysippic figures at Delphi, as befits a master working around Athens while Lysippos of Sikyon was busy in northern and central Greece. Some of the influence of Lysippos, coupled with the soft, tactile surfaces of Praxiteles, is present, however, and the master of the monument in Dallas must have harkened to the latest important influences among the major sculptors of his time. His resulting work is an excellent measure of the best these sculptors could produce in a golden age of Greek athletic art.



Stele of the warrior AristonAUTes. Attic, about 325 B.C. Athens, National Museum.



A. Marble statue of a young man as it was received by the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts. Set up in this way the statue measures 1.56 meters in height. B. Front view of statue after the removal of the posts and plaster of paris fillings of a former restoration. C. Rear view of statue showing gaps and breaks and the steel wall. (Hoisted) Photograph, O. E. Nelson, New York. D. Statue with gaps and breaks restored and a fragment of the plinth. The statue is balanced and secured in its proper position by a bronze dowel set into the base. Photograph, O. E. Nelson.



E and F. Statue with plasteline modeling of the missing feet. Loose fragments are on the base. Photograph, O. E. Nelson. G. Rear view of statue showing the wall brace, the dowels and the base. The plinth is to be screwed to the angles on the base. Photograph, O. E. Nelson.

HEROIC STATUE continued

When this impressive life-size Greek statue came to the restorer's workshop for repair and preparation for exhibition, it was supported on the left side by a large upright square post and, on the right, by a stump for the missing foot. A fragment of the plinth, on which left toes and two right toes were fortunately preserved, was set in a wood base. The statue's main sections consisting of the upper part of the body with a part of the stele attached to the left shoulder, the lower

torso and the legs were cemented together. All repairs had been filled with pink-colored plaster of Paris. Additional loose fragments also came with the sculpture, but their position was not easily recognizable.

In the preliminary examination of the repairs it could not be ascertained from the jagged breaks and fillings how well or how tightly the broken parts had been put together. Some looked good but some were obviously not tightly lined

up. Several gaps, scars and breakages were filled with tinted plaster of Paris, which, with its tendency to expand and to absorb moisture, is not a satisfactory medium.

All the fillings and overlapping plaster were removed and then the original marble was visible. This also opened the possibility of determining where the loose fragments might belong. The major scar was an uneven joining across the upper abdomen. There were also three breaks on the left leg: one in the thigh, one at the knee and a missing area in the calf. The right leg had a jagged vertical break through the thigh and knee and the upper right arm was mended. The most significant of these damages was the missing left knee, a gap about 26 cm. long. Among the fragments there was no part that might belong to the head, the right hand or the left arm. Although various details of the mending might have been improved, it was impractical to correct the major cemented areas as the cement used was not easily soluble and, in forcing a separation of the parts, greater damage would have been produced.

The placement of the statue as mounted when it came to the restorer raised great doubts as to the accuracy of the position and the height. It had been placed so that the figure itself turned to the left and was not perpendicular. This meant that the legs, in proportion to the body, were greatly discrepant. More correctly, the figure should have been lined up in accordance with the straight line that the stele wall, in right angle to the plinth, would command. To restore the statue to its original position and height, it was necessary first to level the figure on a base. Then it became clear that the plinth fragment itself, which is 10 cm. high and holds the left toes and a fragment of the right little toe, was not level. Pegs about 2 cm. on the left half and about 1.5 cm. on the right side had to be added on the front face. In order to establish the height of the statue and the balanced stance, the position had to be definite and exact. The figure was leveled and plumbed in frontal position in relation to the crossed legs. The midline of the body in the joining of the two thighs was used as the plumbline and, in the back in relation to the wall, the stele wall was used as the plumbline. Every deviation of position or minute movement out of the plumbing and leveling of the statue threw it off balance and elongated the left leg out of proportion.

The leveling and plumbing of the statue gave the exact position and height of the sculpture, 147.5 cm.—as compared with its height of 1.56 m. when received—and the missing right and left foot could be exactly measured. To stabilize it, the statue was rested on a bronze dowel inserted in the right leg, 2.5 cm. thick and about 26 cm. long, of which 11 cm. corresponds to the height of the plinth. Only then could the feet be modeled, which, when inserted, verified the length of the legs. Simultaneously, the stance became real: the weight of the statue was carried by the right foot, the balance was correct and the harmony of the conception was affirmed. The modeled missing feet (attached by one screw) are not meant to replace, restore or reconstruct, but merely to give accurate position and height. It is noteworthy that the right leg, which carries the weight, is stronger and larger (at significant points in the ankle, the calf and the thigh) by 3 cm. than the left, on which the figure balances.

All joints were cemented with durable marble cement. All the available fragments, which included the left knee cap, were set in. There was also a piece of mended carving of the exact marble and corrosion as the whole. It is from the shoulder of a child who probably leaned against the man, indicating that the monument must have contained other figures.

For exhibition purposes, two horizontal bronze braces, 1.5 cm. in diameter, were cemented into the stele wall with 2.5 cm. protruding; they met counterparts about 18 cm. long, which were fastened to a steel frame, plumbed and set into the base at the same angle as the original back wall would have been to the original plinth. The steel frame is set into the wall and plastered with only the supporting dowels visible, making the statue stand as free as possible and allowing for viewing from the rear.

The statue is of white Pentelic marble oxidized to a pinkish-brown hue, most probably from iron and copper oxide, with black and bluish streaks and mottlings. It has scattered layers of stone and lime incrustation. Its height, from the sole of the foot to the point on the neck which can be assumed to be the tip of the chin, is 147.5 cm. The statue has a height of seven head lengths, and with the missing head would be 168.56 cm., or eight head lengths—the measurements of the “ideal body.” Set upon its plinth of 11 cm. it makes a most heroic image.



ANTIQUITIES AT WELLESLEY

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ANTIQUITIES AT WELLESLEY

By EMILY VERMEULE and
CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE

A small collection of classical antiquities at Wellesley College deserves a wider acquaintance, both among scholars and the public. It is partly overshadowed by the Art Museum's holdings in more recent periods—particularly the excellent paintings and drawings—and the students sometimes fail to recognize the worth of Wellesley's antiquities because more celebrated pieces of ancient art can be seen in Boston and Cambridge. In limited space, the exhibits change frequently, old material giving way to new as the term and teaching pass on to later phases in the history of art. Yet there are some interesting ancient pieces and with a little help the collection could grow into as good and well-rounded a group of antiquities as any owned by an undergraduate college.

The Museum is housed in the fourteen-year-old Jewett Arts Center, which replaces the older Farnsworth Museum. Several effective directors, notably Professor John McAndrew, have modernized the installation and made astute purchases. There is a large main gallery, a handsome space equipped with flexible dividers for paintings, sculpture and loan exhibits. A corridor used by students

to go from Art to Music serves as a secondary gallery for prints and drawings. The antiquities and mediaeval sculptures are upstairs in the Sculpture Court, which also gives access to a number of study rooms. The sculptures range in fame from the Wellesley Athlete or Odeschalchi Jüngling to a recently acquired fragment of an Attic grave stele; all are individual gifts of alumnae and other donors, so there is no discernible stamp of taste or pattern of collecting. The variety is pleasant and aesthetically challenging.

Color in the court is offered by a small but interesting group of Greek vases, two mosaics from Antioch, and a third from the Baths of Caracalla in Rome. Many of the vases come from the collection of John Oddy, Professor Emeritus of Boston University. His Mycenaean pieces are of especially fine quality and give the collection unusual strength in the Bronze Age. The Corinthian vases are good; the red-figure is uneven, but of interest. Wellesley also has a large collection of Roman glass and a number of terracotta figurines of various periods, some acquired from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in exchange for a Clazomenian sarcophagus lid. There used to be more minor objects, including a Bégram plaque. Some were sold when the collection moved to its present quarters, while others vanished in "pranks"—like the Roman statue of a boy with a rabbit, on whose card is noted "probably stolen by Harvard boys."

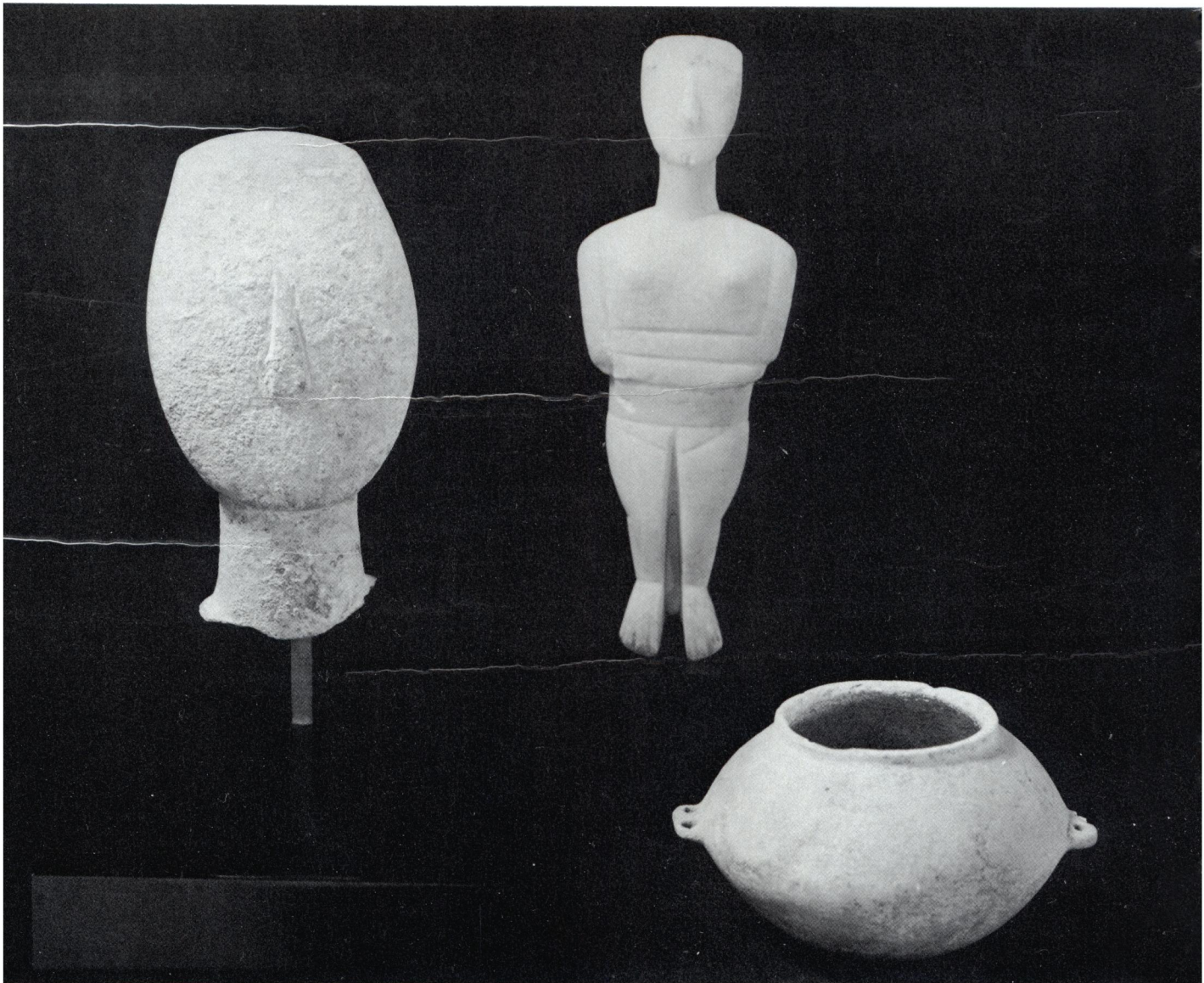
The collection is not a shifting one, however, it grows quietly and steadily and deserves wider acquaintance.

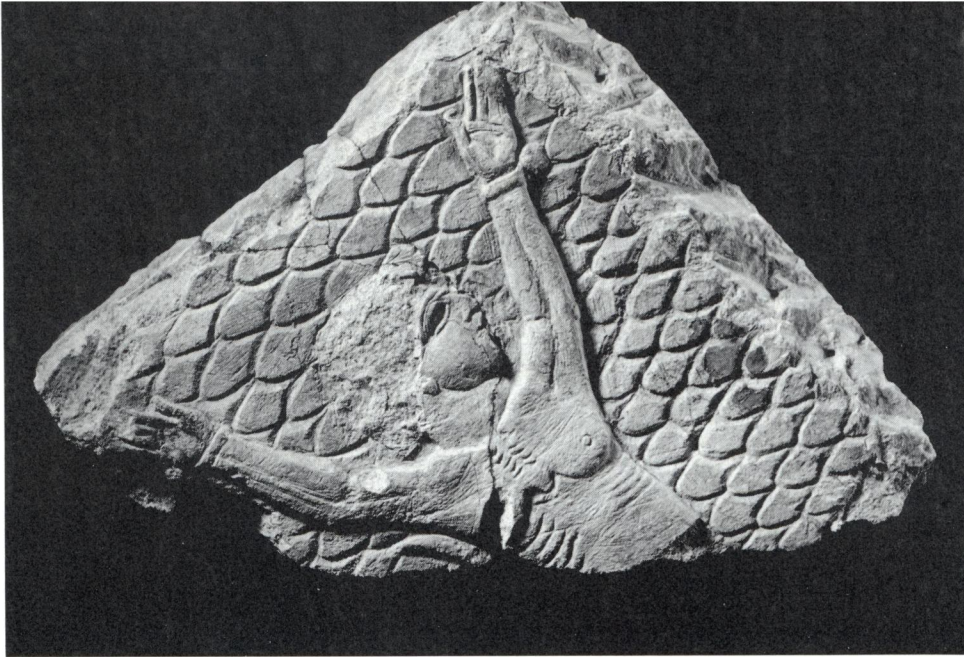
The Sculpture Court of the Wellesley College Art Museum in the Jewett Arts Center. The floor mosaic from Antioch (Room 21, Yalto Complex), was given by Princeton in 1936 in appreciation of Professor William A. Campbell.



Cycladic marble idols and bowl, ca. 2400 B.C. The head is allegedly from Paros and was a gift of the Bezalel Foundation. Height, 0.137 m. The small idol, an anonymous gift, is from Syros. Height, 0.19 m. Exactly how the bowl came to Wellesley is not known.

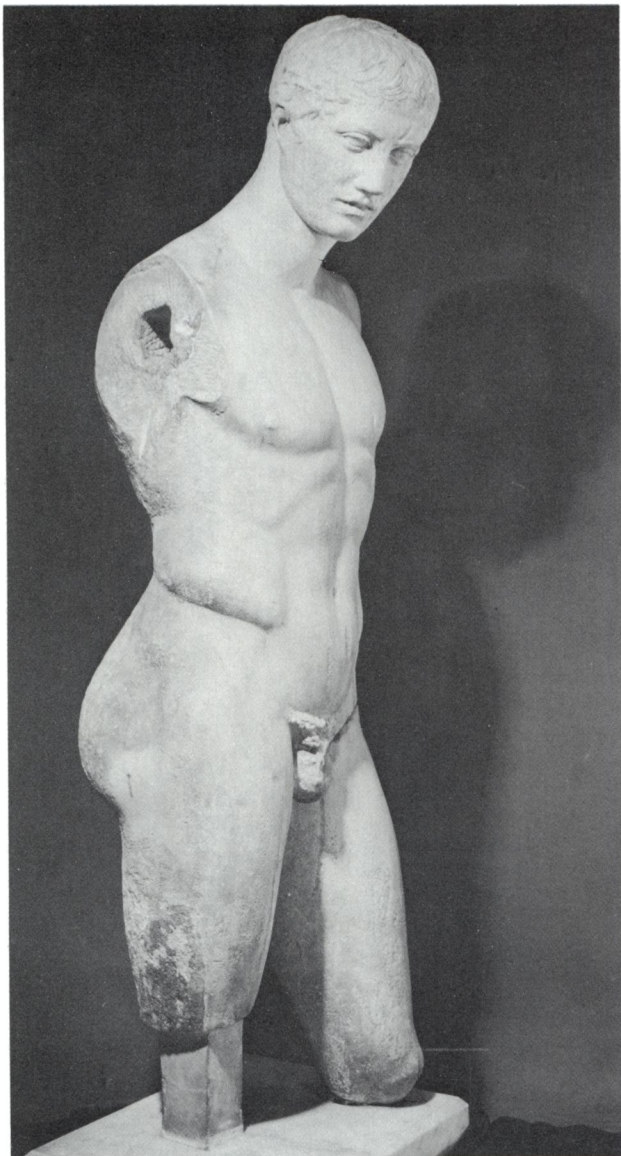
An interesting fragment of an Assyrian relief in alabaster which came "with other antiquities" from the estate of the Rev. Gorham D. Abbot in 1883. It represents a young beardless captive, manacled on a mountainside, being flayed alive. This treatment of prisoners is most familiar in the reliefs of the Siege of Lachish from the Palace of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.) at Nineveh. But Dr. R. D. Barnett of the British Museum suggests the Wellesley piece probably comes from a largely lost scene in Room M at the Palace of Ashurbanipal (668-627 B.C.) which shows a similar figure staked down among bushes. Height, 0.292 m., width, 0.31 m.





This hydria depicting women filling their waterjugs at a fountain house is one of the finest of its kind in this country. The empty jugs are carried sideways on the head; once filled, they are balanced upright. The women arrive and leave in a careful rhythmic alternation of forms while water pours from a lion-head spout behind the whitened Doric facade. Height, 0.445 m., ca. 510 B.C., Circle of the Antimenes Painter. Gift of Edgar Kaufman, Jr.

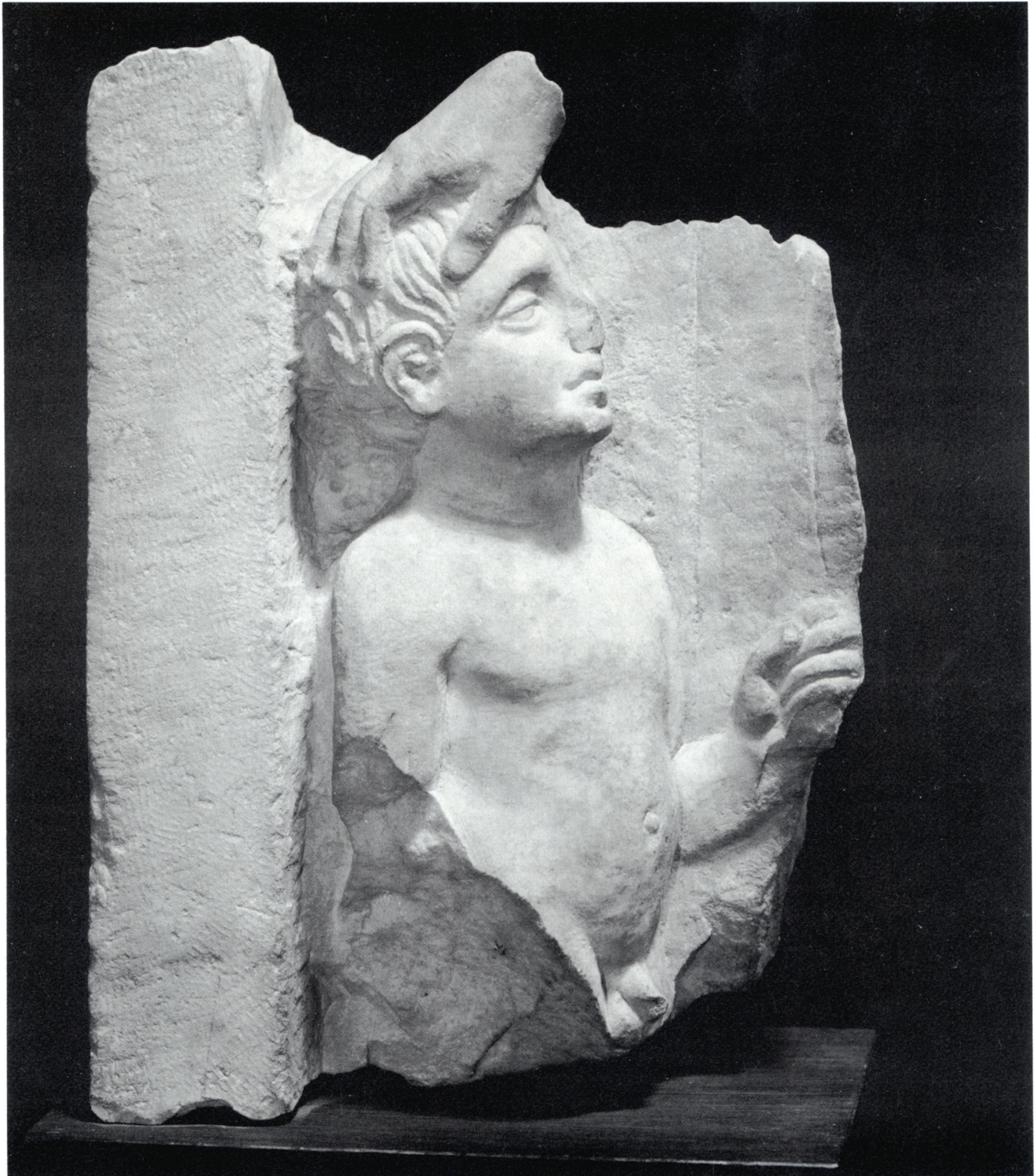
The Diskophoros of Polykeitos, a gift of Hannah Parker Kimball, is known as the Wellesley Athlete or the Odescalchi Youth. The latter name derives from the Roman palazzo in which it stood for many years. The statue copies a bronze original probably made by the great Argive sculptor ca. 440 B.C. Another copy, a bronze statuette in the Louvre, shows that the Athlete held a diskos in his lowered right hand. The head and neck have been reset twice and the neck may still be too long, but the two pieces have always been together. Height, 1.30 m.



A white-ground Athenian lekythos by the Carlsberg Painter from the Oddy Collection is one of the best preserved and most sensitive vases by this artist who worked ca. 430 B.C. Although the scene is a standard one, youth and maiden at a tomb stele, the matt colors are fresh, the attitudes of the plump figures expressive, and the contour lines delicate and authoritative.

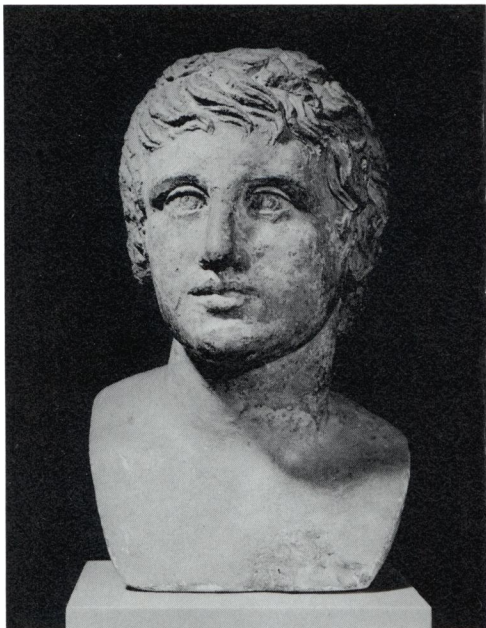


This fragment of an Attic grave stele is one of the few Greek originals at Wellesley, ca. 350 B.C. It has proved to be an excellent teaching piece because of the mood, perspective and tool-marks, and its incompleteness sharpens the eye. A dead athlete (represented now by only a hand) grips the head of a slave-boy. The child, about four, may hold athletic implements or a bird, and looks up at his dead master with lowered, swollen lids. Height, 0.39 m.





Young Man from Asia Minor, gift of Mrs. A. M. Steinert in memory of her daughter Kathryn, Class of 1938. Strongly Renaissance in flavor, this portrait was created in an Eastern Roman Imperial atelier about A.D. 140. The subject was doubtless an aristocratic Asiatic Greek, and the sculpture was influenced by portraits of Hadrian's favorite Antinous created in the previous decade. The pupils of the eyes were rendered in paint. Color also enriched the hair and heightened the effect of the dramatic drilling. Height, 0.32 m.



Head of a Goddess. This chill, impressive overlife-sized marble is a Hellenistic version of an original created under the influence of Pheidias about 440 B.C. or slightly later. The Prokne of Alkamenes or the original of the Hera Borghese belonged to the same group of Attic sculptures. A head of similar type, an original or likewise a Hellenistic interpretation, was found at Cape Krio (Knidos), indicating the popularity of such Attic divinities in Asia Minor. The Wellesley head may be a Hera or Artemis, and might be remounted looking down and to the right. Height, 0.483 m.



Terracotta head of Alexander the Great. Monumental for a terracotta work, it was set on a painted plaster bust in the eighteenth century. As a portrait of the Conqueror, it relates directly to portraits of the fourth century B.C. and may have been done in the late Hellenistic period, under the inspiration of a work by Lysippos or Leochares. A good marble parallel is the head of the youthful Alexander in the Acropolis Museum in Athens. The Wellesley head is one of the warmest and most impressionistic versions of Alexander to survive from antiquity. Height, 0.28 m.

Greek Vases for Boston: Attic Geometric to Sicilian Hellenistic

Author(s): Cornelius C. Vermeule, III

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12. Preliminary sketch for the Apostle seen from the back on the right of the coffin. Black chalk, heightened with white, on grayish brown paper, 399 by 260 mm. Paint specks. Bottom left, stamp: *Status Montium*. Bottom right, old note in black chalk: *Ad Sachi* and old numbering in brown ink: 147. Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, inventory No.FP 8188 *recto*. [Fig.28]. For the *verso*, see cat. No.20.
13. Preliminary sketch for the Apostle seen from the back on the right of the coffin. Red chalk, heightened with white, on beige paper, 421 by 270 mm. Bottom left, stamp: *Status Montium*. Bottom right, old numbering in brown ink: 89. Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, inventory No.FP 8113, *recto*. [Fig.29]. For the *verso*, see cat. No.14.
14. Preliminary sketch for the kneeling Apostle on the extreme right. Red chalk, heightened with white, on beige paper, 421 by 270 mm. Bottom right, pencil note: *g. borgognon*. Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, inventory No.FP 8113, *verso*. [Fig.30]. For the *recto*, see cat. No.13.
15. Preliminary sketch for an *Assumption*. Red chalk on light beige paper, 213 by 210 mm. Bottom right, note in black chalk: *Borgognone*. The sheet was pasted on to a white backing sheet sometime after 1778, the year when the Lambert Krahe Collection was handed over to the Düsseldorf Academy of Art, so that the drawing on the *verso* is no longer visible. The stamp, *Status Montium*, is on the *verso*. Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, inventory No.FP 7744. [Fig.31].
16. Preliminary sketch for the *Assumption* with angels on clouds. Red chalk on light beige paper, 380 by 249 mm. Water stains. The sheet has been pasted on to a white backing sheet. Bottom centre, stamp: *Status Montium*. Top and bottom right, old numbering in brown ink: 70 and 10. Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, inventory No.7892. [Fig.32].
17. *Modello* for the upper part of the *Assumption* fresco. Red chalk, partly red washed, heightened with white on brown paper, 393 by 531 mm. Bottom centre, note in brown ink: *Lazare Baldi*. Vienna, Albertina, inventory No.14229. [Fig.34]
References: FR. WICKHOFF: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XIII [1892], p.CCLI, No.SR 1145, attributed to Lazzaro Baldi; A. STIX and L. FRÖHLICH-BUM: *Die Zeichnungen der toskanischen, umbrischen und römischen Schulen*, (= Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Graphischen Sammlung Albertina, vol.III), Vienna [1932], p.73, No.735 with Fig. on Plate 165 attributed to Lazzaro Baldi.
18. Preliminary sketch for a cherub below the Madonna (cf. Fig.23) and leg sketches. Red chalk, heightened with white, on grayish brown paper, 391 by 250 mm. Specks of lilac paint. Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, inventory No.FP 14114 *recto*. [Fig.33]. For the *verso*, see cat. No.19.
19. Leg sketches for an angel. Red chalk, heightened with white, on grayish brown paper, 391 by 250 mm. Bottom right, pencil note: *Borgognone*. Top right, old numbering in brown ink: 115. Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, inventory No.14114 *verso*. [Fig.37]. For the *recto*, see cat. No.18.
20. Preliminary sketch for a cherub on the left of the fresco. Red chalk, heightened with white, on grayish brown paper, 399 by 260 mm. Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, inventory No.FP 8188, *verso*. [Fig.38]. For the *recto*, see cat. No.12.
21. Preliminary sketch for an *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary*. Red chalk, heightened with white, on bluish green paper, squared up with black chalk, 380 by 270 mm. Bottom left-hand corner missing. Oil stains. Top left, stamp: *Status Montium*. [Fig.39]. Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum inventory No.FP 7858 *recto*. *Verso*: head sketches for St Dominic, who appears in the right foreground in Guglielmo's altar-piece in SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, Rome. Pastel on black chalk.
22. Detail study for Mary kneeling on clouds in cat. No.21. Black chalk, heightened with white on grayish brown paper, 387 by 258 mm. Oil stains. Left centre, stamp: *Status Montium*. Top centre (upside-down), pencil note: *guil borgogn*. Bottom right, old numbering in brown ink: 106. Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, inventory No.FP 8186 *recto*. [Fig.40]. *Verso*: child's head in pastel on black chalk and preliminary sketch of a cherub in red chalk heightened with white.

published elsewhere, they have generally been illustrated in sales catalogues or mentioned in lists of vases arranged by artist or by subject.

Attic Geometric Pyxis. The Attic Geometric pyxis of about 750 B.C. is unusual because of its size, its excellent preservation, and the presence of four rather than a lesser number of horses on its lid (Fig.61).¹ This pyxis, classified with several like it in the 'Agora Group', is one of the best-known vases in the twenty Boston acquisitions shown in these pages, having been in two Basle auctions and the great exhibition of Greek art held at that city in 1960. It was in a Swiss private collection for many years.² The geometric patterns cover all the surfaces, including the bottom where a large rosette has been painted as the central ornament.

Attic Red-Figured Kylix Fragments. An early and fragmentary red-figured cup attributed to Onesimos is significant because its interior presents a scene unusual for its draughtsmanship and for its handling of a single figure, a warrior drawing his bow, within the conventional tondo of the shallow kylix (Fig.62).³ The spear has been placed behind the warrior to indicate a curious perspective and depth, extending beyond the space suggested by the shield. There is a quiver, to complement the bowcase around his waist, or a sword in a scabbard on the ground beneath his left foot. In the way the archer and his equipment fill the tondo, modern critics can see the advent of red-figured mannerism and the great artist, the Pan Painter, who was a leading exponent of this phase of Attic vase-painting after the Persian Wars.⁴

Kylix from the Workshop of Douris. Erotic subjects were painted by the leading artists of the early fifth century in Athens, and a relatively small cup by Douris or a close associate deserves to rank among the foremost in these reflections of expressive activity at or after the banquets organized by the young aristocrats of the city at the time of its second round of crucial victories in the Persian Wars (Fig.64).⁵ The scene takes place between a couch with a coloured pillow and a small, lion-footed table on which the girl's chiton and the man's oil-flask and strigil have been piled. The exclamations 'The girl is beautiful' and 'Hold still' punctuate

¹ Accession number 1970.232. Height (with lid): 0.235 m. Diameter (body): 0.301 m. From Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Auktion 40 [13th December 1969], p.15, No.40, with full bibliography. Gift of Landon T. Clay. This article complements those in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, cxii [1970], pp. 624-631 and in *The Classical Journal*, 66 [1970], pp.1-21. The various persons thanked there have also helped here, as has, especially, Professor A. D. Trendall. These vases comprise, to my mind, perhaps the most subjectively and aesthetically diverse group of classical works of art presented in the series of articles published over the years in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE and *The Classical Journal*.

² See K. SCHEFOLD: *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst*, Basle [1960], pp.8, 125, 128, No.43. Also, generally, J. N. COLDSTREAM: *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London [1968], pp.47-51, Attic LG 1a, pl.9, f, g, Agora P5060, and m, n, Agora 5061, both with three horses. The Boston pyxis seems to fall between these two.

³ Accession number 68.293. Diameter (unrestored): 0.20 m. Helen and Alice Colburn Fund. *The Museum Year: 1968*, p.31. Dietrich von Bothmer kindly made the attribution.

⁴ Compare the cup in Brussels, No.A889, a woman preparing her bath: P. E. ARIAS, M. HIRMER: *Tausend Jahre Griechische Vasenkunst*, Munich [1960], p.78, Fig.149; *idem*: *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, London [1962], p.335 Fig.149.

⁵ Accession number 1970.233. Height: 0.075 m. Diameter (with handles): 0.282 m.; (without): 0.212 m. From Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Auktion 40 [13th December 1969], p.56, No.93, with extensive discussion. Gift of Landon T. Clay. For the subject, compare the cup, near the Eleusis Painter, E816 in the British Museum: J. MARCADÉ: *Eros Kalos, Essay on Erotic Elements in Greek Art*, Geneva [1962], p.82; also the famous cup by the Briseis Painter in the Tarquinia Museum: O. J. BRENUEL, in *Studies in Erotic Art*, New York, London [1970], p.37, Fig.23. Exhibited: D. M. BUITRON: *Attic Vase Paintings in New England Collections*, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1972], pp.106 f., No.57.

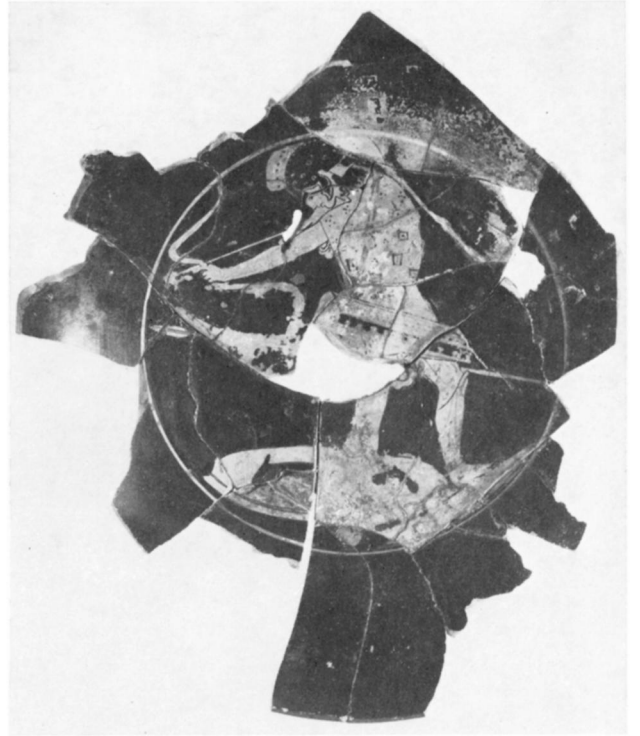
Recent Museum Acquisitions

Greek Vases for Boston: Attic Geometric to Sicilian Hellenistic

TWENTY Greek vases discussed and illustrated here span the centuries from about 750 to 250 B.C. and include every form of Greek ceramic painting. These vases have been added to the collections in the Department of Classical Art of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in recent years. Some are unknown to the world of art historians, archaeologists, and connoisseurs. One or two have been shown in major international exhibitions of ancient art when in private possession. If others have been



61. Attic Geometric Pyxis, c.750 B.C.



62. Attic red-figured Kylix fragments by Onesimos, c.490 B.C.



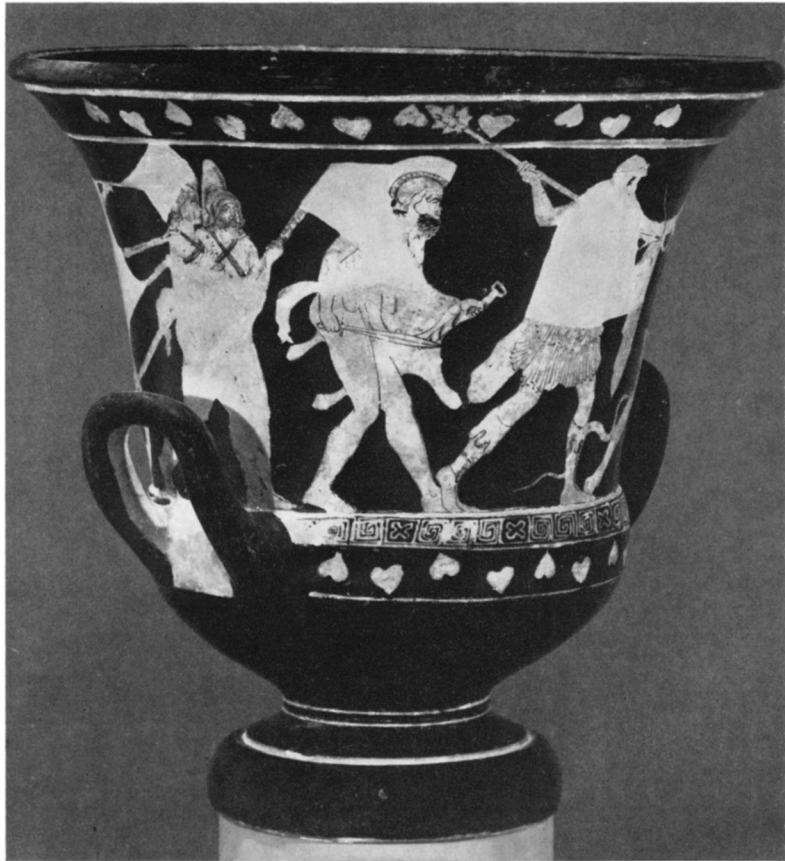
63. Attic white-ground Lekythos, c.450 B.C.



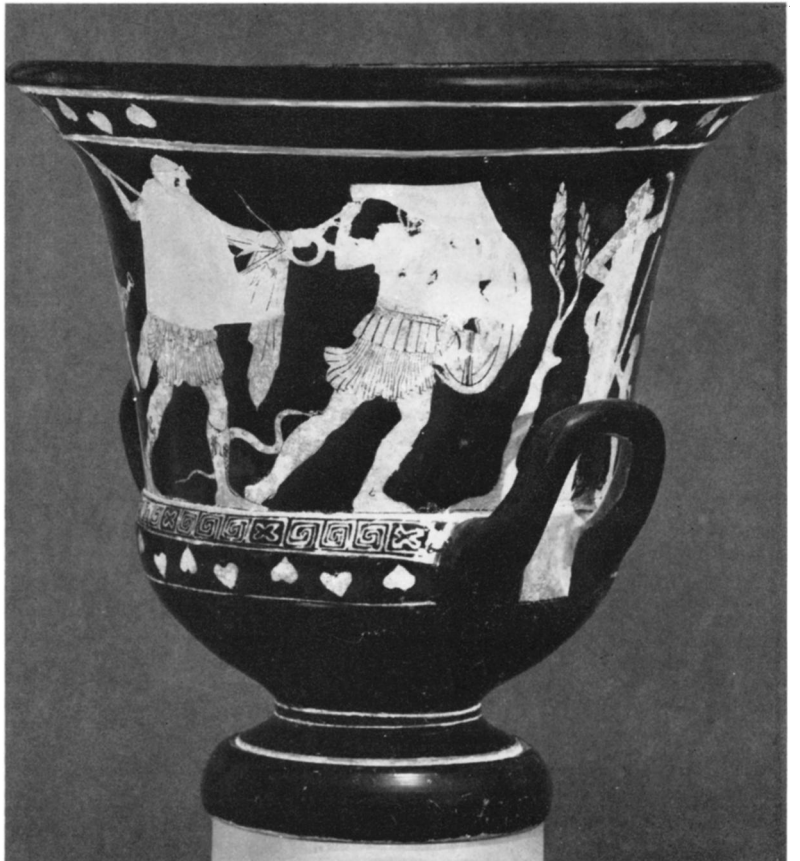
64. Attic Kylix from the workshop of Douris, c.480 B.C.



65. Attic red-figured Lekythos, c.460 B.C.



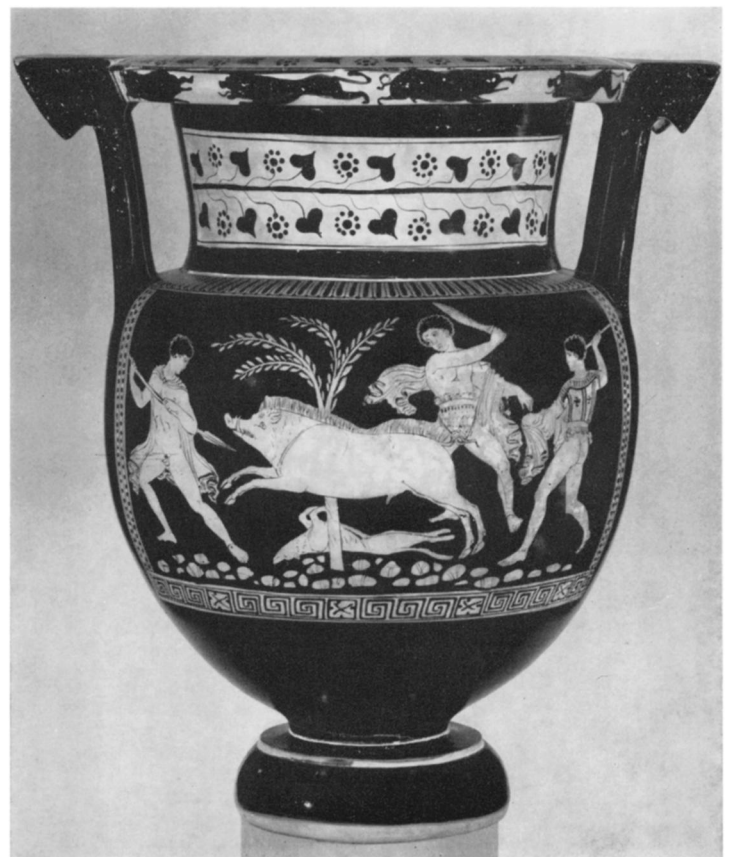
66. Attic red-figured Calyx Krater, c.430 B.C.



67. Another view of the Calyx Krater illustrated in Fig. 66



68. Another view of the Calyx Krater illustrated in Fig. 66.



69. Apulian Column Krater, early fourth century B.C.

the action.⁶

Attic White-Ground Lekythos. The juxtaposition of figures and architecture on the white-ground vase is more than ordinary in a period when the conventional lekythos was painted with a stock composition of men and women bidding farewell to each other or standing at a simple tomb (Fig.63).⁷ A man and a woman appear at a large, painted stele on a complex base. She holds an offering-tray with lekythoi, bowls, and wreaths. Fillets hang from its edge. The scene thus abounds in colourful complexity centred on the stele's shaft which rises above the shoulder of the lekythos to the palmette-enriched anthemion forming its crowning member.⁸

Attic Red-Figured Lekythos. By contrast with the white-ground vase, a little red-figured lekythos of about 460 B.C. gives merely the vignette of an athlete standing with jumping-weights at a starting post, a scene which leads to those on a famous series of red-figured cups showing jumpers starting on their runs or leaping into the air (Fig.65).⁹ Sir John Beazley placed this lekythos in the 'Manner of the Aischines Painter', a large list of such slight creations, of which the youth with weights is among the more interesting subjects. Found at Gela, this vase was formerly in the collection of Baron Gaspare Giudice at Agrigento and was sold with other of his antiquities in Rome fifteen years ago.¹⁰

One should perhaps imagine that in antiquity, in the painter's workshop, this lekythos stood beside a number of others presenting the same or another, similar athlete in a series of poses moving through all the actions of the pentathlon. Such a set of lekythoi could have been the classical counterpart of the pictorial college china plates, cups, and bowls so popular in England and America in the last five decades of the present century. Once sold, exported to Sicily, and ultimately placed as an offering in a tomb at Gela, this lekythos would have doubtless lost its connections and context as part of a set, of vignettes from ideal athletic contests in Kimonian or Perikleian Athens. As a single experience it would have pleased a wealthy Sicilian Greek as a reminiscence of athletic contests at any major sanctuary from Olympia to the Ionian coast.

Attic Rhyton in the Form of a Ram. Fragmentary though it is, the ram rhyton of about 440 B.C. is one of the most unusual Greek moulded and glazed containers in the modern catalogue of pottery from the high classical period in Athens. This Attic rhyton, better termed a cylindrical pouring or drinking vessel with legs, provides an insight into the forms of functional simplicity and zoological or farmyard anatomy which an Attic potter could produce when he was not making grander artistic creations (Fig.71).¹¹ The ancient parts include the head and the body back to the forelegs on the left side, to the middle of the neck on the right. The right leg and section of the underbody, the left rear of the rump and tail, and the left rear hoof are also part of the original vessel. The bottoms of the hooves confirm that

the ram once stood on a base, doubtless with a signature. Fleece has been represented in a pleasant form of relief-dotting. It is impossible to conjecture exactly how the centre of the body was fashioned, but it is not impossible that a circular, horn-shaped cup with red-figured decoration on the outside rose from the middle of the back. The potter was the famous artist Sotades, who signs similar rhyta or other moulded vases and ordinary vessels as a potter and who may have also decorated some of them as a painter, while associating himself with other painters on certain occasions. The majority of his works like this rhyton, where proveniences are known, have been found along the frontiers of the classical world, from Kerch in the Crimea to Susa in Persia to Meroe in the Sudan.¹²

Attic Calyx Krater. The surfaces of the calyx krater of about 430 B.C. have suffered considerably and pieces are missing, but, thanks to the careful restoration on the part of Peter Williams, what remains is well worth illustrating (Figs.66, 67, 68).¹³ This Gigantomachy with Dionysos, his snakes who join the attack on an armed giant, and his troupes of satyrs in armour, in harness, or toasting the victorious outcome is one of the completely new, heretofore unknown additions to the repertory of ancient painting. Using the experiments in three-dimensionality which will be passed onto Attic and South Italian artists in the fourth century B.C., the painter has created or revised a monumental composition for reduction to the strong curve and flaring profile of a fairly large pot.¹⁴ The artist of this krater worked in the tradition of the vase-painter Polygnotos, using dilute glaze for the hair and other details, and he is a rustic disciple of a master known as the Kleophon Painter or his followers, before the period of fussy, linear details best represented by the Meidias Painter.

Three Apulian Kraters. Three large Apulian red-figured vases decorated with mythological scenes on one side and conversational figures in restful poses on the other belong in the category of expansive and even luxurious works of ceramic art. They are also among the triumphs of later Greek vase-painting. All three are kraters and date in the first half of the fourth century B.C. The first two have figures in a relatively plain, monumental style, while the third moves into the realm of florid, but not fussy painting. On one Athena holds up the head of Medusa, to be reflected in the shield at her side, while Perseus in winged boots and an elaborate 'cap of darkness' stands before her and Hermes, left with only his herald's staff, leans against a tree at the right (Figs.70, 74).¹⁵ The artist has been named the Tarporley Painter, and he also painted a pelike with a variation on the same theme, that is with Athena seated, Perseus and Hermes leaning on pillars. In this composition the shield is tilted on the ground between the first two.¹⁶

⁶ See J. D. BEAZLEY: *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford [1963], I, p.444, No.241, 'School-piece?'; II, p.1706. Douris or Doris (a lady painter?) was well characterized by Beazley in *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums*, Cambridge, Mass. [1918], pp.97-100; see also *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 39 [1919], pp.82-87.

⁷ Accession number 1970.428. Height: 0.37 m. (with foot and pieces in the bottom of the body restored). Harriet Otis Cruft Fund.

⁸ See the detailed parallels for this lekythos given in its initial publication, in *Münzen und Medaillen A.G.*, Auktion 40 [13th December 1969], p.68, No.112.

⁹ Accession number 63.2681. Height: 0.133 m. Gift of Herbert Hoffmann.

¹⁰ See BEAZLEY: *op. cit.*, I, p.720, No.18; and II, p.1668; *Ars Antiqua A.G.*, Auktion 1 [2nd May 1959], p.43, No.117, for a lekythos from this group, with a taller athlete facing and holding a weight in his left hand.

¹¹ Accession number 1970.471. Height: 0.15 m. Length: 0.275 m. The hole for pouring is in the mouth; the body seems too long in its present restoration, but this may be due to the incomplete nature of the upper back. Perhaps Phrixos sat on the ram's back, or, as Mrs Truitt reminds me, Odysseus or a companion rode under his belly. Gift of Austin Chinn.

¹² See BEAZLEY: *op. cit.*, I, Chapter 41. The ram published here was long in a French collection, in fragments. A ram rhyton of Achaemenian form in black glaze was found in an unstratified context at Salamis: see V. KARAGEORGHIS: 'Chronique des fouilles à Chypre en 1966,' *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 91 [1967], p.326, Fig.122.

¹³ Accession number 175.1970. Height: 0.35 m. Diameter (outside lip): 0.362 m. Chatswood-Coolidge Hill Collection. Exhibited: D. M. BUITTRON: *Attic Vase Paintings in New England Collections*, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1972], pp.132 f., No.73.

¹⁴ For Dionysos and satyrs in the near-theatric actions of a Gigantomachy, see the comment and parallels in L. D. CASKEY, J. D. BEAZLEY: *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, II, Oxford-London-Boston [1954], pp.70-72, under No.106, pls.LV-LVI, a stamnos from Athens by the Blenheim Painter.

¹⁵ Accession number 1970.237. Height: 0.35 m. Diameter: 0.355 m. Listed by A. CAMBITOGLU, A. D. TRENDALL: 'Addenda to *Apulian Red-figure Vase-painters of the Plain Style*,' in *American Journal of Archaeology* 73 [1969], p.426, No.3 bis. Anonymous Gift.

¹⁶ See A. CAMBITOGLU, A. D. TRENDALL: *Apulian Red-Figured Vase-Painters of the Plain Style*, New York [1961], pp.31 ff., Chapter V, 'The Tarporley Painter and His School,' especially p.35, No.39, Taranto, private collection, pl.XIV, Figs.57-60.

On the second Apulian krater, Meleager prepares to slay the Kalydonian boar (Fig.69).¹⁷ His hunting companions move to join the kill on either side, and a dead hound lies on the ground behind the tree. This vase was painted by a close associate of the Sisyphos Painter. The composition was a famous one in Greek painting and sculpture of the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C., appearing about 350 B.C. on a Corinthian bronze mirror-case in the Museum of Fine Arts and on Attic marble sarcophagi of the Roman period.¹⁸ On the third krater, gods, goddesses, and nymphs assemble in a landscape that can be termed, for convenience, the Garden of the Hesperides (Fig.75).¹⁹ The artist of this vase in the ornate style has been identified by Professor A. D. Trendall as the Lycurgus Painter, and the reflecting pool in the lower foreground is one of his favourite devices for giving such scenes a third dimension. The turned heads and hair in fuzzy outline of the seated figures in the upper register and of the large head between the handles are another optic speciality of the artist. The lady seated beside the pool, admiring herself in a hand-mirror, is most likely Aphrodite attended by a nymph and Eros and in conversation with one of her young lovers such as Adonis. The Gorgon heads in relief and the duck heads at the base of the handles are designed to imitate the gilded bronze forms of a krater in metal.²⁰

Apulian Krater Fragments. The two fragments of Apulian vases are also kraters and also give insights into the grandeur of vase painting in the southern part of the Italian peninsula in the lifetime of Alexander the Great when applied to vessels of exceptional size, with considerable surfaces available for decoration (Figs.76, 77). The scene on the fragment of a calyx krater has been interpreted as an Iliupersis, or the Fall of Troy, but it is more likely the chariot race between Pelops and Oinomaos, resulting in the death of the latter and the former's union with Hippodameia (Fig.76).²¹ The older warrior is King Oinomaos, sacrificing at a tripod on an Ionic column before the race. The younger man at the right is Pelops, mounting his chariot. The seated lady whose lower limbs and sceptre-staff are visible above may be Aphrodite or one of the two women concerned with the outcome of the contest, the other being Oinomaos's Queen Sterope (likely to hold a sceptre). Finally, the object trailing from the hand at the left may be a fillet held by Eros or a female attendant at the sacrifice. Professor Trendall has related this ornate fragment, with its florid details and studied use of added white, to a group that precedes the Darius Painter,

the classic name in large Apulian vases with the most complex groups of figures spotted all over their surfaces.²²

The second fragment, work of about 325 B.C., has been attributed by Professor Trendall and his co-author Professor A. Cambitoglou to the Adolphseck Painter, a monumental master of the richest aspects of the Apulian plain style whose other two major works are bell kraters at Schloss Fasanerie, the old collection of Prince Philip of Hesse, in Adolphseck a short distance northwest of Wiesbaden and in the Musée Borély at Marseilles. Apollo, in a rich garment, stands holding a large lyre and plektron with tassels. Zeus, with eagle-topped sceptre, can be seen seated at the upper left, and Nike flies carrying an ornamented fillet at the upper right (Fig.77).²³ Not only white but yellow and golden paint have been used for the added details. The scene must have been an assembly of the gods at a musical contest involving Apollo. The natural one to think of would be the trial between Apollo and Marsyas, with Nike awarding the predestined victory to the god. As so often with Apulian pottery in fragments, the scene stimulates us as much for what can be imagined as for what is present.²⁴

Apulian Lekanis. A giant Apulian serving dish with one of its two elaborate handles and most of its interior, central decoration preserved exhibits a complexity of marine life on its interior, three-figure groups amid the palmettes on the underside, and is work of the middle of the fourth century B.C. or the years thereafter (Figs.72, 78).²⁵ The vignette of marine life is particularly rich when compared with the usual fish plate, the catfish and the two dolphins being poised inwards and the remaining fish and wiggling sea creatures being placed to fill out the circle. From any angle, however the large plate is tilted, the creatures take on an active life. Like later mosaics in Hellenistic and Roman pools or baths, this sense of the living sea must have been increased sharply when the copious interior was filled with a clear yet chromatic soup. A similar lekanis in Berlin has Phrixos riding his white ram through the marine vista, while a splendidly preserved dish in the Norbert Schimmel collection in New York concentrates solely on the nautical decoration as does the example published in these pages.²⁶

Apulian Plates. Two of the remaining vases are also dishes or plates. There is a magnificent Apulian fish plate in which the two perch, the cuttlefish, and even the small conch are drawn with a precision not usually found on the many examples of this class of pottery surviving from the fourth century. The central depression, for serving the fish sauce, has an unusually rich scheme of decoration (Figs.73, 79).²⁷ Fish plates begin in Attic

¹⁷ Accession number 1970.236. Height: 0.53 m. Diameter (mouth): 0.364 m. Diameter (foot): 0.19 m. Anonymous Gift. Prof. Trendall has classified this column krater and notes the stylistic similarities with Ruvo No.1091 and a vase in Berlin. See H. SIGHTERMANN: *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien*, Tübingen [1966], p.39, No.46, pl.78, also a column krater; A. GREIFENHAGEN: *Frühklassischer Kolonettenkrater mit Darstellung der Herakliden*, 123 Winckelmannsprogramm, Berlin [1969], figs.2, 3; and the information collected in I. K. RAUBITSCHKE: *The Hearst Hillsborough Vases*, Stanford, Calif. [1969], pp.93-97, under No.27.
¹⁸ See G. DALTRÖP: *Die Kalydonische Jagd in der Antike (Die Jagd in der Kunst)*, Hamburg-Berlin [1966], pl.17, etc.; also, in the same series of small books: K. SCHAUENBURG: *Jagddarstellungen auf griechischen Vasen*, Hamburg-Berlin [1969], *passim*.

¹⁹ Accession number 1970.235. Height (with handles): 0.61 m. Height (without handles): 0.52 m. Diameter (at mouth): 0.326 m. Diameter (at foot): 0.158 m. Anonymous Gift.

²⁰ Professor Trendall compares F. BROMMER: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland Schloss Fasanerie (Adolphseck)*, II, Munich [1959], pp.38 f., No.178, pl.76, also a volute krater. See also SIGHTERMANN: *op. cit.*, p.34, No.K37, pl.55, a volute krater with Anazonomachy, 'related to the Lycurgus Painter (Trendall)', for secondary decoration such as the borders and palmettes; and p.50, No.72, pls.119-122, a large and true 'Garden of the Hesperides', with the snake wrapped around the tree.

²¹ Accession number 61.113. Height: 0.14 m. Width: 0.17 m. Bequest of Grace Nelson. From the collection of Christoph W. Clairmont.

²² See D. VON BOTHMER: *American Journal of Archaeology*, 59 [1955], p.193; *Ancient Art in American Private Collections*, Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass. [1954], p.37, No.300; C. CLAIRMONT: *American Journal of Archaeology*, 57 [1953], pp.90 ff., pl.49. For complete vases with the contest of Pelops and Oinomaos, see A. B. COOK: *Zeus, A Study in Ancient Religion*, I, Cambridge [1914], pp.36 ff.

²³ Accession number 61.112. Height: 0.18 m. Width: 0.15 m. Bequest of Grace Nelson. From the collection of Christoph W. Clairmont.

²⁴ See CAMBITOGLU, TRENDALL: *op. cit.*, p.20, No.3, pl.IV, figs.17, 18 (the other two vases by the painter). Also Museum of Fine Arts, *Calendar for 1962*, June; C. CLAIRMONT: *Yale Classical Studies*, 15 [1957], pp.166 ff., especially 172 ff., pl.1. The scene can be reconstructed using the pelike by a follower of the Lycurgus Painter published in the Jatta collection at Ruvo: SIGHTERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp.51 f., No.K74, pls.128-131.

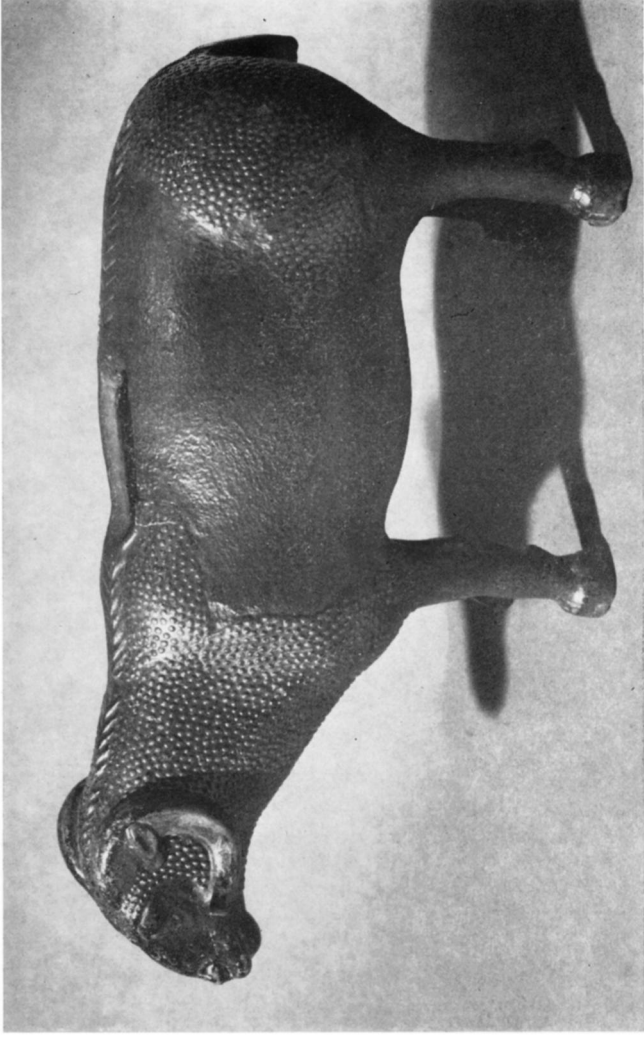
²⁵ Accession number 171.1970. Height (including handles): 0.185 m. Height (to top of rim): 0.142 m. Diameter (at rim as preserved): 0.36 m. Chatsworth-Coolidge Hill Collection. Andrew Oliver, Jr. has attributed this marine dish to the Varrese Painter.

²⁶ See K. A. NEUGEBAUER: *Führer durch das Antiquarium*, II, *Vasen*, Berlin [1932], p.159, No.F3345, pl.79. For this type of Apulian plate, see the bibliography given in Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Auktion 34 [6th May 1967], pp.96 f., No.184.

²⁷ Accession number 217.65. Height: 0.04 m. Diameter: 0.18 m. Chatsworth-Coolidge Hill Collection. From *Hesperia Art, Bulletin*, XVI, No.102.



70. Apulian Bell Krater, early fourth century B.C.



71. Attic Rhyton in the form of a Ram, c.440 B.C.



72. Apulian Lekanis or Serving Dish, c.340 B.C.

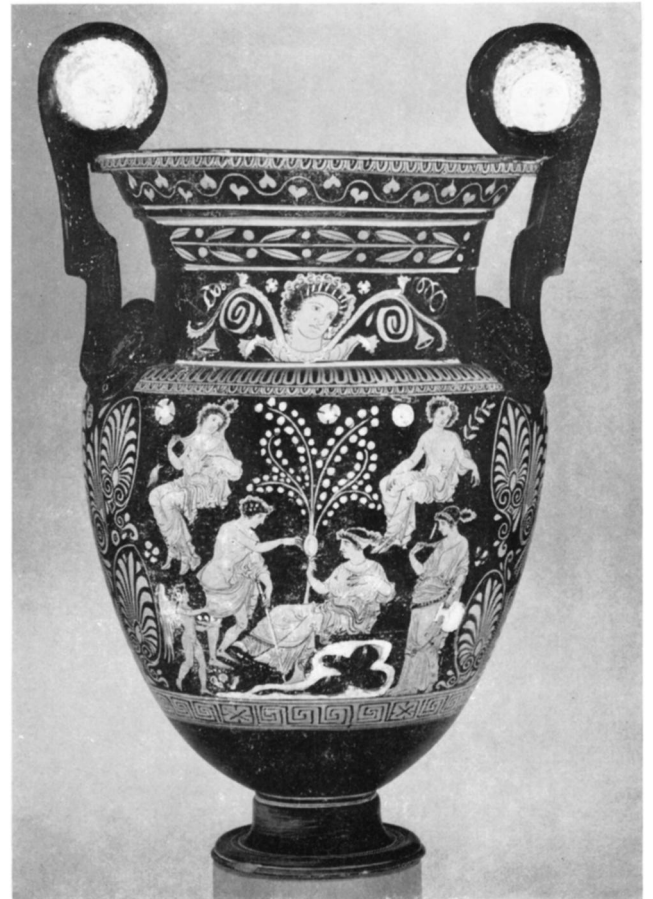


73. Apulian Fish Plate, late fourth century B.C.

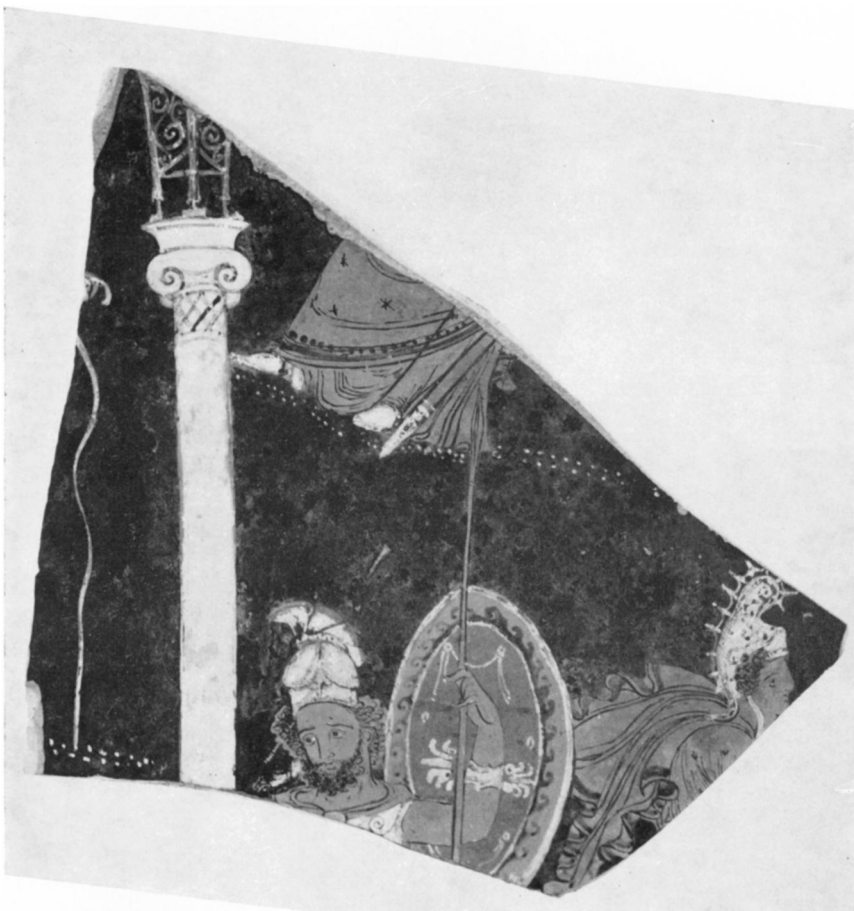
Greek vases etc. acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.



74. Another view of the Apulian Bell Krater (Fig.70).



75. Apulian Volute Krater, 375-350 B.C.



76. Apulian Calyx Krater fragment, 350-325 B.C.



77. Apulian Bell Krater fragment, c.325 B.C.

black figure about 500 B.C., go through Attic red figure, and flourish with the various South Italian examples. They were doubtless both used to serve fish and hung up as votives in a temple to a marine deity. As has also been noted by various writers, they are often found at fishing centres such as Capua.²⁸

A small, late plate, also Apulian, is enriched with a rather decadent head of a woman (Fig.82).²⁹ The loose brushwork, spilling over into the circular frame around the head, and the nonchalant uses of added white in the woman's jewelry, in the dotted filling-ornaments, and in the wreath near the outer edge are different from the decorative schemes encountered in the vases already discussed here. Similar plates are in the Stoddard collection at Yale University and in the Royal Ontario Museum at Toronto. Professor Cambitoglou has connected the drawing tentatively with that of a situla or bucket in the British Museum and a volute krater in the Vatican collections. Professor Trendall has, in addition, classed the plate in a grouping termed the Pre-Copenhagen Group. The source of such ladies in Apulian vase painting, at least on the interiors of plates similar to this, must have been the covers of Corinthian bronze mirrors of the middle of the fourth century. The beautiful lady could be thought of as a rich presentation of Aphrodite.³⁰ To the owners of such Apulian plates in Southern Italy, she must also have lost her divine implications and become no more identifiable than the little men and women who stand on Quimper plates or the figures moving through the romantic Far Eastern landscapes of willow ware.

Major museums acquire Greek vases not only according to need, to complete or improve large collections, but according to what of quality becomes available on the art markets of the world. This article is strong in South Italian painted vases of several classes because a considerable number of these vases have appeared from various sources in recent years. Thus, after the eight Apulian vases just mentioned come two which have been identified by Professor Trendall as belonging to two well-known Campanian groups, each classification being by one or more artist.

Campanian Oinochoe. An oinochoe of about 340 B.C., straightforward red figure with minor touches of added white, presents a centaur heading toward a banquet with a pillow in his left arm and two birds, a hare, suspended from the pine-branch over his right shoulder (Fig.80).³¹ As elsewhere here, the subject and the precise form of composition were popular in ancient painting and relief. It occurs, for instance, in a black and white pebble mosaic of the later fourth century B.C. from a room of house 'Delta' in Rhodes, the centaur carrying a pedum or rustic crook and a hare.³²

Campanian Hydria-Kalpis. The Campanian hydria-kalpis of the later decades in the fourth century is more bizarre in its total decoration and in the organization of its pictorial composition than the oinochoe with the hunting centaur. Three fully-equipped warriors face each other on the major surface, and a large female head with hair done up in an embroidered sakkos or kerchief protrudes from the painted lower borders under each side handle (Fig.81).³³ Added white has been used much more extensively than on the Campanian oinochoe, most noticeably for the arms and armour of the South Italian soldiers.³⁴ Using the techniques of glazes and added colours on a fired clay vessel in the Attic and earlier South Italian tradition, this form of opulent large-figure and secondary-decorative painting speaks with an emptiness and insincerity that presages the end of vase painting in the red-figured tradition in its broadest sense. We have merely a decorated pot rather than a work of ceramic art.

Faliscan Calyx Krater. The best vases identified as Etruscan, those made and painted in central Italy for the Etruscan market, are the so-called Faliscan vases. The calyx krater presented here is one of the largest, most richly decorated, and stylistically coherent Faliscan vases that has survived from the decades just before the middle of the fourth century B.C. (Figs.83, 85).³⁵ The krater has the added virtue of illustrating in panoramic fashion the divinities witnessing the discovery of Telephos in Agamemnon's palace at Mycenae (Argos to the later Greeks). This little-known episode from the beginning of the Trojan War formed the climactic moment in a lost play by Euripides, and artists in the fifth and fourth centuries turned the literary inspiration of Euripides's *Telephos* into visual terms, frescoes or panel paintings and their counterparts on vases.

The red-figured calyx krater is by an artist called the Nazzano Painter and was created about 360 B.C. The figures on the principal side are somewhat less elegantly proportioned and more loosely drawn than those of the Aurora Painter, the most famous artist of Faliscan vases. This suggests that the Nazzano Painter was one of the more nonconformist of the native Italian or Etruscan pupils of the artist who brought the high standards involved in so-called Faliscan vases to central Italy.

The scene of Telephos taking refuge on an altar in the palace of Agamemnon is conceived as a horizontal panorama of medium-sized figures in a drama witnessed by the gods above. On the second side of the broadly curved surface with its flaring lip, four large Dionysiac figures are shown with a grandeur and isolation, a greater economy of brushwork, that makes a majestic contrast to the mythological action. The Telephos saga based on the lost play by Euripides is a most sophisticated subject for an artist in Italy to present in such richness for the Etruscan market. Legend has it that when Agamemnon led the Greek expedition to Troy the ships first landed, by mistake, at the kingdom of Telephos around Pergamon in Mysia. Telephos was wounded by Achilles in the ensuing battle, and an oracle of Apollo stated that he had to go to Greece to be healed by his assailant. Thus, King Telephos found himself in the midst of the Greeks in the citadel of Agamemnon.

Telephos holds a knife in one hand and Agamemnon's infant son Orestes, as hostage, in the other. Menelaos or Odysseus restrains kingly Agamemnon who reaches behind his son to pull Telephos by his beard. A frightened nurse and angry Queen Clytemnestra, who had been holding sacrifice at the altar,

²⁸ See under Hesperia Art, *Bulletin*, XLVII, p.2. Compare *Griechische Vasen*, Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe [1969], No.52.

²⁹ Accession number 58.1279. Height: 0.037 m. Diameter: 0.177 m. Gift of Horace L. Mayer.

³⁰ Compare P. V. C. BAUR: *Catalogue of the Rebecca Darlington Stoddard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases in Yale University*, New Haven [1922], pp.163 f., No.268; D. M. ROBINSON, C. G. HARCUM, J. H. ILIFFE: *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto*, Toronto [1930], I, p.228, No.461, II, pl.LXXXIII. The painter: A. D. TRENDALL: *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano, Vasi italoti ed etruschi a figure rosse*, Rome [1953-1955], II, pp.137 f., No.V64, pl.LXXXVIIe.

³¹ Accession number 1970.363. Height: 0.245 m. Gift of the Boston Teachers Club in Memory of Mary Ward (1884-1949). Professor Trendall places this oinochoe in the Pilos Head Group. See A. D. TRENDALL: *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania Campania and Sicily*, Oxford [1967], II, pl.109, No.3 (Vienna No.828), I, pp.267 ff., especially p.271, No.291, the centaur, also going right to left, has only a hare on his branches and no pillow.

³² See P. M. FRASER: 'Archaeology in Greece, 1968-69,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies, Archaeological Reports for 1968-69*, London [1969], p.38 and cover picture, the centaur, with pedum and hare, goes from left to right.

³³ Accession number 1970.238. Height: 0.54 m. Gift of Paul E. Manheim.

³⁴ Professor Trendall places this hydria-kalpis in the Ixion Group, most vases from the hand of or closely associated with a single artist, the Ixion Painter. See TRENDALL: *op. cit.*, II, pl.131, No.1 (Berlin No.4982, 45), I, p.338, No.784.

³⁵ Accession number 1970.487. Height: 0.502 m. Diameter (at mouth): 0.545 m. J. H. and E. A. Payne Fund.

complete the scene. Eight divine creatures crowd the upper register, Eros, Athena in full armour, winged Iris, Apollo in the centre, his sister Artemis, their father Zeus, and Hermes. Another Eros closes the array at the right. The story had a relatively happy ending, for Telephos was cured with rust from the spear that had wounded him and, being of Greek ancestry himself, led the Greeks to Troy.

The four larger figures on the other side comprise two satyrs revelling on the left and right of Dionysos and his bride Ariadne. The Nazzano Painter has added white paint wherever feasible to set one figure off from another, for the body of the Eros at the left, for the entire Eros at the right, for little Orestes, for the altar, and for all females save the warlike Athena.³⁶ Details are unusual, such as wavy eyes, sketchy hair, long feet, and profusely embroidered costumes. As a total experience, the painter has created a work of art unmistakably different from its Attic Greek counterparts. This is evident both in the painting and drawing, and in the reddish buff of the fired clay, or in the exaggerated upswing of the handles. Vases by the Aurora and Nazzano Painters represented the ultimate in central Italic or Etruscan ceramic originality based on South Italian and Attic Greek models.

Centuripe-Ware Krater and Lekanis. To conclude, two excellent examples are provided of so-called Centuripe ware, vases of the third century B.C. from the ancient city of Centuripae in east central Sicily (Figs.84, 86).³⁷ These unusual vessels are noted for their lavish polychromy, monumental figures painted in the style of wall-frescoes on the plain surfaces, and for their gilded secondary, decorative reliefs. Above all, perhaps, they can be characterized by their repertory of most original, imaginative shapes. The standing and seated figures are usually women in rich, full robes, and their poses or limited actions appear to relate to marriage ceremonies, whether in the real world or in an afterlife of potential happiness.

Vases from the tombs around Centuripe, the number known having been increased by new publications or discoveries in recent years, form a fitting termination to the long and honourable history of Greek painted pottery.³⁸ After the baroque exuberance of Centuripe ware, the art of the painter on fired clay was left with scarcely any new creative avenues to be explored. These vases can be said to have been almost the last word in the chronicles of potter and painter working together to achieve a major art during the long span of classical antiquity.

Twenty such Greek vases of superior artistic quality or varied historical interest would make a memorable private collection in an age when art has been so widely dispersed at ever-spiralling prices in the public markets. To select this number of painted pots from private possession and arrest their perigrinations, so to speak, in a leading museum can be justified only if these vases answer the demands of universal abstract beauty and more specific didactic integrity. If they can please the seeker of aesthetic

excellence in the art of antiquity and can instruct the student of classical history in visual form, they should be assembled in a place convenient to all. Publication of these vases as a permanent unit in an accessible collection may help to provide an initial answer to their future merit and usefulness.

CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III

Letter

J.-L. David at Sacramento

SIR, Mr de Caso, in his article on the David at Sacramento (in your October 1972 issue) did not pin down a fact which escaped M. Pierre Rosenberg (*Master Drawings*, vol.8, 1970, No.1, p.36) and, surprisingly, Mr Steven Nash (in the same journal, vol.8, No.3, pp.295-96). The Sacramento drawing is not 'possibly trimmed' but certainly cut down, and that by no small amount, on the left-hand edge, where a disconnected foot is visible, reclining on a knee-high dais. The piece cut off is the drawing etched by Jules David and reproduced in his volume of plates of 1880. On the right-hand end of this etching, one of the three Fates rests her leg on a dais of the same height, and the foot is laid upon it, as at Sacramento. According to Jules David's catalogue entry the drawing is 'à la plume et encre de Chine, rehaussé de blanc, papier bleu', and 26 cm high by 74 cm long. The height is the same as the Sacramento frieze, as Nash remarked, and the paper of the same colour, but the medium differs (according to M. Rosenberg's note, the Sacramento frieze is in black chalk). It seems most likely that Jules David's entry is at fault. As far as his etching permits us to judge, the style is identical, and the *rapprochement* makes sense as far as the subject-matter is concerned. Hypothesizing again, I suppose that when Jules David had the drawing in front of him, the truncated foot had either been restored by the addition of a strip of paper to the cut end, or he took the liberty of adding it himself in the etching. Another question arises here, which I make no attempt to answer: was the frieze drawn in 1778, as given on the Sacramento piece, or 1780, as on the missing part? Also, what evidence is there to identify it with the frieze at the Salon of 1783?

The following points may also bear mentioning, to clear up some muddle:

The Cherbourg *Patrocle*, assumed by Mr de Caso to have been sent to Paris in April 1779, was almost certainly sent in 1777, and the report on it made by the Academy's special commission is that of 10th January 1778. It was not therefore shown in Rome in 1778, as stated in the Council of Europe exhibition catalogue. The Montpellier *Hector* is presumably the *académie* shown in 1778 to Cardinal de Bernis and other connoisseurs in Rome, and on which the commission reported 10th April 1779, criticising the 'draperie jaune'.

Mr de Caso's 'lost painting relating to the Sacramento drawing' is not mentioned on either of the pages of the *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, to which he refers (his note No.6). One would like to know which picture he means.

We have only Jules David's word for it that the *esquisse* sent to Paris with the *Hector* was the same as that exhibited at the Salon of 1781 (No.314), the *Funérailles de Patrocle*. The receipt published by Mr de Caso confirms that it was done in Rome, and makes one confident that Jules David was right in identifying it with the *envoi*.

CHRISTOPHER SELLS

³⁶ See H. A. CAHN, in *Art of Ancient Italy, Etruscans, Greeks and Romans*, Andre Emmerich Gallery, Inc., New York [1970], pp.32 f., No.45, for this vase; and for the myth, CASKEY, BEAZLEY, *op. cit.*, III, Boston [1963], pp.54-57, under No.154, pl.LXXXVIII, a cup made by Hieron and the name-piece of the Telephos Painter C. BAUCHHENS-THURIEDL; *Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst*, Würzburg [1971], pp.28-32, II.6, pl.3.

³⁷ Accession numbers 1970.479, 478. Krater: Height (body): 0.395 m. Height (lid): 0.136 m. Diameter: 0.319 m. Lekanis: Height (body): 0.31 m. Height (lid): 0.45 m. Diameter: 0.374 m. Arthur Tracy Cabot Fund.

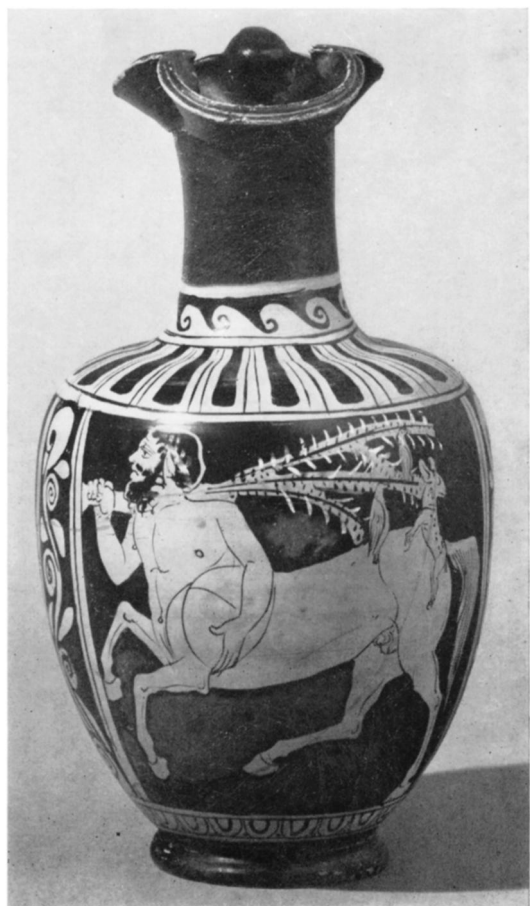
³⁸ See Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Auktion 26 [5th October 1963], pp.88 f., under No.168, pl.59, and extensive bibliography; more recently: H. A. CAHN, in *Art of Ancient Italy*, p.51, Nos.80, 81. One of the best of these vases is discussed, against the background of this class of painting, by A. D. TRENDALL: 'A New Polychrome Vase from Centuripe,' *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 13 [1953], pp.161-166 and colour plate on the cover.



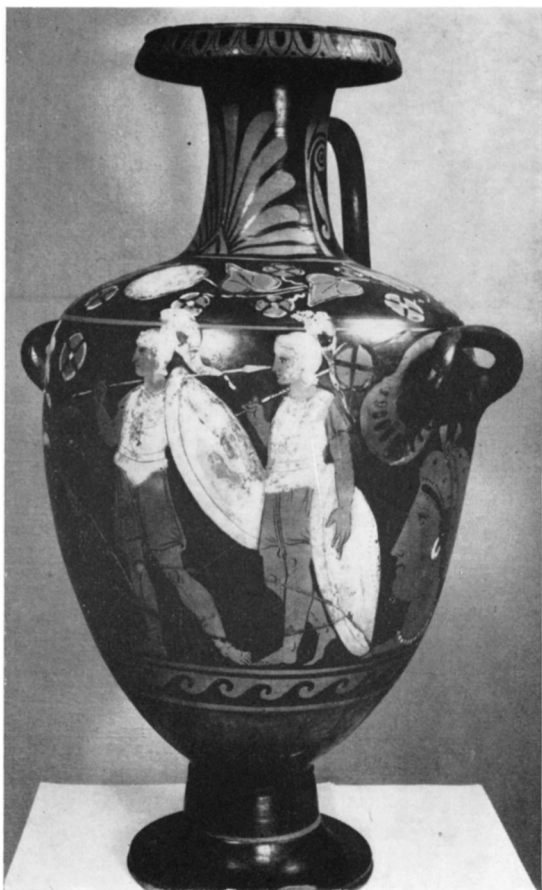
78. Another view of the Apulian Lekanis (Fig.72).



79. Another view of the Apulian Fish Plate (Fig.73).



80. Campanian Oinochoe, c.340 B.C.



81. Campanian Hydria – Kalpis, late fourth century B.C.



82. Apulian Plate, c.325 B.C. or later.



83. Faliscan Calyx Krater, c.360 B.C.



84. Centuripe Ware Bell Krater, third century B.C.



85. Another view of the Faliscan Calyx Krater (Fig.83).



86. Centuripe Ware Lekanis, third century B.C.



Ancient Art in Metal and Semiprecious Stone

Author(s): Marion True and Cornelius Vermeule

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Ancient Art in Metal and Semiprecious Stone

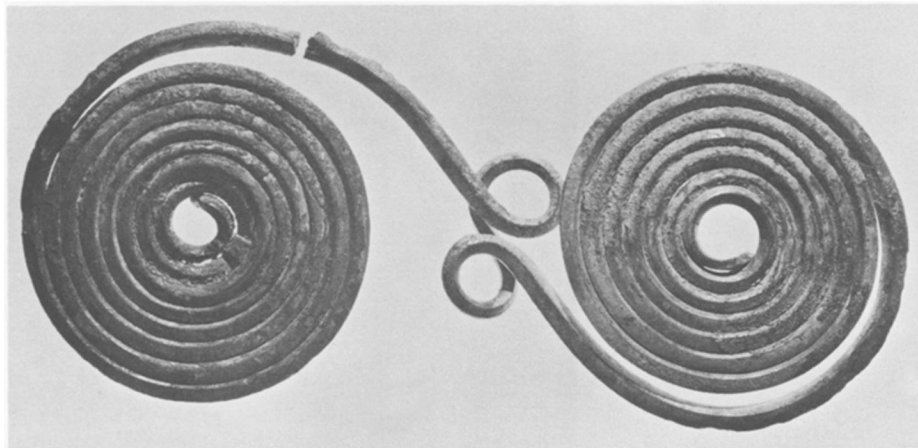
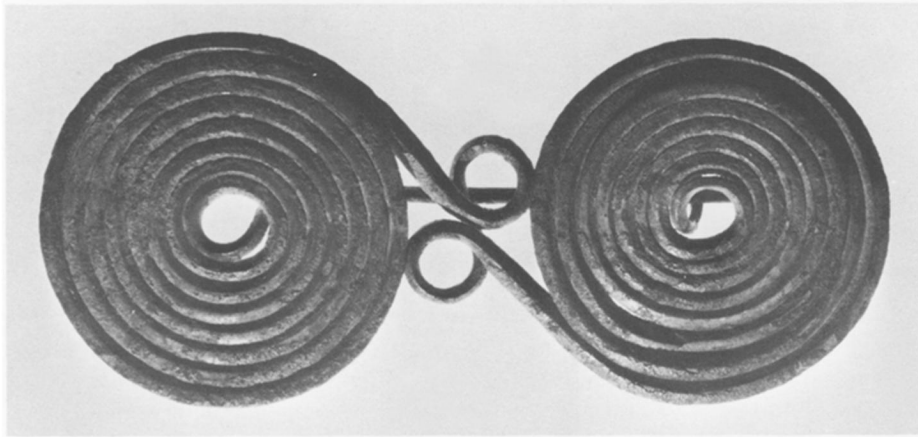
MARION TRUE and CORNELIUS VERMEULE

In these pages are presented a group of Greek, Italic, Roman, and Renaissance works of sculpture, primarily in bronze, most of which have been added to the collection since the publication of the museum's catalogue of *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes* late in 1971. This article may be considered, then, as the first addendum to that catalogue.*

The sculptures described here answer the needs of a comprehensive, developing collection devoted to quality and authority and to their handmaiden, education. The life-sized Archaic Greek shield (no. 2) is the perfect instrument with which to introduce classical Greek, Homeric or Spartan, heroics to a class of school children. Now restored and displayed in the gallery of Archaic Greek art, it is hardly short of overwhelming. The seated Zeus (no. 6) combines the Hellenistic majesty of that divinity with a most interesting attribute, a sacred mountain, identified with the cults of innermost Asia Minor. The whip (no. 14), from a tomb in the Greek East, has been carefully restored into a functioning object and has the power to recreate the chariots of Homer or the cart of the great King Darius in the onslaughts of Alexander the Great. The right hand from a Graeco-Roman statue of an athlete (no. 11), encased in a brutal instrument for gladiatorial matches (a "boxing glove" with knuckle-dusters), makes the horror of imperial spectator sports all too real for the modern world of clean—even antiseptic—athletics. The small statue of the emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) is a late Renaissance recreation in gilded bronze from an ancient female torso carved in chalcedony (no. 15). As such it assumes a special relationship to both Greek and Roman craftsmanship, epitomizing the vision of antiquity in the decades from Raphael to the younger Bernini.

If these examples of sculpture from antiquity to the Renaissance have a unifying theme, it is one of imaginative diversity. The statuettes of divinities and votaries, whether Zeus, or Herakles, or Tyche, are without doubt unusual. The steelyard weight (no. 7) in the form of Mount Argaios differs from almost every other such instrument surviving from antiquity. Even the fragments of utensils, the handles of a Greek amphora, or the protome of a panther are as filled with sustaining interest as any of the statuettes. In short, this group of sculptures emerges as a worthy representation of the traditions and aims of a major collection of classical art.

*Marion True undertook the basic research for the major recent acquisitions, and Cornelius Vermeule prepared the entries for the bronzes that have been in the collection for a number of years. Mary Comstock contributed part of entry no. 8 and with Robert Moeller, Pamela Tosi, and Penelope Truitt provided information and assistance valuable in the publication of this article. Margaret Jupe offered important additions, from observations of the works of art and the comparative material.



1. Pair of fibulae. Greek, Geometric period, bronze, l. $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11 cm.); $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. (14.5 cm.). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius C. Vermeule III. 1972.372,373.

These early Greek funerary pins take the form of two joined curls of wire, which is cast or drawn in strong, simple fashion. The pin and the hook are riveted behind. The bronze has acquired a rich, blue-green patina.

Since 1898 the museum has possessed a larger and a smaller fibula similar to this pair, the smaller one having an identical arrangement of the pin.¹ All recorded examples of this type, called Northern Greek, appear to come from Macedonia, many from tombs at Vergina, where they have been found together

with spiral bracelets and so-called shield bosses.² The simple, circular and rectangular forms of the fibulae are the counterparts in bronze of the earliest Cycladic sculptures in marble.

1. See Mary Comstock and Cornelius Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1971), p. 206, nos. 267, 268. Another example, dated in the ninth to eighth centuries B.C. was published in *Ars Antiqua, Auktion IV*, 7 December 1962, p. 28, pl. XL, as lot no. 117, providing a further illustration of their large size (length 13.8 cm.); an extensive comparative bibliography is given with the description.

2. See *Ergon*, 1959, pp. 55ff., fig. 53 (text in Greek).

2. **Shield.** Archaic, ca. 520 B.C., bronze, diam. 32½ in. (8.15 cm.), w. 4¾ in. (11.5 cm.).

Helen and Alice Colburn Fund. 1971.285.

(Photo D. Widmer.)

The outer surface of the shield is composed of sheet-bronze. The rim is decorated with a multiple running guilloche pattern. Inside, fastening rivets and sections of the bronze strap with relief decoration are preserved. All the remaining pieces have been added during restoration and are mounted on a modern inner surface of wood.

The style of the figures in the relief panels on the strap parallels that of the painter known as "The Affector" on Attic black-figured vases of around 540 B.C. The second panel (b) appears to show two heroes advancing toward each other, perhaps in combat. The third panel (c), below this, features a youth holding two wreaths and advancing toward another, a divinity with attributes (?) standing at the left. The scene preceding these (a), or possibly following them in the visual sequence, has been named tentatively "Thetis before Zeus" and shows a woman in a long garment standing in a gesture of supplication before a nude, bearded man seated on an altarlike stool. The man seems to have the presence of a major divinity.

It is of great interest that a second example of this type of shield exists in Germany, in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Peter Ludwig.¹ The Ludwig shield, which is larger than the Boston shield by nearly 10 centimeters, has been dated about 540 B.C. and termed *Argive*. It is said to have been found in a cemetery in eastern Sicily. Two of the three surviving scenes depicted on the strap can be recognized as mythological: Apollo killing the giant Tityos and Herakles with Atlas. The third complete panel shows a flute player in frontal position playing double flutes. She is fully clothed and stands between two nude girls dancing in profile. A larger rectangular plaque, next to one of the arm loops, shows a quadriga frontally, as on Attic vases, with Silens frolicking on the horses while an armed warrior guides them. Indeed, all the designs have strong affinities with vase painting, although their styles are not recognizably Attic.

Although clearly from the same workshop as the Ludwig shield, if not by the same hand, the Boston shield has slightly smaller, more delicately enframed panels in the schema of



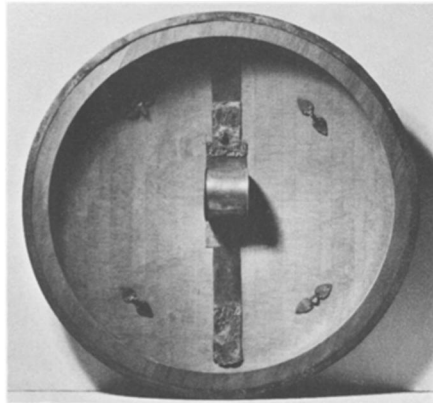
Detail: rim with guilloche pattern. (Photo D. Widmer.)



the reverse. The figures, too, seem ever so slightly more refined, as befits the somewhat smaller format. The round form, with this type of flat rim and surface curve, persists into Graeco-Roman times.²

A battle scene on an Attic krater (fig. 2a) shows a warrior carrying a shield similar to the one in our collection. The long piece of cloth attached to the inside of the shield was intended to hamper the warrior's opponent.

1. The existence of this shield was brought to our attention by Joan Mertens. See Reinhard Lullies, *Griechische Kunstwerke: Sammlung Ludwig, Kassel: Eine Auswahl*, Aachener Kunstblätter, vol. 37 (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1968), pp. 135–143.
2. As can be demonstrated by a group of shields in the Louvre; see André de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre*, vol. 2 (Paris: Leroux, 1915), no. 1175 (Etruscan or Italo-Greek), no. 1176 (classical with an Archaic Gorgon in the outer center), and no. 1178 (a "classical" Gorgon, of the type continuing into Roman imperial times).

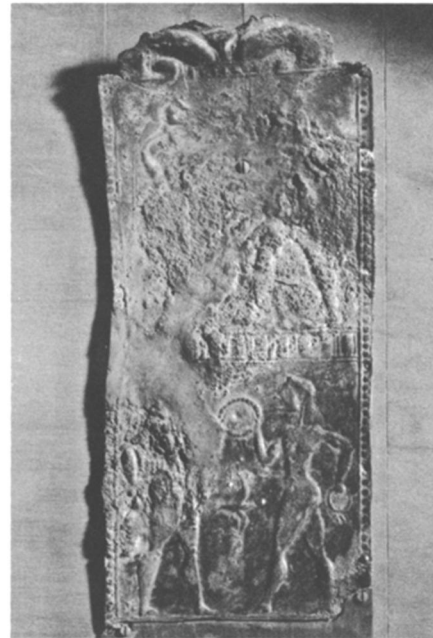


Inside of shield. (Photo D. Widmer.)



a

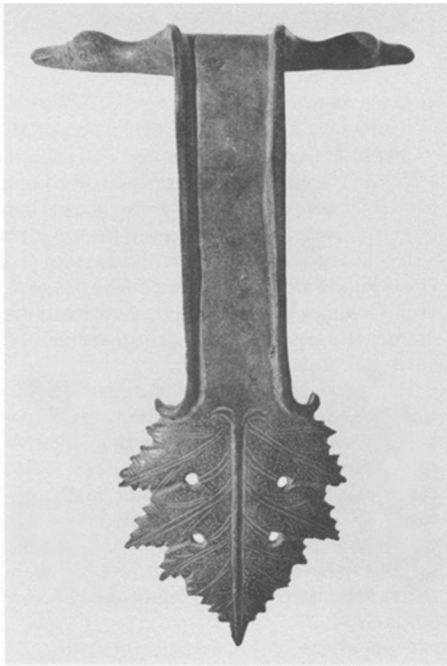
Details: relief panels a, b, c. (Photo D. Widmer.)



b

c

2a. Attic krater by the Altamara Painter. Detail: warriors fighting. William Francis Warden Fund. 59.178. (Photo D. Widmer.)



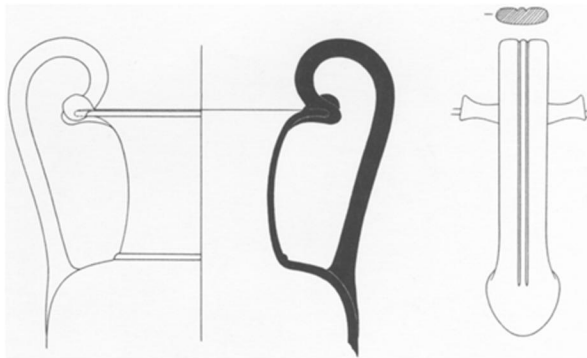
3. **Handles of an amphora.** East Greek (Ionian), ca. 500 B.C., bronze, l. 7¼ in. (18.5 cm.), w. 4¾ in. (11.8 cm.). *Gift of Richard R. Wagner. 1971.264,265.*

These handles from an amphora have the simplicity of form expected of Greek functional decoration during the transition from Archaic to early classical art. They have a double, ribbed molding. The upper, side terminals are in the shape of ducks' heads, and the lower end has been fashioned as a grape leaf, with veins incised. In each leaf are four holes for attaching the handles to the body of the amphora. The surfaces have an even, light green patina. These handles resemble an example in our collection from modern Söke, dated about 510 B.C., a single handle from an amphora of which the foot is also preserved.¹ Of roughly similar size, this is said to have been found at Miletos, on the Ionian coast. The same motifs, leaves, and ribbed moldings, occur on the somewhat austere, inscribed East Greek grave steles of this period. Though differing in decorative details, amphoras of about 450 B.C. from southern Italian Greek or related Etruscan workshops convey an excellent idea of how this type of vessel must have been completed.² Figure 3a indicates how the handle would have been attached to the neck and body of the amphora.

1. 62.1105a,b. Gift of Herbert Hoffmann. See Mary Comstock and Cornelius Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 294, no. 420.

2. One example of these is in the Vatican and another in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg. See David G. Mitten and S. F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* [exhibition catalogue] (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, 1967), pp. 192-194, nos. 199, 198.

3a. Attic black-figured neck amphora. Ca. 520-510 B.C. *Gift of Mrs. H. P. Kidder. 01.17.* (*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, fasc. 1, profile drawing 46, by Suzanne E. Chapman.)





4a. Equestrian figures. Iberian, ca. 500 B.C., bronze. Worcester Art Museum.

4. **Rider.** Central Italian, Archaic, 520–500 B.C., bronze, h. 3 in. (7.5 cm.). *Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius C. Vermeule III*. 109.64.

This figure appears to be mounted on a horse, in which case, he would be a warrior, perhaps even a warrior-god. If, however, his mount is a ram, as is possible, he would represent Hermes or a local forerunner of the pastoral god. The rider seems to be wearing a caplike helmet and short tunic. His left arm and attributes are missing.¹

The rider's face is similar to that of a warrior from the lid of a lebes (basin) termed Campanian, late sixth century B.C.,² particularly with respect to the large, flat, almond eyes. It also resembles a kouros, termed Italic, sixth century B.C., and the face of an Etruscan woman dated early in the fifth century B.C.³ On the basis of these analogies, it is possible to date this rather charming little figure about 520–500 B.C.

Comparison of this Archaic rider with Iberian bronze riders in the Worcester Art Museum (fig. 4a) reveals the dissimilarity between the two styles.⁴

1. A more primitive, stylized version of this type of figure, Italic, but of indefinite provenance, is in the Musée du Louvre; see A. de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1913), p. 38, no. 210, pl. 21. A somewhat later Archaic Greek figure of similar Italo-Etruscan origins is termed a "charioteer"; *ibid.*, p. 46, no. 272, pl. 24.

2. See D. G. Mitten and S. F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, p. 64, no. 53.

3. *Ars Antiqua, Auktion V*, Lucerne, 7 November 1964, p. 12, nos. 31, 32, pl. X.

4. Contrast also with the figure of a standing metalworker: Münzen und Medaillen A.G., *Kunstwerke der Antike, Auktion XXII*, Basel, 13 May 1961, p. 49, no. 96, pl. 27; the eyes of the Boston rider are more almond-shaped and more indented. And contrast with the Iberian bronzes of various types in Kunsthaus Zürich, Lucerne, *Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger*, 7 June–2 August, 1964, pp. 36f., nos. 337, 338, 343, 345, pl. 27.

5. **Young Herakles.** Graeco-Roman, ca. A.D. 190, bronze, h. 3¾ in. (9.4 cm.). *Edwin E. Jack Fund.* 1972.358.

The infant god is shown wearing his lionskin and holding his club as a support in the left hand. Coins of the Roman emperor Trajan (ruled A.D. 98–117) show this figure, identical even to the pronounced swing of the left hip, standing frontally on a round altar. These were aurei and denarii of the years 100 and 101–102.¹ This suggests that the bronze statuette can be related to a famous cult image in imperial Rome, a supposition that is confirmed by the existence of a statue of Herakles found in the eternal city about four centuries ago (before 1570) and now in the Salone of the Museo Capitolino (fig. 5a). Carved out of green basalt, it is of colossal size for the subject. "The grinning face with high forehead and prominent eyes is almost grotesque. A late Roman exaggeration of a Hellenistic conceit. The only merit lies in the intractability of the material."² This image was dug up on the Aventine Hill, in the vineyard of Monsignor de' Massimi, "i.e. probably on the site of the *Thermae Decianae*, built by Emperor Trajanus Decius in A.D. 252."³

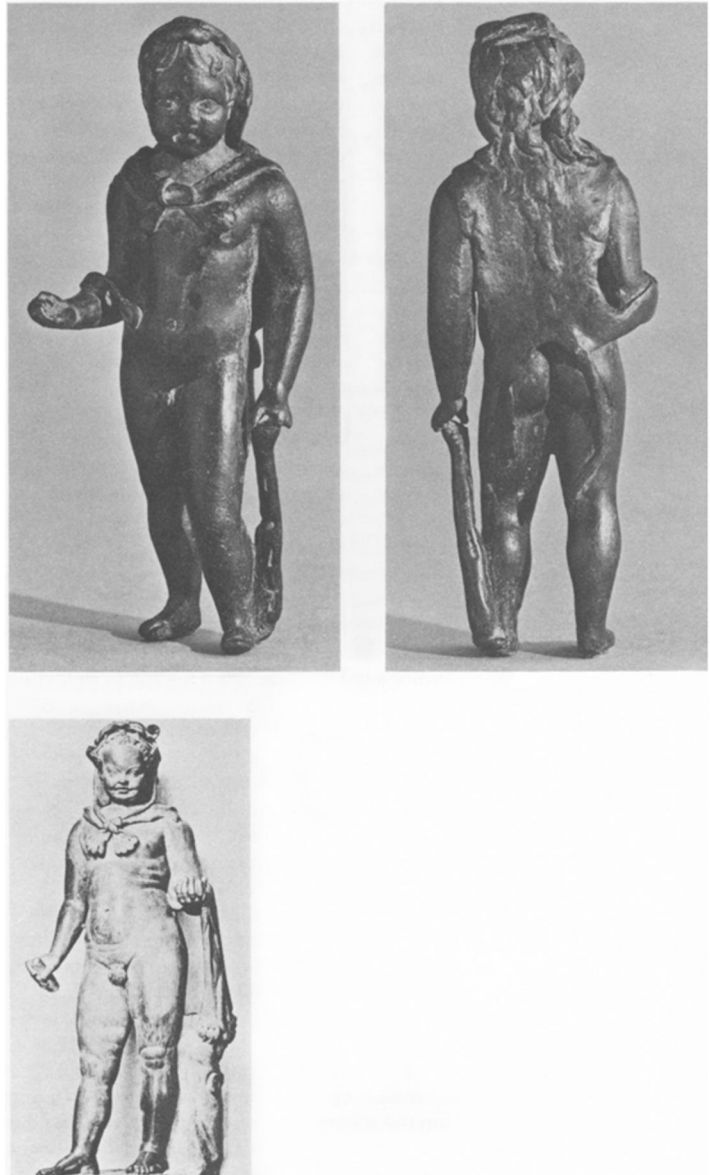
The combination of the Boston statuette, the figure engraved on the coins of Trajan, and the provenance of the Capitoline statue suggest that this green basalt Herakles stood in a temple or shrine in Rome, probably on the Aventine Hill. If the Capitoline statue is Roman imperial, it could be of the time of Trajan, who honored the cult so publicly on his coins and could have copied an older, "Hellenistic" child Herakles set up in a cult center in the Greek world. If the Capitoline statue is a Trajanic cult image moved to the *Thermae Decianae* or a later Roman imperial copy of just such an image, it could have been brought to and installed in the baths of Trajanus Decius because of the similarity in the two emperors' names. Decius, who persecuted Christians, could have been reviving the pagan cults as well as the glories and memory of the greater Emperor Trajan.

1. See Harold Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 2, *Vespasian to Hadrian* (London: Spink, 1926), p. 247, nos. 37, 49, pl. VIII, fig. 133.

2. British School at Rome, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome*, ed. H. Stuart Jones, vol. 1, *The Sculptures*

of the Museo Capitolino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), pp. 275f. no. 3, pl. 64.

3. *Ibid.* The Boston statuette is perhaps a portrait of the young Caracalla; cf. fig. 13a.



5a. Infant Herakles. Roman period, green basalt. Museo Capitolino, Rome. (*The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, ed. H. S. Jones, pl. 64.)

6. Zeus of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Graeco-Roman, bronze, h. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (19.2 cm.). *Edwin E. Jack Fund. 1972.920.* (Photo Hickey & Robertson.)

This figure presents an impressive image of the deity enthroned. Cast in hollow bronze, it is modeled in the round to just below the waist and again at the feet, but only the front parts of the legs (which would have rested against the now missing throne) are represented. This form of construction also occurs in the bronze Jupiter Capitolinus in Baltimore, one of a group of cult statuettes from a *lararium* at Boscoreale.¹

Zeus sits draped in a himation, which covers his back and left shoulder and falls loosely down around his hips, over his legs. Graceful folds and the long weighted ends of material that fall between his knees and by his left side reveal the body forms beneath. The sandals on his feet are carefully described. He raises his left hand with fingers bent to hold some missing object, most likely a scepter, and he offers a tetrahedral attribute in his outstretched right hand. His left leg is extended forward with toe down, the right leg pulled back and up, perhaps to rest on a footstool. The head is well modeled, with carefully treated long, curling locks surrounding the face, whose idealized features and unfocused gaze convey a feeling of detached authority and dignity. Although the god is seated, the subtle twist of the torso to the left and turn of the head to the right combine with the radiating limbs to achieve an impression of tremendous vitality.

In general character, this statuette resembles the two most important seated representations of the god Zeus in antiquity: the Greek Zeus of Pheidias (430 B.C.), once at Olympia, and the Roman Jupiter Capitolinus (80 B.C. and later), in the temple of that name on the Capitoline Hill. The most significant feature for more specific identification, however, is the attribute in his right hand. This four-sided object with ball-like protuberances at the points most closely resembles an image on the reverse of Greek imperial bronze coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia in the times of Claudius (A.D. 47–48) and Trajan (A.D. 99–111).² There the pyramidal shape represents Mount Argaios, which was sacred to the area and still dominates the view from the modern city of Kayseri. This mountain was represented



on coins in various ways, ranging from very naturalistic images with peaks and trees to the highly stylized shape seen here. And on one coin of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222–235), a standing Zeus holds a craggy representation of the mountain. The association of Zeus and the sacred mountain is natural, since in mythology his birth, marriages, and burial took place on mountains. Thus, this large statuette is probably a local representation of the Zeus of Caesarea.

This Zeus is distinguished from most other bronzes in the collection by its monumental character, probably reflecting an original large in scale.³ In this respect, there must have been a major seated image of Zeus (Nikephoros) at Caesarea, since a coin of Commodus shows just such a figure as a reverse type.⁴ Related stylistically as well as chronologically and geographically is the bronze seated Zeus once in the Hirsch collec-

tion; it is in high relief and perhaps decorated an imperial chariot in Asia Minor.⁵ A standing Zeus from Dalheim in Luxemburg, similar to the statue from Ince Blundell Hall and now in Liverpool, gives a stylistic parallel from the Latin West.⁶

The pyramidlike mountain symbol has many more facets in the numismatic iconography of Hellenistic and Greek imperial Caesarea. It seems to appear as the top of the mountain, as part of an altar, on coins of Septimius Severus (193–211), as a symbol between two prize crowns or bowls. It is also shown in the triangular configuration of the mountain's top on a silver coin of the young Commodus (177–192). As the mountain's pinnacle it appears on a bronze of Antoninus Pius (138–161).⁷ The nimbus, or series of rays, that appears at the top relates to the cult of Helios on the mountain peak, as further illustrated by the steelyard weight discussed next (no. 7) in this article.

It is possible that the Caesarean symbolic pyramid-triangle grew ultimately out of the monogram appearing on silver tetradrachms struck by Ariarathes V (163–130 B.C.), where a similar device appears near the extreme left of the reverse field, beyond the king's name, which is being crowned by the Nike on the Athena Parthenos' hand.⁸ That these mountain symbols and their abbreviations were portable cult objects is also evidenced by the Mount Argaios on an altar being drawn on a cart pulled by elephants, the reverse of a large bronze of Elagabalus (218–222).⁹ The boy priests known as representations of the Dioskouroi or of a Phrygian deity (they come in pairs) wear such a symbol as a "dunce cap," with floral patterns on the visible surfaces. It can only be concluded that these small statues represent devotees of an Asiatic god (Helios) or goddess (Cybele) with mountain connections.¹⁰

There is much visual evidence to indicate that this solar triangle, or pyramid, was handed on into the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and modern times. It enframes the "eye of God" above city views on the reverse of sixteenth to eighteenth century German talers, and it is found as late as 1925, triangle enframing sun and mountains, on the reverse of the silver crown (one colon) of El Salvador, as part of the national coat of arms. In the United States, the founding fathers made the

solar pyramid part of the national seal, and as such it appears on the reverse of the dollar bill. The cosmic significance of a nearly pyramidal mountain, representative of the universe, is borne out in the miniature from the eleventh century manuscript of Cosmas Indicopleustes in the monastery at Mount Sinai, showing the movement of the heavens around the earth.¹¹ To go full circle, in Byzantine art, with Christian setting and iconography, the Virgin and the scribe Theophanes appear under an arcuated portico, surmounted by a cross-topped "pyramid," on a page of the Four Gospels, circa A.D. 1100, in the National Gallery of Victoria at Melbourne.¹²

1. D. K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1949), pp. 11f., no. 18, pl. 5.

2. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Deutschland: Sammlung von Aulock* (Berlin: Mann, 1967), pl. 217, nos. 6340–6342.

3. See Comstock and Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes*, p. 115, no. 122, for an imperial Jupiter Capitolinus.

4. *Sylloge Nummorum*, pl. 220, no. 6449.

5. See *Bedeutende Kunstwerke aus dem Nachlass Dr. Jacob Hirsch*, Lucerne, 7 December 1957, p. 24, no. 58, pl. 28.

6. A. de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre*, vol. 1, p. 13, no. 36, pl. 7.

7. See *Sylloge Nummorum*, pl. 220, no. 6454 (Septimius Severus); *ibid.*, pl. 220, no. 6443 (Commodus); *ibid.*, pl. 219, nos. 6428, 6426, including the solar rays (Antoninus Pius).

8. *Ibid.*, pl. 216, no. 6263.

9. *Ibid.*, pl. 222, no. 6502.

10. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture*, p. 28, no. 49, pl. 13.

11. See O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, (1911; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1961), pp. 453, 462, fig. 268.

12. Byzantine Museum, Athens, International Exhibition, *Byzantine Art* (Athens, 1964), pp. 316f., no. 311.



7. Steelyard weight in the form of a sacred mountain (Argaios near Caesarea in Cappadocia). Asia Minor, ca. A.D. 150–250, bronze, h. 4 ¼ in. (12 cm.), w. 3 ¼ in. (8 cm.). *John Michael Rodocanachi Fund. 1972.79.*

A bust of Helios appears at the top of the mountain, and an offering of fruit or pine cones is placed in a panier amid the flamelike pine trees on the lower slopes. The back of the weight is hollowed for filling with lead, and an iron pin remains within this concave area. A loop for suspension, reinforced from below, protrudes behind Helios' head. This functional object of unusual form was acquired many years ago by the former owner in Constantinople.

The reverse design of a whole range of Greek imperial coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia shows Mount Argaios in this stylized, shorthand fashion, with Helios on top of the simplified mountain.¹

It would appear that whoever bought or used this steelyard balance had doubtless visited Caesarea (modern Kayseri) or certainly enjoyed advertising the produce of that city through display of its most familiar and symbolic emblem. On the basis of the stylistic details in the bust of Helios, this weight was

probably fashioned in the Greek imperial period, most likely in the Severan rather than the Antonine period, that is, after A.D. 200.

1. See, for example, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Deutschland: Sammlung von Aulock*, pl. 221, no. 6464, star and half-moon above the mountain, coin of Septimius Severus; pl. 220, nos. 6436, 6437, star: Lucius Verus, A.D. 161–169, no. 6440, star or head of Helios: Commodus; pl. 219, no. 6426, Antoninus Pius, seems to combine the triangle or “pyramid” of the seated Zeus, just described, with the star of Helios as seen here.

8. Votary, probably a priest of Diana. Italic, ca. 50 B.C., bronze, h. 7 ⅞ in. (19.4 cm.). *Gift of Mrs. Horace L. Mayer. 1974.582.*

This statuette belongs to a group of eight bronzes that originally came from the shrine of Diana at Lake Nemi, in the Alban Hills near Rome. The group included a figure of a goddess, about one meter in height (now in the British Museum), accompanied by three priests and four priestesses, all about the same size as the one shown here. The bronzes are said to have been brought up early in this century from one of the enormous sunken pleasure barges in Lake Nemi owned by the emperor Caligula.¹

The votary is shown with his right hand extended holding a patera in the act of sacrifice. The round, flat object in his left hand could be a pyxis or an incense jar. He has a toga draped around his lower body and over his left shoulder. The elaborate floral head-dress has been interpreted as a type of the radiate crown generally reserved for deities but also worn by rulers on Hellenistic and Roman portrait coins. Priests conducting a sacrifice, however, might well wear this variation of the attribute of divinity. Similar multipetaled hats have been found on other figurines from this general region.²

In 1959 the museum acquired a bronze sacrificing priest³ belonging to the same group as the one shown here. Nearly identical, these statuettes are of the finest workmanship, products of the long tradition of the local craftsmen, both Italic and Etruscan. Now, after decades of separation, two of the votaries from Lake Nemi are exhibited

together in our classical galleries. The Boston collection also contains a number of smaller bronzes from the sanctuary of Diana at Nemi, dating from the late years of the Roman Republic. The majority of these were purchased from the Italian archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani in 1888. They are generally of a much less finished nature than the votary illustrated here, smaller, more sketchily modeled, and awkwardly posed.

There are numerous late Etruscan and Italic parallels for this form of sacrificing priest, which became the Genius, or presiding spirit personified, of Roman imperial art. Examples of isolated votaries of unrecorded provenance vary in workmanship, as demonstrated by two statuettes in the Louvre, one close to the Nemi group and the other much more stylized.⁴ These statuettes continued to be fashioned well into the Roman imperial period, and a taste for them appears to have spread across the Alps into Gaul and possibly even into Germany, although in western Europe modern imports can become confused with those of antiquity.⁵

A bronze steelyard bust of a tutelary divinity shows the taste for such images surviving up to the Late Antique period (fig. 8a).

1. Purchased by the late Horace Mayer, the Boston statuette was on loan to the museum from 1966 until its presentation by Mrs. Mayer as a gift in 1974. It was previously in the collection of Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill at Northwick Park, near Oxford; see *Christie's Sale Catalogue*, 23 June 1965, p. 129, no. 506, pl. 71. The votary was first published by Salomon Reinach in "Bronzes du lac de Nemi," *Revue archéologique*, 4th ser. 14 (1909), 177-187, pls. XI, XII, when the group from Lake Nemi was in the possession of Spink and Son in London.

2. In 1949 the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore alone published ten bronze priests of this type, most of these being the small, flattish figures commonly found as Etruscan votives; see D. K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, pp. 63-64, nos. 127-136, pls. 29, 30.

3. 59.10, J. H. and E. A. Payne Fund; see Comstock and Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes*, pp. 134-136, no. 155.

4. See A. de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre*, vol. 1, p. 50, nos. 310, 307, pl. 27.

5. See Heinz Menzel, *Die römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland*, vol. 1, *Speyer* (Mainz: Verlag des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums, 1960), p. 18, no. 24, pl. 30.



8a. Steelyard bust of a Roman tutelary divinity. Late Antique, bronze. *Private collection.* (Photo A. C. Cooper.)



9. Tyche. Roman Egypt, ca. A.D. 200–300, bronze, h. 3 3/8 in. (8.5 cm.). *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius C. Vermeule III. 1972.374.*

The goddess or personification is wearing a modius, holding a cornucopia in her left hand and offering a libation from a patera at a flaming altar to her right. The statuette, which has a metal ring at the back and is mounted on a spearpoint, was presumably intended for dedication in a legionary chapel or for placement in a tomb. The wooden base bears a label on its bottom: "Found at Faijorum Osis, Ex Blanchard's Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Cat. COP, Case 300)." Blanchard's Egyptian Museum in Cairo was long a feature of the now destroyed Shepherd's Hotel. The ensemble was purchased at Spink in London about 1950.

This statuette is a simplified, conventional version of the Isis-Fortuna "Tyche" of standard Graeco-Roman type, already well represented in its orthodox form in the museum's collections.¹ The wreath and bulla around the neck, the high, fringed boots, and the criss-cross or zigzag enrichment on the front of the plinth give this small figure a very Egyptian, proto-Coptic appearance. A Demeter-Tyche holding a torch, from Egypt and now in the Louvre, provides a good illustration of the type of Graeco-Roman bronze on which this



9a. Tyche-Fortuna (far right) at a marriage ceremony. Funerary relief, ca. A.D. 140. *British Museum, London.* (Photo by permission of the trustees.)

figure is based.² A Tyche-Fortuna in the Allard Pierson Museum at Amsterdam, also acquired in Cairo, shows all of the same stylistic features as the bronze shown here. The Amsterdam statuette holds the usual rudder and cornucopia.³ An Anubis in chiton and himation, from lower Egypt, is treated in the same summary style.⁴ Such figures also occur in Roman relief, as the Tyche-Fortuna at a marriage ceremony of the second century A.D. in the British Museum (fig. 9a).

In the Boston statuette substitution of the flaming altar and patera for rudder on orb betrays the influence of the cult of the imperial and popular Genius (Populi Romani or Imperii) on Roman coins, notably of the Tetrarchs, and in the art of the legions and the frontier provinces.⁵ The male Roman counterpart of Tyche, Bonus Eventus so-called, is similarly represented, as are sacrificing goddess personifications such as Concordia.⁶

Imperial figures, sacrificing *togati* (men in togas) symbolic of the emperor's Genius, are conceived in the same form and show evidences of the same style, as early as the first century A.D. An illustration of this is a statuette formerly in the art market in Basel, which also holds a large patera frontally, as if over the altar, and whose toga and tunic are likewise very linear.⁷

1. See Comstock and Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes*, p. 110, no. 116, where it is noted that most such statuettes were placed in the private chapels of houses or as offerings in underground burial chambers.

2. A. de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre*, vol. 1, p. 59, no. 373, pl. 31.

3. Amsterdam, University, Allard Pierson Museum, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the Allard Pierson Museum*, ed. H. C. van Gulik, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1940), p. 37, no. 57, pl. XII.

4. See de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques*, vol. 1, p. 53, no. 329, pl. 29.

5. See E. Rink, *Die bildlichen Darstellungen des römischen Genius*, diss. (Giessen, 1933), 62 pp., a full tabulation of the numismatic evidence, with relation to sculpture and other media.

6. See Ernest Babelon and J.-A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Leroux, 1895), pp. 276f., no. 644 (Bonus Eventus), p. 324, no. 737 (Concordia).

7. See Münzen und Medaillen A.G., *Kunstwerke der Antike, Auktion 40*, 13 December 1969, p. 92, no. 152, pl. 58.

10. Ruler. Roman Britain, ca. A.D. 65 or later, bronze, h. 4 in. (10 cm.). *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius C. Vermeule III. 1972.375.*

This statuette represents an emperor, perhaps Nero (ruled A.D. 54–68), with his right foot raised in the manner of the famous fourth-century B.C. Poseidon by the sculptor Lysippos. He wears a cloak pinned on the right shoulder and wrapped around the left arm. The right hand held an attribute (perhaps a symbolic wave), and the left rests on the remains of a steering oar or rudder. The figure is said to have been found near Chester.

The pose and attributes combine those of the Lysippic Poseidon with those associated by the Roman emperors with the goddess personification Virtus (see fig. 10a). Of the various related figures on coins, a denarius of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211) offers perhaps the closest numismatic parallel.¹ On coins of Octavian (30 B.C.) and Vespasian (A.D. 69–79), the emperor stands in the “Virtus” pose of the Lysippic Poseidon, right foot on the orb and the wave in the right hand. The figure conveys the same impression as this bronze.² It is usually called “Neptune,” but the inscription “CAESAR DIVI F” indicates that the hero of Actium must be represented. The concept derives in turn from or is related to an aureus of Octavian, circa 42 B.C., showing Ares-Mars in this pose.³

Although the features are somewhat worn and the craftsmanship is on the “rustic” side, the statuette appears to represent the emperor Nero; or perhaps a traditional Hellenistic ruler such as Demetrios Poliorketes (circa 300 B.C.), may have been intended. If it is Nero, the provenance of the statuette sug-



10a Virtus. Figure on a capital in the Baths of Caracalla, Rome, ca. A.D. 215. (Photo C. Vermeule.)

gests that it may have referred to the pacification of Britain, or it could be a posthumous “romantic” likeness, a votive sculpture as late as the contorniates or game tokens with portraits of Nero, struck in Rome in the fourth century A.D.

1. See Cornelius Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pls. VI, VII, no. 3 on the second plate.

2. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77 (1957), 13, pl. III, no. 5.

3. See *Sotheby's Sale Catalogue*, Zurich (Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection), vol. 1, 10 November 1972, no. 12.



11. Right hand from a statue of a gladiator.

Roman imperial, ca. A.D. 150–220, bronze, l. (overall) 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20 cm.). Gift of Robert E. Hecht, Jr. 1972.900.

Known as a *caestus*, this gladiator's "glove" represents the most complex, sophisticated form of brutal boxing ensemble developed by the Romans of the Empire. A heavy sheepskin collar surrounds the wrist, and thongs or ropes run crisscross in the palm and down the back of the hand. The ropes form a harness around the top of the knuckles of the clenched fist. Over this is tied a three-pronged "knuckle-duster," and into the hand, also over the knuckles and the four fingers, but grasped by the thumb, is fitted a semicircular, metal weapon like a half-section of pipe, presumably for brutal fighting.

This hand with its elaborate covering must belong to a commemorative statue of a celebrated gladiator set up in his hometown or in a city where games were celebrated, in the Greek East, most likely in Asia Minor. Boxing "gloves" similar to this are known mostly from reliefs or mosaics, few life-sized, naturalistic, three-dimensional presentations having survived from antiquity. With its three-pronged "knuckle-duster" and its sharpened "scraper," this ensemble was as cruel a device as could have been invented for the basic sport of fighting with the fists. The *caestus* was to boxing what the heaviest, sharpest spurs were to cockfighting.

In antiquity, from Greek to Roman imperial times, boxing gloves became progressively more elaborate and more dangerous. The earliest gloves were strips of oxhide, giving way to the sharp, leaded thongs of the bronze seated boxer of the late Hellenistic period in the Museo Nazionale Romano. Gloves such as the example shown here, with their spikes and sharpened cylinders, were products of the age when mobs throughout the Roman Empire had to be satisfied with the blood-letting of the amphitheater or arena. In stone sculpture this theme is best illustrated by the relief of the pugilists in the Vatican museums, from the Lateran Palace collections, which belongs to the decades when this bronze hand was being fashioned for its commemorative statue.¹

1. See Edward Norman Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), pp. 197–211, figs. 70, 74, and especially figs. 177, 178.

12. **Panther.** Greek imperial East, perhaps Syria, ca. 50 B.C.–A.D. 200, bronze, l. 4½ in. (11.5 cm.). *Mary S. and Edward J. Holmes Fund.* 67.636.

The forepart of a reclining panther, hollow bronze with the core remaining, is represented in loving detail. The animal has paws outspread, open jaws, head turned to the right, and is wearing a wide collar crossed over in the back. Fur is indicated by incised lines.

On the analogy of similar bronzes in the form of animal protomes, the rear part was attached directly, or through an intermediate section, to the body of a vessel, probably a lamp. The workmanship is very precise, including the divisions of the face and the bone structure of the legs and paws. At the same time there is an overall feeling for an animal with latent power, even feline fury, and a visible surplus of feline grace. In every respect, this is what can be classed as a “master bronze,” despite its incompleteness as a utensil. In its one other Museum of Fine Arts publication, this bronze was termed “Parthian,”¹ which may be true with regard to the provenance, but the creative inspiration came from regions closer to the Mediterranean.

In type, form, and function, this animal has a close parallel in the two-part handle of a large utensil, probably a lamp, formerly in the Lucerne and New York art markets, termed “Campanian, about the time of Christ’s birth.”² Similar, functional objects have been found at Pompeii or Herculaneum. The date of the piece shown here ought to be between 50 B.C. and A.D. 200, but to be more precise would be extremely difficult.

A lamp in the Musée du Louvre is comparable in that a centaur with hooves raised is leaping out of the foliate handle. A bull’s protome is arranged in similar fashion, as is a lion’s protome from Konya in Asia Minor, said to have formed part of a chariot and now in Philadelphia. Finally, a handle found in Bulgaria, a pantheress attacking a fallen, horned animal, follows the same elongated form as the Boston bronze. This piece is also in the Louvre.³

For the form of feline, with paw outstretched, compare the pantheress found in Rome, set on the base of the Dutuit Dionysos, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; also the pantheress looking up for her prey,



in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.⁴ A panther with an Eros on its back, evidently a Late Roman functional object, is related as to pose, one more common than at first might be supposed.⁵ It is the shape of the animal that makes this such an attractive form of handle, as demonstrated by the example from the Pozzi and Lord Carmichael collections, a feline attacking a condemned prisoner, a work of the Late Antique period.⁶

1. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *The Museum Year: 1967*, pp. 62f.

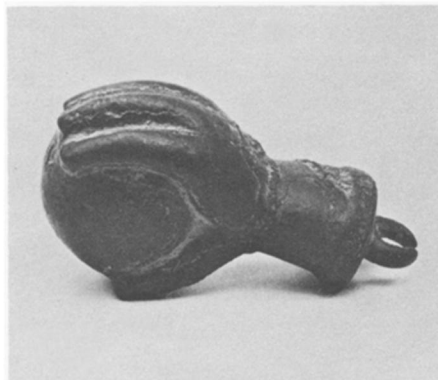
2. See *Ars Antiqua, Antike Kunstwerke, Auktion I*, Lucerne, 2 May 1959, p. 35, no. 89, pl. 43, with citation of M. C. Ross, *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 12 (1949), 109ff., an example of the “fifth century A.D.”

3. See, respectively, A. de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre*, vol. 2, p. 149, no. 3137, from Lower Egypt; E. Babelon and J.-A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, pp. 480ff., no. 1167; D. G. Mitten and S. F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, p. 291, no. 287; de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques*, p. 116, no. 915, pl. 58.

4. See Gisela M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes* (New York: Gilliss Press, 1915), pp. 162–166, no. 403 (New York); Mitten and Doeringer, *Master Bronzes*, p. 139, no. 142 (Hamburg).

5. See *Ars Antiqua, Auktion V*, 7 November 1964, p. 18, no. 70, pl. XVI.

6. *Sotheby Sale Catalogue*, 9 June 1926, lot 336, p. 37 and plate.



13. Weight in the form of hand and orb. Late Roman or Byzantine, bronze, l. 3 1/8 in. (8 cm.). *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius C. Vermeule III. 1970.505.*

This steelyard balance, or weight, is in the form of the gloved hand of an emperor, grasping the orb of universal power (*orbis domina*). Bought by the donors in Philadelphia, this bronze had been acquired by one of its previous owners in Istanbul. Modern imitations of the hand and orb were designed as door-knockers in parts of the old Ottoman Empire, particularly in classical revival houses in the Greek world from about 1870 on, both in Greece and Greek sections of cities in Asia Minor such as Adalia (Antalya) on the Pamphylian coast, roughly opposite Cyprus.

The concept of the gloved and bejeweled hand parallels or originates from the imperial hand holding the orb (see fig. 13a), or the cross-on-orb, of ivory panels and other Late Roman imperial glyptic representations, such as the ivory panel of an empress of the early sixth century A.D. (Ariadne?), in the Museo Nazionale (Bargello), in Florence. The goddess Roma in the left background of the diptych of the Roman Consul Orestes (A.D. 530), in the Victoria and Albert Museum, holds up an orb with her richly arrayed hands. Compare also Constantinus Magnus with the empress Helena on an eleventh century triptych in Berlin.¹

Of an earlier date, about A.D. 303, the Four Tetrarchs in the porphyry group statue in the Vatican Library grasp orbs in this fashion, a sure indication of where the notion moved from the major to the minor arts, that is, from major statuary to small reliefs and



13a. Young Caracalla holding imperial orb. Ca. A.D. 198, bronze. Borghese Gallery, Rome. (Photo Anderson.)

bronzes.² The orb then appears as the principal attribute of the triumphant Christian Constantinus Magnus or Dea Roma Aeterna as represented in a famous group of steelyard weights of about A.D. 315 or 325. An example of these is in the Dumbarton Oaks collections.³

The motif has a long, related history on coins, as illustrated by the medallion of Emperor Honorius (A.D. 395–423), with the seated Roma holding an orb on the reverse, or those showing two Constantinian and later emperors seated on a dual throne. Related to the latter is the medallion showing Constantine the Great standing amid his legionaries, crowned by the hand of God.⁴ The notion of the importance of the hand-and-orb relationship begins before the age of *imperium* in an athletic context, unrelated to power, in the early classical statuette of a youth holding a ball, a work of the Argive school and found at Ligurio; this expressive figure is now in Berlin.⁵

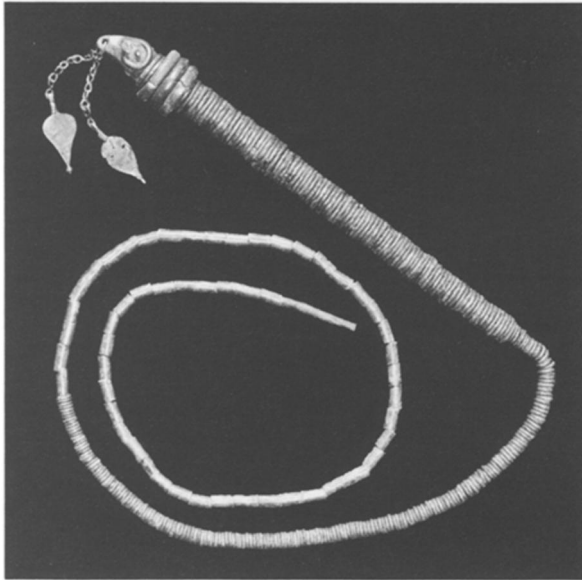
1. O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 213, fig. 128 (Florence); *ibid.*, pp. 197, 199, fig. 120 (London); *ibid.*, pp. 229, 230, fig. 140 (Berlin).

2. See Hans P. L'Orange, *Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 47, figs. 19f.

3. See Dumbarton Oaks, *Handbook of the Byzantine Collection* (Washington, 1967), p. 36, no. 131, plate.

4. See, respectively, Kunsthalle Köln, *Römer am Rhein*, 15 April–30 June 1967, p. 314, no. F 17, pl. 115; André Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, Bollingen Series, vol. 35 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 40, fig. 97; *ibid.*, pp. 40, 115, fig. 100.

5. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikenabteilung, *Antike Kunstwerke*, by Adolf Greifenhagen, 2nd ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1966), p. 10, figs. 20, 21.



14a. Alexander the Great and King Darius III on the battlefield. Detail. Mosaic from Pompeii, copy of a painting of ca. 310 B.C. Museo Nazionale, Naples.

14. Whip. Said to be from southeast Asia Minor or Syria, ca. 250–50 B.C., I. (maximum) 46 in. (1.17 m.) *Private Collection*. 18.1971.

One of the memorable details of the famous narrative mosaic from Pompeii, now in the Museo Nazionale at Naples, showing Alexander the Great meeting the Great King Darius III on the battlefield is the scene of the charioteer whipping the royal cart away from the victorious Macedonians. The charioteer's arm reaches across the line of spears as he lashes the four black horses amid the consternation of the Persian nobles, those in the foreground falling before the onslaught (fig. 14a). The whip itself is a businesslike instrument with a loop at the end, a long round handle grasped by the charioteer, and the thinner section leading to the flexible tail. Such functional objects have survived from antiquity only in rare instances, one of these being the whip in our collection, which consists of bronze rings mounted on a leather thong. The handle terminates in a ram's head of a type used in the decoration of utensil handles in the Hellenistic period. From the ram's mouth hangs a pair of heart-shaped discs at the ends of short chains. This detail may be a misunderstanding on the part of the restorer, for the chains and hearts were probably originally "ticklers" on the business end of the whip, and the hole in the ram's muzzle contained a loop for hanging the whip in the stable after it had done its day's work.

Although doubtless ultimately placed in a tomb and thus preserved in its essentials, this formidable whip must have been designed for a charioteer like the man standing beside the Achaemenian king in the mosaic. The form of the rings and the naturalistic ram's head remind us that in the early Hellenistic world such instruments could also be fashioned as works of art. They could then be as impressive in their sculptured details as in the obvious, utilitarian purposes for which they were made. This whip was an ancestor of the silver-banded, engraved or inlaid riding crops carried by European and Ottoman Turkish aristocrats in the nineteenth century.

Exhibited: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, *The Discerning Eye: Radcliffe Collectors' Exhibition* (Cambridge, 1974), no. 5.



15. Statuette of Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117–138).

Italy, 16th or early 17th century, chalcedony and gilded bronze, h. 22½ in. (57.2 cm.).

Gift of the Class of the Museum of Fine Arts, Mrs. Charles Devens, Chairman. 1972.354.

The iconography of the good and famous emperor Hadrian has always been known from his copious coinage and his many portraits in marble or bronze, through the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. Reaffirmation of his monumental importance came in the later Quattrocento with the discovery of the giant marble heads of Hadrian and his successor, the emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161), in the interior of Castel Sant' Angelo (the Mausoleum Hadriani) in Trastevere, although the scene of Hadrian witnessing the apotheosis of his wife, the empress Sabina (died 135), had always been visible in one of the panels of the now destroyed triumphal arch across the Corso (the ancient Via Flaminia), also in Rome.

This statuette of Hadrian, probably created in the Cinquecento or perhaps the early Seicento, appears to have been fashioned out of, or after, an ancient Graeco-Roman representation in semiprecious stone of a goddess such as Pietas. If a pair of chalcedony statuettes had been found, one would have been made into Hadrian and the other into Sabina, his apotheosized consort. The antique model as a draped Juno or Pietas (see fig. 15a) was perfectly in keeping for Hadrian the Emperor in the Renaissance, since the hipshot, dematerialized form of a female personification or goddess could be easily fitted to a representation of the elegant philhellene.

The recreation of the emperor Hadrian with a Renaissance head and neck, and the hands of *imperium*, holding the *rotulus* of office, has been carried out with the beauty, vigor, and iconographic stimulation worthy of the great northern Italian medallists of the late Quattrocento and Cinquecento, from Giovanni Boldù to Cavino to the Leoni family. This Hadrian is a neo-imperial masterpiece worthy of the great treasures of the Hapsburgs or of the later Medici. The tradi-



15a. Julio-Claudian lady as a divine virtue (Pietas). Stourhead, England, the National Trust. (Photo C. Vermeule.)

tion of such artistry combining precious stone and gilded metal goes directly back to the Late Antique, to the scepter of Constantine the Great in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, through the imperial treasures in San Marco in Venice or in the Sainte Chapelle in Paris.

A number of other statuettes or busts fashioned in chalcedony or other semi-precious stones have survived from antiquity. Examples in chalcedony include: (1) centaur hurling a rock, in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, from Alexandria and related to the famous mosaic in Berlin, from Hadrian's Villa, of the tigers who have killed the centauress; (2) bust of Athena, from the Orsini (Rome) and Wyndham Cook (London) collections, a Roman imperial work; (3) head of a horse, in the Brooklyn Museum, presumably from Graeco-Roman Egypt and evidently a handle; (4) head of a child, the back pierced for attachment, a Graeco-Roman work of the third to fourth century A.D.; whereabouts unknown. There are two other such sculptures in the Museum of Fine Arts: (5) hound's head, also a handle, which once had inserted eyes, Graeco-Roman in the tradition of plastic vases of the fourth century B.C.; (6) bust of a Roman of the Neronian or Tetrarch period.¹

Random though this selection may be, it gives an idea of the subjects and the sculptural forms favored by artists working in this milky vanilla to gray stone. The torso of the Hadrian stands apart as one of the largest surviving Graeco-Roman statuettes fashioned out of this rare and unusual material. However completed in antiquity, this statuette must have been as impressive a work of art as it appears to be now. It certainly comes from Rome or from a major city or country villa in ancient Italy.

1. (1) William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, *Handbook*, 4th ed. (Kansas City, Mo., 1959), pp. 35, 111; Walter Oakeshott, *Classical Inspiration in Mediaeval Art* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1959), p. 115, pl. 12, A. (2) Cecil H. Smith and C. A. Hutton, *Wyndham Francis Cook: Catalogue of the Art Collection*, vol. 2 (London, 1908), p. 64, no. 273, pl. XII; this bust was at Spink, London, in 1952. (3) Brooklyn Museum, *The Pomerance Collection of Ancient Art* (Brooklyn, 1966), p. 57, no. 64. (4) *Christie's Sale Catalogue*, 19 October 1970, no. 174, plate. (5) 98.767, from E. P. Warren's collection. (6) 98.768; *Greek and Roman Portraits* (Boston, 1972), no. 50.



Cypriote Sculpture, the Late Archaic and Early Classical Periods: Towards a More Precise Understanding

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Cypriote Sculpture, the Late Archaic and Early Classical Periods: Towards a More Precise Understanding

Modifications in Concentration, Terms and Dating

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

PLATES 60-62

With considerable reason and much evidence, Einar Gjerstad and his colleagues of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition have given the following chronology for limestone sculpture of the Archaic and early Classical periods:

First Proto-Cypriote Style	620 to 560 B.C.
Second Proto-Cypriote Style	560 to 540 B.C.
Cypro-Egyptian Style	570 to 545 B.C.
Eastern and Western Neo-Cypriote Styles	560 to 520 B.C.
Archaic Cypro-Greek Style	540 to 480 B.C.
Sub-Archaic Cypro-Greek Style	500 to 450 B.C.

These dates are, naturally, not absolute at beginning or end, and now, as a quarter of a century ago, they seem more sensible than any chronological system proposed elsewhere, before or since.¹ The purpose of this article is to suggest that the bulk of the limestone sculptures found at Golgoi (Athienou) and Idalion (Dhali)—that is the majority of all Archaic and early Classical votive statues from Cyprus—falls in the so-called Archaic Cypro-Greek style, around 520 to 480 B.C. Furthermore, it seems that the Cypro-Egyptian style is more of an ethnic or social fashion than a chronological period tied to Egyptian domination of the island, and the Eastern or Western Neo-Cypriote styles contain certain sculptures also to be dated 520 to 480 B.C. and distinguishable only by the idiosyncrasies of the sculptors and the provincial qualities of their work.

The chronology repeated above, therefore, is affected only in that the examples in the First and Second Proto-Cypriote styles might be subject to

fresh scrutiny although the groups in general seem sound and obvious, and in that the uppermost date of 620 might be lowered by twenty years—no more. The Cypro-Egyptian and Neo-Cypriote styles might virtually disappear, mainly into the Archaic Cypro-Greek style, and the Sub-Archaic Cypro-Greek style might not begin before 490 or 480 B.C.

EVIDENCE FROM THE "TEMPLE" AT GOLGOI

In the narrative of his decade of digging on Cyprus, Luigi (Louis) Palma di Cesnola provided information about the rectangular building on one slope of the mound (acropolis) at Golgoi.² The city-sanctuary's amazing harvest of sculptures can be viewed in a fresh light. Luigi Cesnola's note of the groupings by identifiable externals is significant. No religious or municipal impresario of Antiquity would have arranged the statues to suit a modern slide-quiz in Cypriote chronology and qualitative juxtaposition, important big statues by major sculptors next to small figures by stonecutters from the remoter hinterlands. What the United States Consul saw, in the richest Archaic sculptural site on Cyprus, were clusters of votive statues dedicated by different communal groups, iconography and even style expressing different ethnic origins or regional political affiliations. Sculptors, obviously, could be as different in tastes and quality as the priests, politicians or peoples they represented.

Communities making dedications all around the walls of the "temple" at Golgoi included the Egyptian Cypriotes, the backwoods Cypriotes, the older

¹ *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Vol. IV, Part 2, *The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Periods*, by Einar Gjerstad, Stockholm 1948, pp. 207-11, 96-124, pls. II-XVIII.

² General Louis Palma di Cesnola, *Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities,*

Tombs, and Temples, A Narrative of Researches and Excavations During Ten Years' Residence in that Island, New York 1878, Ch. IV, Athienou (Golgoi), 105-24; Ch. V (a continuation), 125-64; especially pp. 140, 142 and 143-44.

Levantine Cypriotes, the pseudo-Peloponnesian Cypriotes, and the refined Ionic Greek Cypriotes (of several geographic origins). These statues were carved and set up locally over a limited, fruitful span of time near the end of the Archaic period as defined elsewhere in the Greek world. All the differences of concept and iconography were seemingly great to a late Victorian archaeologist seduced from consular and military careers. These variations were unified by a close identification with the sculptural styles of the greater Greek world between 540 and 520 B.C.

Luigi Cesnola wrote about the "temple" at Golgoi: "As soon as I had ascertained the length of the eastern wall or foundation, I increased the number of workmen, and continued the excavations along the whole line at the same time. After removing the seven feet of earth which covered it, a line of oblong pedestals, seventy-two in number, roughly made and of various proportions, became visible. They seemed to occupy their original positions, and were placed close to each other, but without any equality of height. We had scarcely advanced two feet from these when along the whole line appeared a number of statues in calcareous stone, which afterwards proved to be of all sizes, from colossal to the size of statuettes, most of which were lying with their faces downward.

"I particularly remarked the grouping of the statues; those with conical headdresses were found side by side, while those showing a strong Egyptian tendency were grouped together." The Consul then went on to describe the difficult unearthing of a statue which he named "MY statue," since he loved it so. "It had a pointed head-dress, apparently representing knitted work or leather, and ending in a knot. . . . Of all the statues I discovered, none were so purely Assyrian in character as this."

HIS statue has been published fairly extensively since its excavation, but the aura of "Assyrian" has

clung to it, provoking a dating as early as 700 to 650 B.C. or perhaps a century and a half in advance of its actual creation.³ Stiff and rather pendent, to be sure, the statue is no earlier than the Second Proto-Cypriote style (560 to 540 B.C.) and probably belongs with other Archaic Cypro-Greek statues after 540 B.C., notably the more elegant, more mannered (and undoubtedly the finest carving of the group discussed here) so-called "Priest with a Dove," found "on the west side, near the temple" and dated "about 500 B.C."⁴

THREE HEADS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE LATE ARCHAIC FASHIONS AT GOLGOI

Since the bodies of Cypriote limestone statues tend to be decorative vehicles, distinguished by costume or quality of carving rather than subtleties of style, three lifesized limestone heads can illustrate the thesis that Cypriote Archaic sculptures, heretofore spread out in time and "style," belong together between 520 and 480 B.C. The first two were found by Luigi Palma di Cesnola in or at the "temple" of Golgoi. The third, in the "Cypro-Egyptian style," came from the United States Consul's explorations here or at the second site nearby, evidently an open-air sanctuary.

The first head (broken away at the back and planed down for mounting), that of a god, priest, or votary, belongs to a tradition combining the so-called Western Neo-Cypriote style with the early Archaic Cypro-Greek.⁵ Two rows of traditional "Archaic" curls enframe the forehead, and a wreath of flat, veined leaves is visible above (pl. 60, fig. 1). The mouth is formed in a memory of the elegant, Ionian fashion, but the eyes are too large and open to belong to any age earlier than that of the first Aegina pediments in Greece or the latest marble and bronze kouroi (even the Strangford Apollo) in the Aegean islands. The beard, woven like a mat into four tiers or layers, provides an imagina-

Venetian gondola (curving to a rounded point like the base of a treble clef) and ears which flop forwards at the top. The loose curls of hair either side of the cap's neck-flap confirm the later date of the statue.

³ Myres, *supra* n.3, 214-17, no. 1351. The Metropolitan Museum numbers are C.S. 20 (74.51.2466); the date on the label is "About 540-500 B.C." *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, IV, 2, 115-16, describes the statue as in the second group of the Archaic Cypro-Greek Style.

⁵ Inventory no. 33-52. Height: 0.224 m. L.P. di Cesnola, *Descriptive Atlas of Cypriote Antiquities*, I, Part 2, Boston 1885, no. 532, pl. LXXXI; Anderson Galleries Sale Number 2253, 30 March 1928, pp. 77-78, no. 309, fig. (the reference and provenance confused with Cesnola, *Atlas*, no. 531).

³ John L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1914, 217-18, no. 1352. Consul Cesnola wrote (*supra* n.2, 143), "As with many of the others the head was found to be detached, but this was a small matter, since in course of time it could be firmly replaced." J.L. Myres has written (p. 217): "The head is separate, and does not belong to the body for certain, but it is of the same period and style." The Metropolitan Museum numbers are C.S. 13 (74.51.2460); the current Metropolitan Museum label gives the date as "About 550-525 B.C." *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, IV, 2, p. 114, mentions the statue as in the first group of the Archaic Cypro-Greek Style. Only a full profile view of this head can bring out the sculptor's *individuality*, a nose shaped like the rudder of a

tive variation on the usual groups of corkscrew curls. This form of beard occurs in a small number of images of gods and votaries of the end of the Archaic to early Classical periods; figures usually executed on a small scale. The master of the head now in the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, was not the greatest Cypriote sculptor of his generation, but he was ingenious and resourceful in his ability to create an unusual glyptic experience out of two major, traditional elements.

The second head, now in the Art Institute of Chicago, is more commonplace, in that it belongs to a class of "Greek" sculptures (statues) found in considerable numbers at Golgoi.⁶ The head is that of a bearded priest, magistrate, or votary (pl. 61, figs. 2-3; pl. 62, fig. 4). He wears his hair long, in large braids or loops behind, two rows of curls around the forehead, and a spade beard of similar corkscrew curls. Strips of cloth wind around, in two bands, and similarly across the top of his head to form a cap, probably a knitted affair with cloth lining on the outside and the large tassel at the upper end. The face is in the strongest Cypro-Ionian tradition, but not the most elegant, most elaborate version of this style. The beard and curls around the forehead are more routine than the details of the face. The head, thus, is a stereotype, at the end of the Archaic period, of the most fashionable Ionian traditions interpreted in a local form, with a characteristic overlay of Cypriote richness. The "Assyrian" statue admired by Consul Cesnola was an earlier, presumably complete version of the sort of statue from which the head in Chicago once came.

With his Egyptian headcloth, which conceals the hair and accentuates the ears, thus broadening the face, the third man (pl. 62, figs. 5-6) might seem to be out of a different time and place.⁷ He may have been a visitor from Egypt or a Cypriote given to Egyptian ways, perhaps one of many compatriots who found their way to prosperity at Naukratis and returned to make a dedication at Golgoi. Pointed, spade beards make men's faces *seem* more

pointed, and the absence of one or the other of the beards displayed by the persons just described gives this "votary" an older, fuller, perhaps even more provincial face. Close examination, in front view and profile (pl. 62, figs. 5-6), however, reveals that the Cypro-Egyptian has only slightly (if at all) fuller eyes, the same nose, and a mouth nearly identical with his Archaic Greek predecessor in the stocking cap. Even the structure of the chin *appears* to be the same, and such can also be said for the "Egyptian's" hair beneath the bottom back of his headcloth. In brief, this man (now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) is nothing more, again, than a Cypriote of about 500 B.C. carved in Archaic Cypro-Greek style but with Egyptian trappings. He has nothing to do with the Egyptian domination of Cyprus lasting down to 545 B.C., save that his parents might have gone to or come from Cyprus at the time. There are many other heads and statues falling in the same category.

CONCLUSIONS

Many archaeologists of the past have tried to spread out Cypriote sculpture to accord with the successive political influences in the island, from the Assyrians of 745 B.C. to the Persians of 450 and beyond. Cypriote sculpture of the later Archaic and earlier Classical periods is as *rich* as Cypriote pottery of the later Bronze Age. Sites of intensive use in successive, limited periods, notably the Golgoi and Idalion regions, have yielded masses of limestone sculptures which answer a lot of questions about Cypriote costume, fashions in hair or beard, votive attributes, and even armor. These statues and heads must not be "strung out," however, in a pseudo-chronological sequence, just because one man dressed as an Assyrian, others as Egyptians, a number as Cypro-Anatolian priests, and, ultimately, all as Greeks of various sorts.⁸

Cypriote observation and adaptation of external influences led to all regional types and their attendant styles in the island. Differences in costume and hair styles, even broad "Daedalic" or Pelopon-

⁶ Inventory no. 1926.437. Height: 0.30 m. Cesnola, *Atlas*, I, Part 3, no. 406, pl. LIX: "The tip of the nose was fractured while unpacking it, and has been repaired." The head was bought from the Metropolitan Museum of Art for the Chicago Children's Museum. On these caps and the various types of bodies with which they can belong, see *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum*, Vol. I, Part II, *Cypriote and Etruscan*, by F.N. Pryce, 29-30, although the bulk of such capped statues is placed about a quarter of a century too early.

⁷ Accession no. 72.319. Height: 0.251 m. The head was "Purchased of Gen. di Cesnola, May 15, 1872." See Walter M. Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, A Centennial History*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1970, I, 19-20.

⁸ Mary Comstock, Vassos Karageorghis, John Maxon, Joan Mertens, Ross Taggart and Florence Wolsky have helped with this essay. The British Museum catalogue is one of the few publications in which dates have been suggested for nearly every sculpture, large and small. New datings and new groupings can be applied to Cypriote collections throughout the world.

nesian faces as opposed to slender Ionian ones, must not be taken necessarily to indicate differences in chronology. In sum, the Greek and other influences in the stone sculpture of Cyprus developed because of the island's richness and its eastern position. These influences developed irrespective of who claimed political hegemony at a given time over a certain section of the island. Naturally, where Greeks came most (Marion), Greek art was found in greatest abundance, and where the Phoenicians or Egyptians dwelt (Kition, Amathos, Paphos), sculptures were more mixed. The Greek stylistic penetration of the island was continuous throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, being interpreted by Cypriote artists in their own terms. These intellectual and material imports were not deterred by the political and military considerations of Egyptian or Persian domination, all the more so since

these latter civilizations or areas were themselves receptive to Greek influences and settlers at the same time.

Luigi Cesnola's own "Conclusion" was concerned with the long chronological view, and this is doubtless the genesis of all attempts to spread Cypriote sculpture relatively evenly over all historical periods of the island in Greek and Roman times. "In the stones from the one temple of Golgi, we have a connected series of the sculpture of a provincial town in Cyprus, through all its stages from early Phoenician to late Roman.

"One point of capital importance in the sculptures of Golgi, is the unity and completeness given to them by their origin in a single town and a single building. They begin, and continue to their close."⁹

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

⁹ *Metropolitan Museum of Art, A Short Guide to the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities*, New York 1880, 16.



FIG. 1. God, Priest, or Votary. Late Archaic period. Kansas City, Missouri, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art. Nelson Fund. Photo Museum

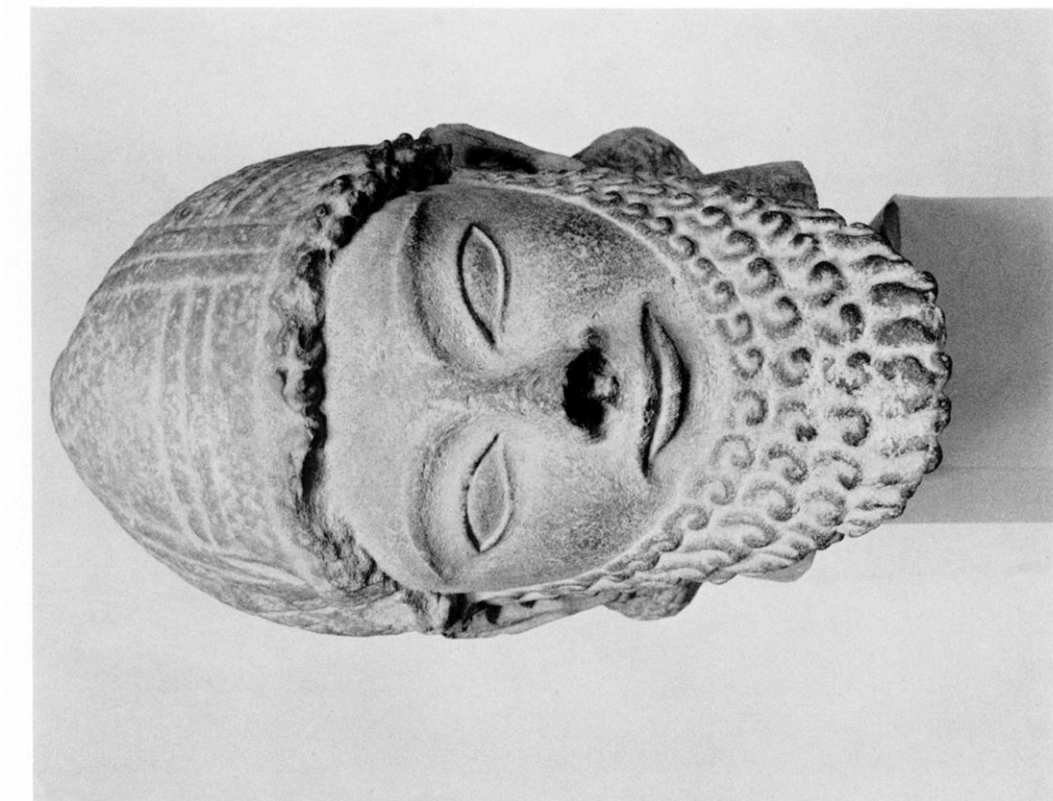


FIG. 2. Full face



FIG. 3. Right profile

FIGS. 2, 3 and 4. Priest, Magistrate, or Votary. Late Archaic period. Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago. Waller Fund Purchase. Photo Museum



FIG. 4. Left profile

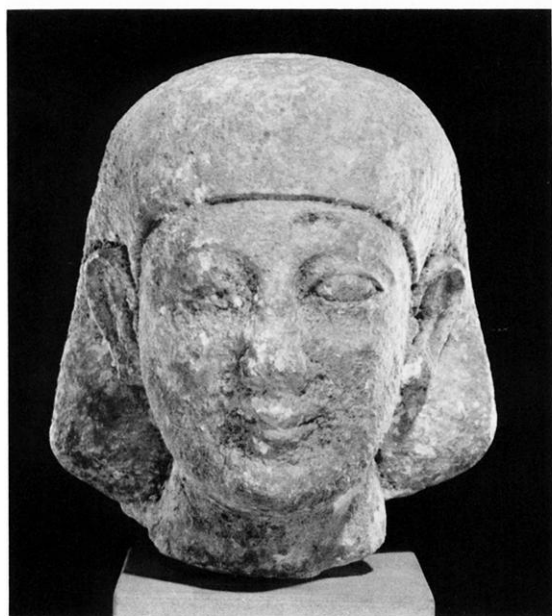


FIG. 5. Full face

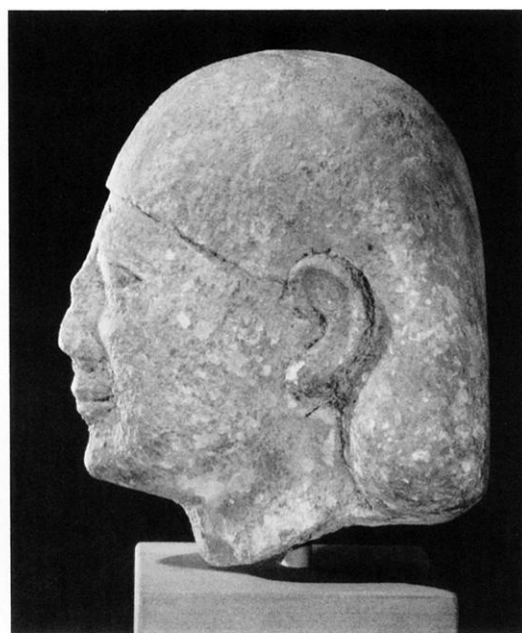


FIG. 6. Left profile

Greek, Roman and Etruscan Sculptures: The Benjamin and Lucy Rowland Collection

Author(s): Cornelius Vermeule

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proposals for economising upon the designs by Wilkins (Figs.44, 45). Their elevations, respectively dated April and May, 1848, correspond with those of Wilkins both in style and external articulation.

The designs by Wilkins at the Public Record Office are not entirely uniform. In the main series the ground plan and facades conform more closely with that of Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, having two bay projections at each corner surmounted by strapwork and decorated with coupled Doric and Ionic pilasters (Fig.46), while in the variant design the north and south facades are straight, with a two storey portico slightly projected from the centre bays (Fig.47). With certain consequent variations in dimensions, the layout of the rooms and internal decoration are similar. In both series Wilkins attempted to recreate the effect of the Tudor and Jacobean long gallery by opening the three living rooms on the south facade into one another, but in neither series is the internal articulation other than austere Neo-Classical (Fig.A, p.397).

Despite his admiration for the Greek style Wilkins had shown some interest in English Renaissance architecture. In the 1809 edition of the Society of Antiquaries Journal, *Vetusta Monumenta*, he published an historical account of the Porta Honoris at Caius College, Cambridge, in which he associated its construction in 1573 with the decline of 'the taste for Gothic' in favour of 'the practice of regular Roman architecture' in England.⁵ The polygonal dome capping the Gate provided a model for the corner turrets of the raised staircase hall in Wilkins's designs for Bylaugh. His knowledge of the style was possibly enlarged through his friendship with Sir Jeffry Wyattville, who, between c.1806 and 1813, re-designed the entrance hall and stables at Longleat and executed improvements at Wollaton.⁶ While the windows in Wilkins's designs are closer to those at Longleat, his main inspiration was Wollaton, particularly for the ground plan, elevated central hall and entrance staircases.

The singularity of the Bylaugh designs in the corpus of Wilkins's work is emphasized by the resemblance between the appearance of the central portico envisaged for the south front in the simplified elevation and the loggia of Inigo Jones's Queen's House, Greenwich. Wilkins was critical of the synthetic imitation of classical architecture adopted by Jones under the influence of the Italian Renaissance and the Vitruvian traditions. To eradicate such impure, and, to Wilkins's authoritarian mind, misappropriate use of classical architecture he had translated and edited the Treatise of Vitruvius with his friend, Lord Aberdeen, and was, in 1833, to dismiss it as detrimental to the development of post-medieval European architecture.⁷ Wilkins may have been prepared to imitate buildings from the preceding, and considerably

less correct, English Renaissance style because it was transitional. Yet the adoption of this style can hardly have been congenial to one who, at the end of his career, declared:

'A system founded on the pure basis of Grecian excellence must, and will finally prevail.'⁸

Perhaps the best explanation of Wilkins's brief association with this style lies in his consistent desire to satisfy his patrons. By 1822 he had established an enviable reputation both as an archaeological and practical architect, notably for Downing and East India Colleges, commissioned in 1806, and Grange Park, c.1809 in the Greek, and Tregothnan, c.1812-16, Dalmeny, 1814-19 (where he had proposed building a Greek Revival house), and Dunmore, begun in 1820, in the Gothic style. In each commission he had attempted to reconcile the differing demands of archaeological accuracy and convenience, varying relative balance according to the patron's choice. Thus it is at least possible that Lombe invited Wilkins to work in the English Renaissance style.

Wilkins's designs for Bylaugh Hall anticipated the revival of the style by almost twenty years. We may speculate that his disinclination to pursue this stylistic form was determined by his purist conception of the revival of classical architecture.

⁸ *The Athenaeum*, letter to the Editor dated 2nd March, 1833.

Recent Museum Acquisitions *Greek, Roman and Etruscan Sculptures: The Benjamin and Lucy Rowland Collection*

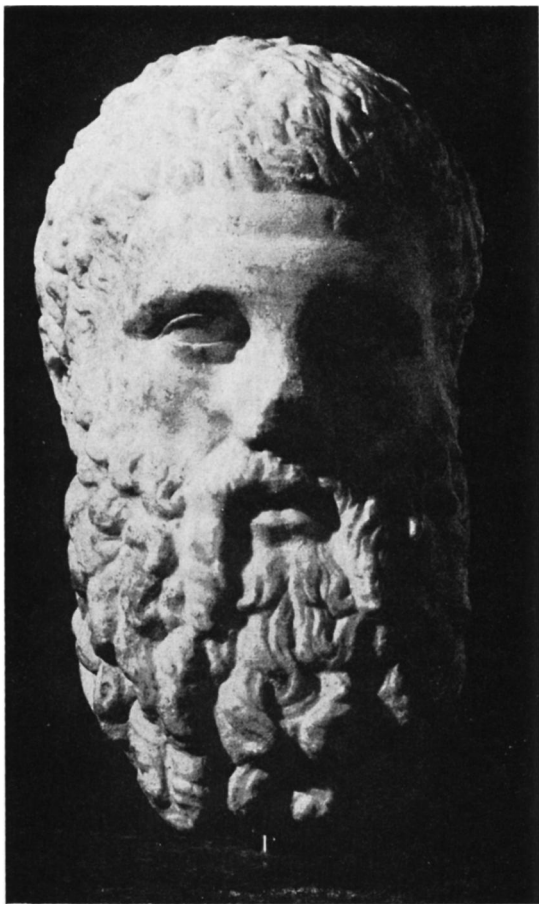
ALTHOUGH many remember Professor Rowland as a scholar, teacher, and collector of Far Eastern, Indian, and American art, he and Mrs Rowland have also studied and collected the sculpture of the classical Mediterranean world. Benjamin Rowland's famous book, *The Classical Tradition in Western Art*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1963, represented a basic statement of this concern, in relation to the art of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and later ages. The Rowlands not only collected intensely but carefully, they also established a fund at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for the purchase of works of Greek and Roman sculpture. Several marbles acquired through this fund, pieces known to and admired by Benjamin and Lucy Rowland, have been included in these pages. Professor Rowland bequeathed eight statues and four heads to the Museum of Fine Arts, and they form the basis of the works of art described here. All these sculptures have one factor in common, their exceptional interest to students of Antiquity in all its aspects. In this respect they speak permanently of educational values held high by the Rowlands and of the related aspirations in the Department of Classical (Greek and Roman) Art of the Museum of Fine Arts.

Another element concerns itself with the relationship between these antiquities and the larger collections of Greek, Etruscan and Roman sculpture in the Athens of America. The Rowlands have collected and purchases have been made from their Fund with a view to strengthening, broadening and explaining the marbles long on view in the Greek and Roman galleries. The head of Herakles in the tradition of Myron explains itself most fully when exhibited next to the marble statuette, after Myron's complete figure, first brought to the world's attention at the Burlington House Exhibition of 1903 when in the collection of Edward Perry Warren. The small statue of a standing Discobolus, after an early fourth century B.C. original, joins Myron's Herakles and half-a-dozen other such marbles in showing the sculptural masterpieces of antiquity in miniature. The nearly-complete

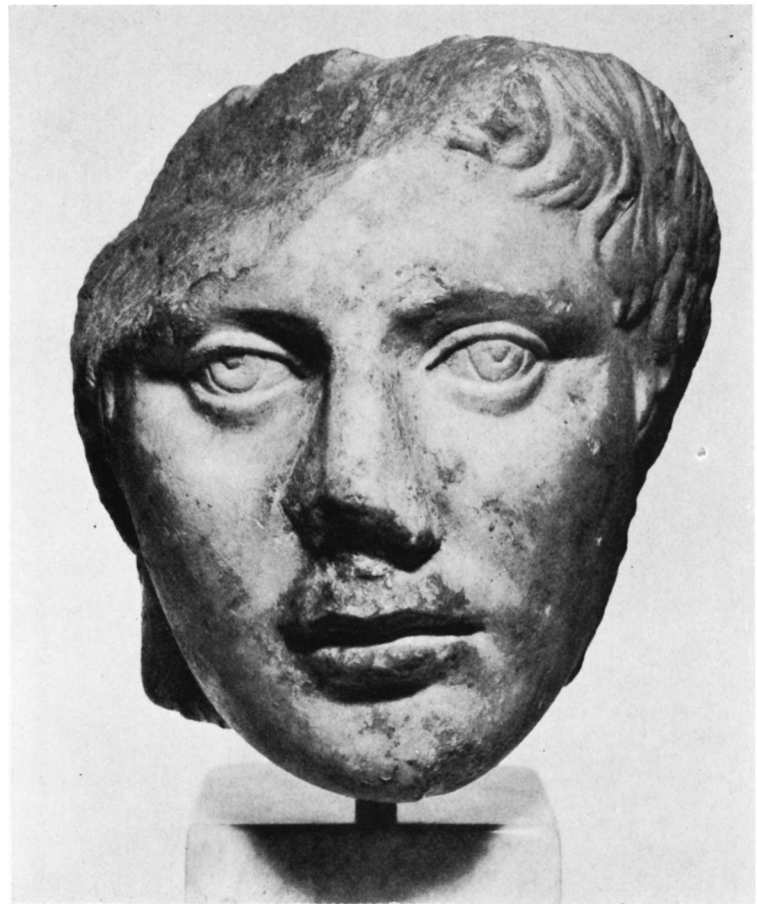
⁵ 'Observations on the Porta Honoris of Caius College, Cambridge', *Vetusta Monumenta* [1809], volume IV. Wilkins mistakenly attributed the Porta Honoris of this, his old college, to John of Padua, who, he stated, had been appointed architect to Henry VIII and had built Old Somerset House. The design of the Gate, probably influenced by a scheme for a palace by Serlio, is now given to Caius, who employed a Fleming, Theodore Haveus or De Have, to erect his plan. Caius died in 1573 when the work on the Porta Honoris had just commenced. This account is based on the history related by SIR J. SUMMERSON in *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, 5th ed. [1970], p.175.

⁶ Wyattville is listed as a family friend in the housekeeping books of Wilkins's wife, Alicia, for the period 1822-28. Wyattville's work at Longleat and Wollaton is fully recorded by D. LINSTRUM in *Sir Jeffry Wyattville* [1972], pp.53-67.

⁷ Wilkins's edition of Vitruvius was published in 1812 as 'The Civil Architecture of Vitruvius' and prefaced by an Introduction entitled 'An Historical View of the Rise and Progress of Architecture amongst the Greeks' written in conjunction with Lord Aberdeen. The introduction included pungent criticism of the mistranslations of the Treatise and the unfortunate influence of Renaissance and post-Renaissance European architecture, greatly magnified by Wilkins in a letter to the Editor of *The Athenaeum*, dated 16th February, 1833: 'I feel justified therefore, in stating, that it would have been better for modern architecture that the work of Vitruvius had never reached us.'



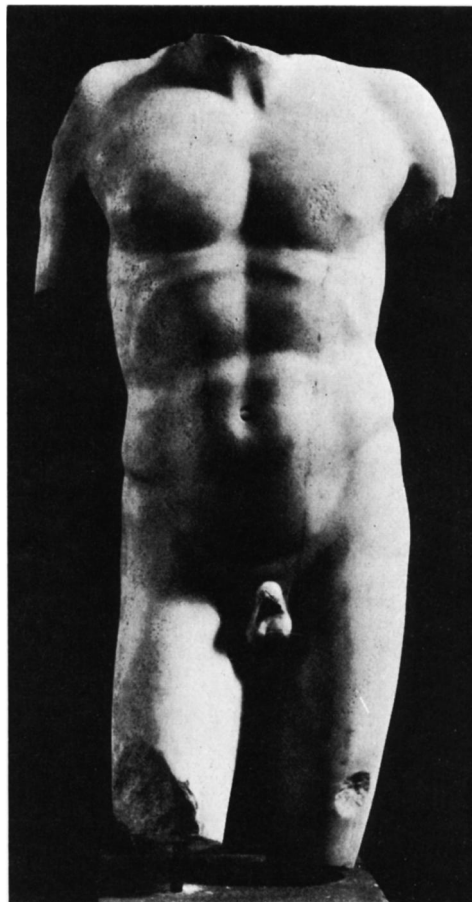
48. *Herakles*. Fourth century B.C.



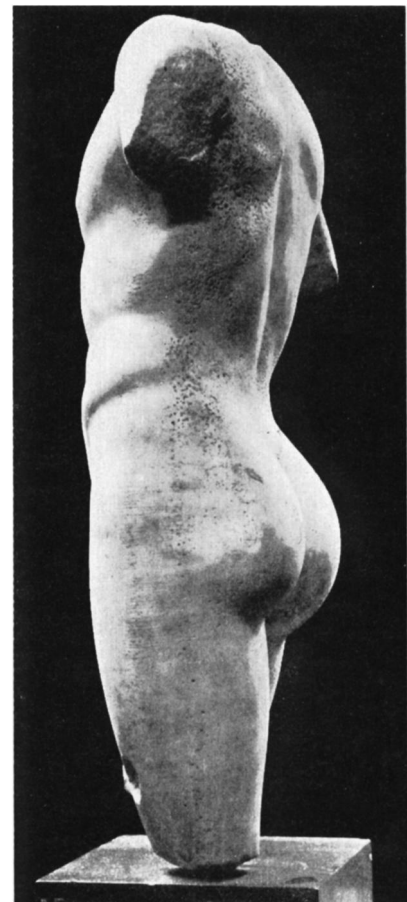
49. *Polykleitan God or Athlete*. Roman Imperial Copy.



50. *Standing Discobulus*. Reduced version.



51. *Young God, Hero or Athlete*. Graeco-Roman and Renaissance.



52. Another view of the statue illustrated in Fig. 51.

statue of the Faun or young satyr in action gives to any institution serving a wide public a major, large-scale sculpture as exciting as the Barberini Faun in the Glyptothek of Munich.

The Aphrodite and Eros is an attractive, Hellenistic essay in contrast between female beauty and childhood activity, a decorative statue which explains how the Augustus in armour from Livia's Villa at Prima porta came to be accompanied by a similar infant attribute, symbolic of a family relationship with the goddess of love. The city-Tyche of a type exported from the School of Aphrodisias is a virtually intact essay, with paint and gilding surviving, in the allegorical iconography of the imperial provinces on the eve of the Late Antique period. The small, sarcophagus-shaped cinerary chest of about A.D. 200 is a superb teaching instrument, since it compresses into a limited space all the excitement and activity of a large Dionysiac sarcophagus and lid of the late Antonine or Severan periods.¹

Finally, the late Antonine portrait of a private lady of East Greek aspect represents an effort to continue Professor Rowland's interest in pursuing classicism of an individual nature to the threshold of the Middle Ages. To the apogee of the latter period belongs the bust of the Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (lived 1194 to 1250), a sculpture about which Benjamin Rowland wrote a paper shortly before his death. This article, on iconographic and spiritual problems of the classical revival in Italy in the thirteenth century, has been scheduled for publication in a continental journal. The bust of Frederick II, acquired by Professor Rowland many years ago from a western European collection, was long a favourite among students and colleagues. This marble was exhibited on a number of occasions but had never been published.

Professor John Rosenfield of Harvard University, friend and collaborator at the Fogg Museum, has written a memorial notice, together with a list of Professor Rowland's books and articles in periodicals, in the *Archives of Asian Art*, XXVI, 1972-73. Professor Rowland left his own collection of Renaissance bronzes and Indian art to the Victoria and Albert Museum. There, as in Boston, it is as a connoisseur as well as a humanist and author that he will be remembered.

HERAKLES, Greek, Perhaps Fourth Century B.C., c.325 B.C.(?) (Fig.48).

Whether a fourth century B.C. original or a superlative Graeco-Roman copy, this is a very powerful vision of the hero Herakles.² The head belonged to a statue showing the demi-god standing with his club in his lowered right hand, lion's-skin over the left arm. The sculptor Myron has been credited with creating the ultimate prototype in the middle of the fifth century B.C., a monumental bronze or marble statue represented in the Museum of Fine Arts by the excellent marble copy in miniature, the Warren Herakles, made in the imperial Roman period (No.14.733).³

This over-life-size head is a restyling in the age of Skopas and Lysippos, probably by a relatively calm, less innovative Attic master such as Bryaxis or, most likely, Silanion. This is an interpretation which stresses the patriarchal nobility of Herakles in

his later years and which has softened the somewhat severe, crisp and metallic, details of the prototype by Myron as known from the little marble replica. The hero in this large head is even more magisterial, more Olympian, than some of the most dignified elders on Attic grave stelai of the years from 340 to 317 B.C.

This head of Herakles stands in the same stylistic and chronological relationship to Myron's statue that the over-life-size head of Zeus from Mylasa, also in the Museum of Fine Arts, bears to the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias (No.04.12).⁴

HEAD OF A POLYKLEITAN GOD OR ATHLETE, Roman imperial period (Fig.49).

As a copy of the Spear-Bearer of Polykleitos, a replica with incised pupils and therefore datable in the period A.D. 150 to 250, this head has certain points of similarity, almost contamination, with the Polykleitan Hermes.⁵ The hair at the centre of the forehead is higher, however, and the eyes are rounder, more open. In fact, to a subtle degree, the Doryphoros has a more oval, rather than a broad head, when compared with the Hermes. The marble copy of the Hermes, long in the Museum of Fine Arts, bears this out.⁶ Copies of the head of the Doryphoros can differ somewhat within themselves, as the marble in Naples (from Pompeii) and the bronze herm in the same collection (from Herculaneum) give evidence.⁷ The former has a slightly broader forehead and a higher hairline.

Although damaged, fragmentary, and of a relatively late date in the history of Graeco-Roman copyism, this is a very beautiful sculpture, one echoing the Polykleitan ethos (the proportions of the face for instance) and having a healthy, imaginative freedom of its own (the details of the hair). The Doryphoros of Polykleitos, his Canon of perfect sculpture, has been thought to portray the ill-fated, near immortal hero Achilles setting off to the Trojan Wars. Marble copies of the lost bronze original were set up in Graeco-Roman public buildings, especially gymnasia and baths, long after replicas of major gods and goddesses had ceased to be popular in votive or decorative contexts.

REDUCED VERSION OF A STANDING DISCOBOLUS (Fig.50).

Although head, forearms, and legs from the knees are missing, this small statue can be recognized as a Graeco-Roman copy of an athlete standing, holding a discus in his lowered hand.⁸ The original, known from a half-a-dozen full-scale marble copies of a statue presumably fashioned about 400 B.C. in bronze, has been related to the school of Argos and Sikyon in the Peloponnesus. Naukydes, son or nephew of the great Polykleitos has been mentioned as the sculptor, although one great Anglo-American critic attributed the athlete in alert repose to Alkamenos and thus to the athletic art of Attica late in the fifth century B.C.⁹

Other than the fact that the creator of this small statue has taken liberties, in the direction of Hellenistic naturalism, with the figure's muscular structure, there is one major difference between this marble and most other copies. It is a mirror reversal.¹⁰ Such

⁴ G. LIPPOLD: *Handbuch der Archäologie*, III, 1, p.231, pl.95, Fig.1.

⁵ H.(max.): 0.24m. Crystalline Greek mainland marble (from Attica?). The head has been broken irregularly across the forehead and through the crown. The nose is restored in marble, the lips in plaster.

⁶ C. VERMEULE: *Polykleitos*, Boston [1969], p.25, Fig.17.

⁷ See *Polykleitos*, Figs.1, 10; see also P. E. ARIAS: *Policleto*, Florence [1964], Figs.36 (Uffizi), 37 (Naples).

⁸ Accession number 109.1972 H.(max.): 0.405m. ex Münzen und Medaillen, A.G. Basle.

⁹ G. LIPPOLD: *Handbuch der Archäologie*, III, 1, p.199, pl.68, Fig.2: Polykleitos's younger brother. SIR C. WALSTON: *Alkamenos*, Cambridge [1926], pp.212-15 Fig.190: the Enkrinomenos of Alkamenos. In Chapter VII (p.216), the Myronic (Warren) Herakles is also ascribed to Alkamenos.

¹⁰ C. VERMEULE: 'Graeco-Roman Statues: Purpose and Setting-I,' *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE* 110 [1968], p.555, Fig.15.

¹ Lucy Rowland has helped in many ways with these notes. The staff of the Fogg Museum in Cambridge, the members of the Director's Office in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and our colleagues in the Department of Classical (Greek and Roman) Art have contributed valuable information and assistance. All photographs of the Rowland sculptures were taken at the Museum of Fine Arts, save Figs.49, 56, 60-61 which were provided by the Fogg Museum and Fig.64 which was prepared by D. Widmer of Basle.

² H.: 0.387m. Pentelic marble. *Benjamin and Lucy Rowland Fund 1972.392*. From a Private Collection in Central Europe. The end of the nose is damaged. Otherwise the surfaces are in excellent condition.

³ G. LIPPOLD: *Handbuch der Archäologie*, III, 1, Munich [1950], p.139, pl.49, Fig.2.

mirror images were created by mechanical means in Graeco-Roman times to serve as foils for copies posed in the normal manner of the original. Since at least one small statue like this, facing in the correct direction, has survived from Antiquity (in a private collection in New York),¹¹ one can imagine a pair placed opposite each other on a table in the garden villa of a wealthy Roman. The effect would have resembled that created by pairs or sets of small bronzes and ceramic figures in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Rowland Discobolus, standing by itself, is a sculpture of considerable force, perhaps because the copyist must have been an artist of some stature.

STATUE OF A YOUNG GOD, HERO OR ATHLETE (Figs.51, 52).

At first glance, this figure seems based on the powerful, fifth-century B.C. physical forms of the Peloponnesian sculptor Polykleitos.¹² The view in profile, showing part of the back (Fig.52), stresses this relationship to Graeco-Roman copies of the Doryphoros (Spear-bearer) or Diadoumenos (Fillet-binder) of the Argive-Sikyonian master of commemorative statues in bronze. From the front, however, the statue manifests a certain softness of modelling and surface details seemingly at variance with the heavy construction of bone and muscle. The stance, weight on the left rather than the right leg, corresponds both to that of several pre-Polykleitan 'Apollos' and to athletic statues produced by sculptors at the end of the fourth century B.C. The so-called Kritios Boy on the Athenian Acropolis, an ephebe of about 485 B.C., gives a good point of departure at the outset of the Classical period in Greece.¹³ Here the action of the complete statue is difficult to define, but the best guess is that it portrayed an athlete holding a discus, a javelin, or perhaps the symbolic rewards of victory such as a diadem or wreath.

After much contemplation, it seems to me that the differences between surface details and overall construction are explained by the fact that this statue was excavated in the late Quattrocento or the early sixteenth century and given a thorough refurbishing to suit the taste of the times. This Graeco-Roman creation after the followers of Polykleitos can thus be compared with the original statues of Tullio Lombardo in northern Italy or the young Michelangelo. The statue, as now constituted, could have served as a pendant to the Adam of about 1493 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, signed by Tullio Lombardo and designed for the monument of Andrea Vendramin in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. Adam gave the sculptor a perfect excuse to create an Antinous-like nude.¹⁴

HERMES WEARING A PETASOS (WITHOUT WINGS) (Fig.53).

This head is from a Graeco-Roman copy, probably of a bronze but possibly of a marble original created around 350 B.C.¹⁵ Other replicas of the statue survive in marble, and the type was diffused, with variations, in small bronzes of the late Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods. Perhaps the most famous full-scale statue of this youthful Hermes is the replica once at Shobden Court, Herefordshire, and now with William Randolph

Hearst's Graeco-Roman marbles in the Los Angeles (County) Museum of Art. The god was standing, leaning against a slender, round column, which may or may not have been part of the original, especially if that statue were in bronze.¹⁶

It is virtually impossible to put a name to the originator of this Hermes, one paralleling the creations of Praxiteles, or his forebear Kephisodotos, but surely less imaginative, less sympathetic, or even less beautiful. The shadowy Euphranor comes to mind, a sculptor whose commissions in Athens (the Apollo Patroos for instance) led to such more exciting concepts of young divinities as the Apollo Belvedere and the Diana (Artemis) of Versailles, statues generally attributed to the better-known Leochares. While hardly a great work of Greek or Graeco-Roman art, this Hermes is unusual enough (the helmet-like petasos) on a life-size scale and different enough from Praxitelean concepts (the Belvedere Hermes or the divine creature at Olympia) to merit the close attention of all students of ancient sculpture and its Neo-Classic survivals.

STATUE OF A YOUNG GOD OR MYTHOLOGICAL BEING, Apollo or Narcissus after Praxiteles (Fig.56).

The head and part of the neck were made separately and attached with a large iron pin. The penis was also carved independently. A large, rectangular *puntello* remains on the left thigh, and, above this, is a large rectangular dowel-hole suggesting a later repair, or an additional support. The surfaces have a pleasing yellow patina, extensive traces of rootmarks, and some encrustation. All the breaks are natural but ancient.¹⁷

The quality of this copy of the first or second centuries A.D. is very high. The figure captures all the grace and rhythm of the original. Were it not for the fact that the left arm is lowered rather than raised, it would be easy to label this statue a replica of the Apollo Slaying a Lizard (Sauroktonos) of Praxiteles. As it is, the type must be thought of as a variant, a modification, akin to the Eros leaning against a short column or pillar seen on Greek imperial coins of Prusa at Olympum struck under the Emperor Commodus (A.D. 180 to 192).¹⁸ Apollo or Narcissus remains the preferred identification, however, for to be Eros this statue ought to have the remains of wings or the attachments for same.

When the legs are somewhat longer, the torso is not turned quite so strongly, and an animal's skin has been added to the left shoulder, the statue could become the young satyr playing the flute, a creation identified generally with Lysippos and best known from a Graeco-Roman copy in the Louvre.¹⁹ Clearly, the motif when applied to a divine or mythological youth was very popular in the fourth century B.C., and consequently among the copyists.

¹⁶ See *AJA* 60 [1956], pp.342f. and refs. The head seems to me to belong to this statue. In any case, it is correct enough for the type. Otherwise, the statue could have represented Apollo, the young Asklepios, or Narcissus. Statues of Hermes in Munich and the Vatican have similar caps: s. REINACH: *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I, Paris [1897], p.365, No.3, p.366, No.2. Sometimes these heads lean to the left shoulder, sometimes to the right. A head on a statue restored as Hermes and in Florence is particularly close: p.369, No.1.

¹⁷ H.: 0.74m. Greek mainland (probably Pentelic) marble. Fogg Museum TL 18900.2.

¹⁸ CH. PICARD: *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, III, 2, Paris [1948], pp.554f., Fig.234. The Eros is also known from versions in marble, of varying sizes and degrees of quality, one of the best examples being the torso from Cypriote Salamis: L. BUDDE, R. NICHOLLS: *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge*, Cambridge [1964], p.28, No.52, pls.16f.

¹⁹ M. BIEBER: *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York [1961], p.38, Fig.86. Various orthodox and unusual modifications of the young Apollo type are illustrated in s. REINACH: *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I, p.240, Nos.4-7. The Pothos of Skopas has the same flavour.

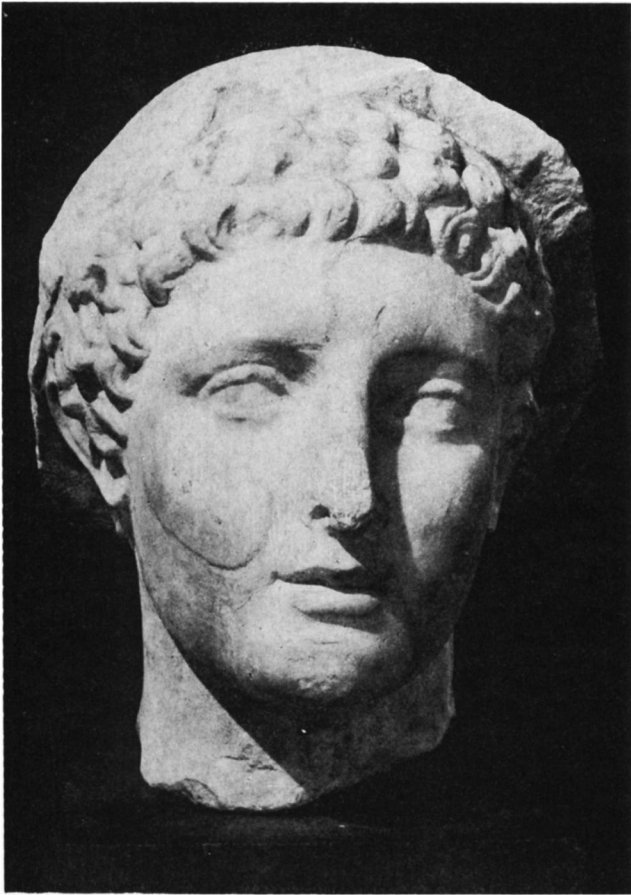
¹¹ See the Love Collection statuette: *JHS* 77 [1957], p.287, note 18.

¹² H.: 0.835m. Marble, seemingly from Western Asia Minor.

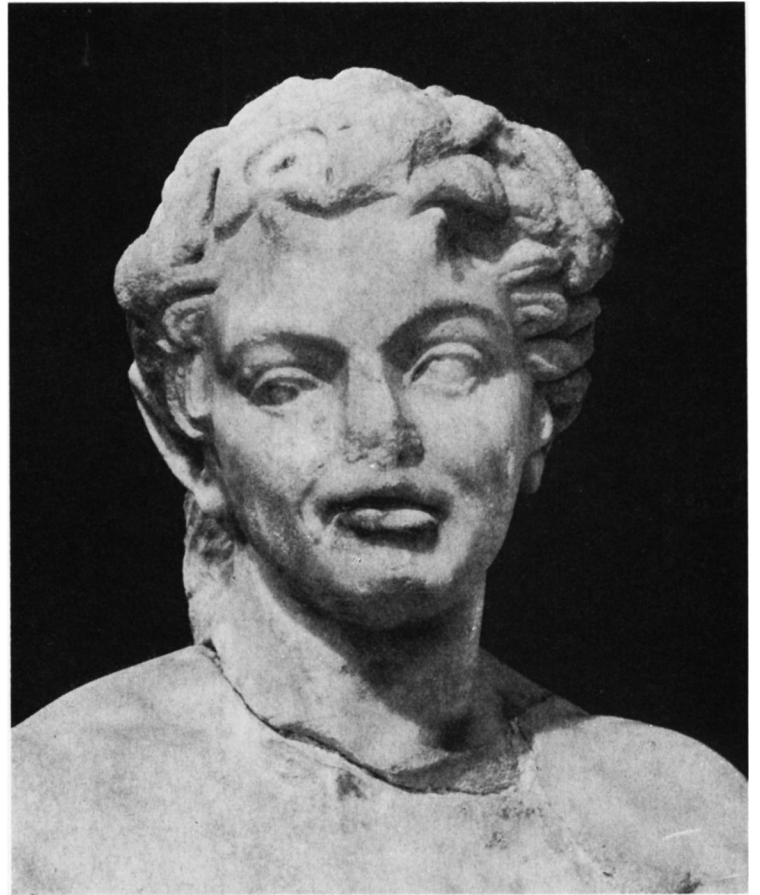
¹³ G. HAFNER: *Art of Crete, Mycenae, and Greece*, New York [1968], p.127.

¹⁴ J. POPE-HENNESSY: *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, London [1958], p.354, pl.141. A torso of a Polykleitan Pan, in Luna marble, serves as the perfect, unrestored illustration of what the Rowland torso could have looked like when first discovered in the Renaissance. It is in the Liverpool Museum's collection: B. ASHMOLE: *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall*, Oxford [1929], p.36, No.83b, pl.7.

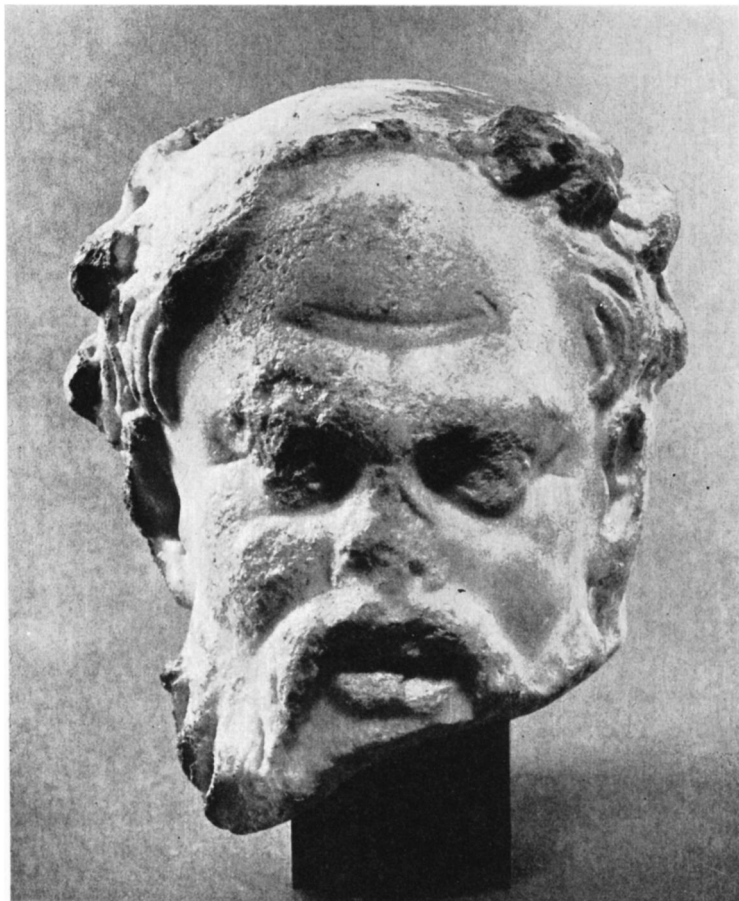
¹⁵ Accession number 108.1972. H. (max.): 0.28m. Greek marble (Attic, 'Hymettan?'). Nose (end at break), lips, and chin have been restored in plaster.



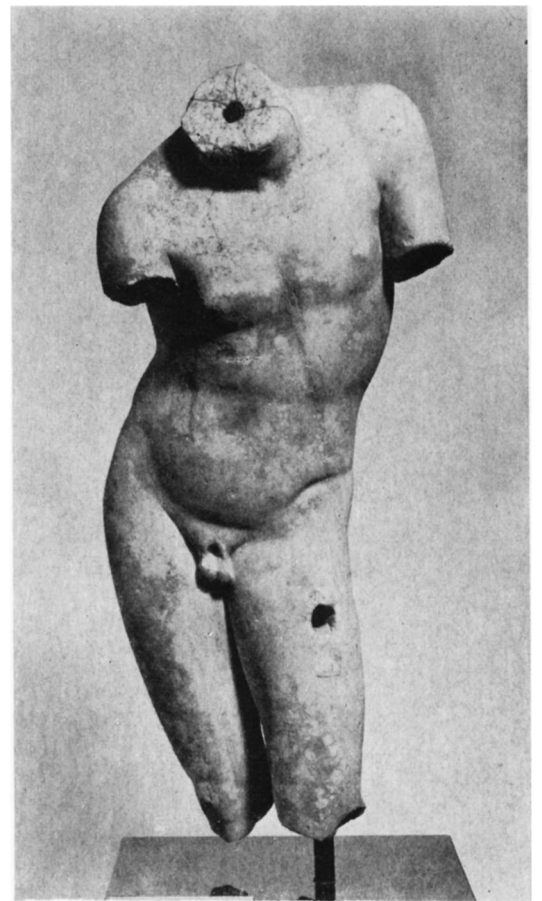
53. *Hermes Wearing a Petasos*. Graeco-Roman after fourth century B.C.



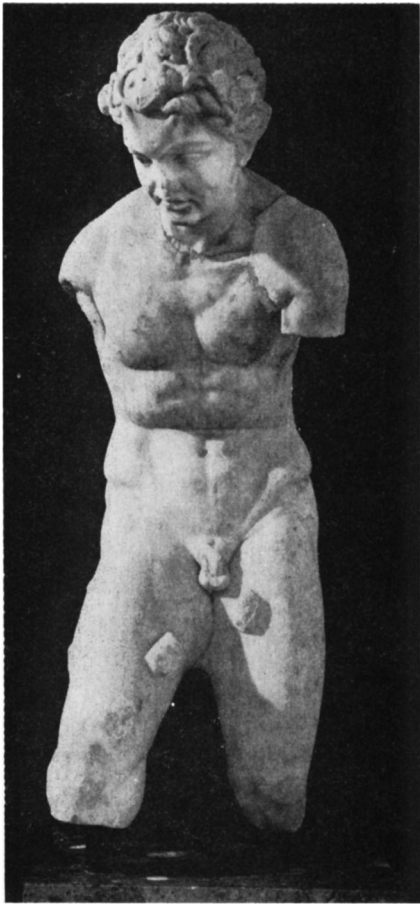
54. *Faun or Young Satyr*. Hellenistic after Lysippos.



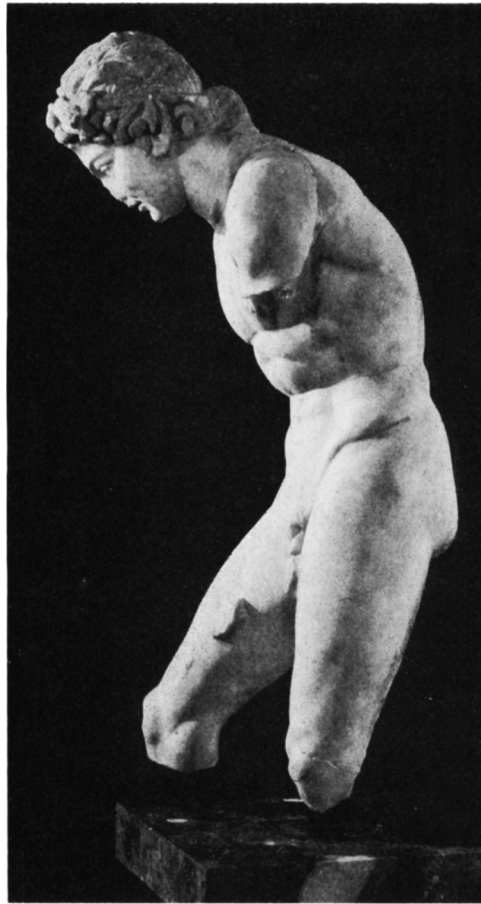
55. *Silenos*, after Lysippos.



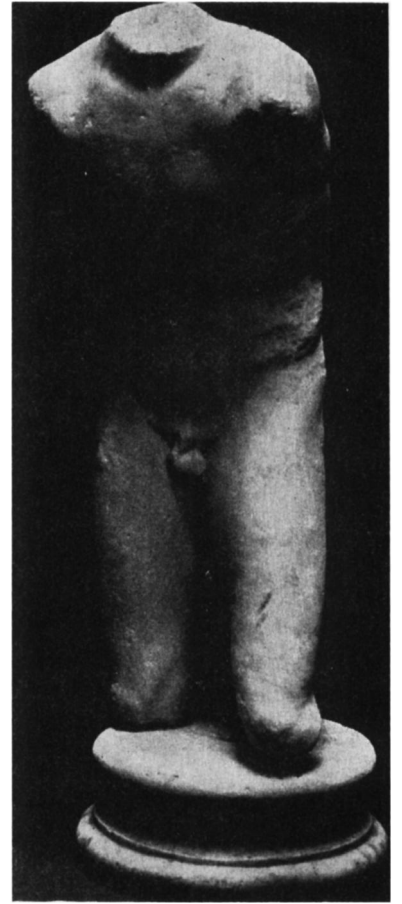
56. *Young God or Mythological Being*, after Praxiteles.



57. Another view of the statue illustrated in Fig. 54.



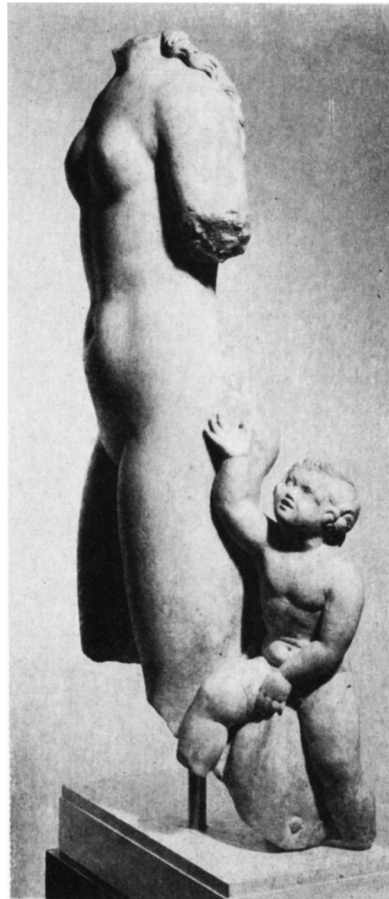
58. Another view of the statue illustrated in Fig. 54.



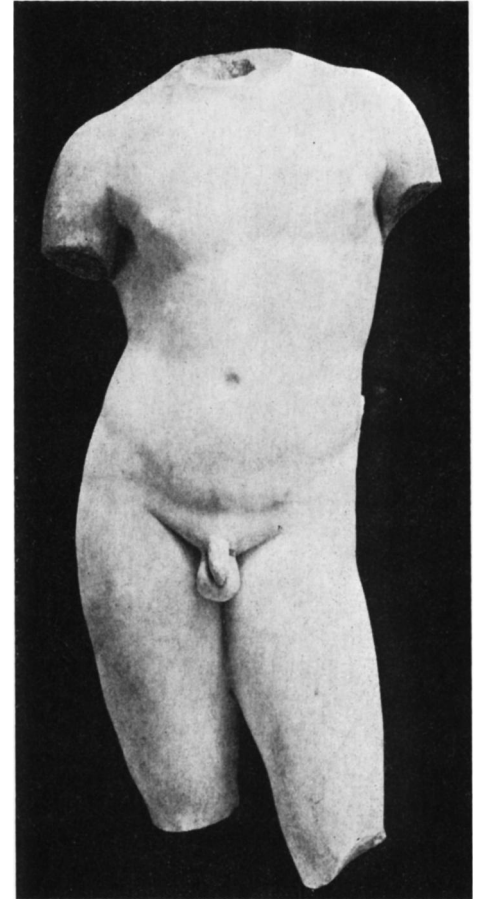
59. *Torso*, similar to the *Young Satyr* (Fig. 54). (Formerly Cobham Hall, Kent.)



60. *Aphrodite and Eros*. Graeco-Roman after a fourth-century B.C. type.



61. Another view of the statue illustrated in Fig. 60.



62. *Young God or Mythological Being*. Style of Pasiteles.

Sculptures from the Benjamin and Lucy Rowland Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

SILENOS (Fig.55).

Although broken away across the lower jaw and otherwise damaged, this old Silenos is a very powerful statement, in Antonine Roman imperial terms, of a proto-Hellenistic creature, going back to Lysippos about 325 B.C.²⁰ To this great Sikyonian master of monumental bronzes has been attributed the statue, surviving in copies, of an old Silenos leaning against a tree-trunk and holding the infant Dionysos in his arms.²¹ The original statue was doubtless fashioned as a more naturalistic *repose* to the original of the so-called Hermes by Praxiteles, a youthful satyr in actuality, teasing the infant Dionysos with a bunch of grapes. The Rowland head is a relatively free version of the Lysippic type, having much life of its own in Greek island marble and (once, but not completely lost) a high polish designed to reflect the metallic quality of the original.

This head may not have belonged to a statue showing Silenos with the divine infant, for Lysippos also created, and the copyists in marble varied, other Silens, Fauns, and satyrs, with heads like this, in a variety of active and relatively placid poses. Since so many of the marble copies of the Lysippic Silenos with the infant Dionysos are so very mechanical, and since many have been reworked or heavily restored in the Renaissance and later times, it is salutary indeed to study so fresh a piece of sculpture, albeit visibly damaged. The Silenos wears a rolled fillet with grapes and leaves around his balding forehead. His polished, pointed ears have survived in relatively good condition.

STATUE OF A FAUN OR YOUNG SATYR (Figs.54, 57-58).

A Graeco-Roman copy of a Hellenistic sculpture in the tradition of the so-called Cincinnatus, a Hermes attributed to Lysippos.²²

The creature was bending forward in a pose suggesting that he was about to move suddenly, perhaps in pursuit of a Maenad or while teasing a panther, jumping up towards him.²³ Other replicas of this lithe but powerful figure exist, notably a torso, and legs to below the knees, formerly in the collection of the Earls of Darnley at Cobham Hall in Kent, and later in the London art market²⁴ (Fig.59). The debt, especially in the torso and legs, to an athletic statue of about 325 B.C. is clear, but the concept as a Faun or satyr must belong to the later Pergamene and so-called Hellenistic rococo periods, about 150 to 50 B.C. In between the age of Lysippos and the later or post-Pergamene period of this creature can be placed the so-called Satyr with the Footclappers, a bronze statue from a group of 'The Invitation to the Dance' made about 250 B.C. perhaps for a city in northwest Asia Minor and surviving in many Graeco-Roman copies.²⁵ Although bereft of his arms, lower legs, and feet, the Rowland-

Lanckoronski satyr has a force of conception and implied action transcending many of the empty, almost manneristic Dionysiac figures of the Hellenistic age at its height.

This marble has a kind of free-form mirror counterpart in a forceful bronze statuette in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Unfortunately, the arms and attributes of this small sculpture are missing.²⁶

STATUE OF APHRODITE, an Eros on a dolphin at her side (Figs.60, 61).

The sculpture is a Graeco-Roman creation of the first or Hadrianic second centuries A.D. in the traditions of the late Hellenistic rococo.²⁷ That Aphrodite had long tresses, remaining on her back and left arm, a slender waist, a decidedly hipshot pose, and long legs is evident from the front and back views. Despite the long tresses, the statue could have been a Julio-Claudian portrait, perhaps of a girl of the imperial family. In such case, this 'Marine Venus' would exhibit the same allusions to divine ancestry implicit in the Prima Porta Augustus, although more overtly so because of the costume or lack of same.²⁸ The baby Eros's right hand is raised in salutation, along the left thigh and hip of the goddess, to give greater support.²⁹ Although Aphrodite's back and hips are fully, finely finished, the figure, like the unfinished Prima Porta Augustus, was designed to be viewed in a niche, for the tail of the dolphin was either left in a roughened state or was broken off at the back and reworked at a later date in the statue's Classical or Antique history. Furthermore, there is a large, rectangular dowel-hole where the dolphin's curling tail met the lower centre of the little love-god's back. It is tempting to speculate that the statue was first set up in the architecture of a theatre (probably the *proscenium* façade) or of a nymphaeum and perhaps, at a later date, damaged by natural (earthquake) or human (riot) means. The back could have then been reworked, and the ensemble resecured with a large bracket.

Aphrodite's stance and her bodily proportions, although more slender at the waist and more pronounced around the left hip, have their basis in the so-called Medici Venus, a statue conceived by one of the other great masters of the fourth century B.C. (Skopas?) under the influence of Praxiteles.³⁰ The variations on this theme of an Aphrodite based on older models came to be virtually unlimited in late Hellenistic and Roman imperial times. Application to a similar relationship between goddess, Eros, and dolphin can be illustrated by a small marble statue of the first century A.D. shown in the 1973 *Antiquities of Libya* exhibition at the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum (as No.175).³¹ Here the (headless)

²⁰ Accession number 22.69. H.(max.): 0.255m. Crystalline marble, Greek islands (Aegean)?

²¹ Ex K. J. Hewett, London. Cf. F. P. JOHNSON: *Lysippos*, Durham (North Carolina) [1928], pls.33f.; CH. PICARD: *Manuel d'Archéologie grecque, La Sculpture*, IV, Paris [1963], pp.514-21, various Fauns and satyrs associated with Lysippos.

²² H.: 0.95m. Crystalline Greek marble, probably from western Asia Minor. Head with the neck, and a section of the left shoulder were broken away. They have been rejoined. An (Antique?) patch in the locks over the forehead has come away, a small iron pin remaining. Five *puntelli* remain on the thighs. The back of the neck is unfinished, for extra support.

²³ The normal decorative marble of a satyr playing with a panther, teasing the animal with a bunch of grapes, is a much more elongated, rococo sculpture: see M. BIEBER: *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York [1961], p.139, Fig.568.

²⁴ See C. VERMEULE, D. VON BOTHMER: 'Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, Part Three: 1,' *AJA* 63 [1959], p.150, No.19, pl.35, Fig.5.

²⁵ G. LIPOLD: *Handbuch der Archäologie*, III, I, p.320, pl.113, Fig.3. Many other Dionysiac statues reflect the motif, or are simplified replicas: as an example in the Musée du Louvre: S. REINACH: *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I, p.139, No.5. The statue is based ultimately on the standing Discobolus of Naukydes, of which No.3 (above) is a reduced, mirror reversal.

²⁶ M. BIEBER: *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, p.112, Fig.448, termed a 'dancing satyr.' The Rowland satyr belongs, in a more forceful way, to the same decorative taste as the group of satyrs with *pedum*, cloak full of fruits, and springing panther: see W. HELBIG: *Führer durch die Sammlungen in Rom*, IV, Tübingen [1972], p.258, No.3287 (Villa Torlonia-Albani).

²⁷ Greek mainland (Pentelic?) marble. H.(max.): 1.13m. All the breaks are natural and unworked. Eros's wings were evidently glued (cemented) on separately. No traces of dowels remain. The top of Eros's head has been rejoined at the hairline. The yellowish-white surfaces have considerable traces of a gray encrustation. Fogg Museum of Art, TL 18900.1.

²⁸ A. W. LAWRENCE has suggested (*Greek and Roman Sculpture*, London [1972], p.257): 'The Prima Porta Cupid . . . , as well as the right arm and left leg of Augustus, may be ancient restorations.' Such a situation would only strengthen the divine allusions nourished by the *Gens Julia*.

²⁹ Compare the 'Marine Venus,' based on the Capitoline type, now in the Dayton (Ohio) Museum of Art, where Eros's wing also serves as a support and the dolphin was devouring a fish: *Art of the Ancients*, Andre Emmerich Gallery Inc., New York [1968], p.45, No.56. A restored statue in Paris was once a good comparison: S. REINACH: *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I, p.327, No.4.

³⁰ M. BIEBER: *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, p.30, Figs.28, 30, 31.

³¹ See also A. H. SMITH: *Catalogue of Sculpture*, II, London [1900], p.237, No.1418; British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities,

Aphrodite is half-draped and is turned to her own left, in pose a version of the goddess who admires her beauty reflected in the shield of Ares. Her marine origins persist, since the Eros on a dolphin appears at her *right* (rather than her left) side. Because of its size and provenance the statue from Cyrene probably had an ideal head and therefore was not a portrait, a possibility implicit in the overall appearance of the Rowland statue.

STATUE OF A YOUNG GOD OR MYTHOLOGICAL BEING, a Graeco-Roman creation in the style of Pasiteles, probably about 50 B.C. (Fig.62).

The head and most of the neck were made separately and joined with a large tenon. The genitals have been partly restored in marble and plaster. There is a large *puntello* on the left hip. Otherwise, the surfaces are fresh, without encrustation or over-cleaning.³²

A number of statues of youthful divinities come out of the same late Hellenistic to early Roman imperial academic taste, one so magnificently exploited by sculptors in Italy from Antonio Canova to the late Victorians. A statue in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, probably from Rome, has been termed an *ephebe*, although it and similar statues have also received the title 'Hermaphrodite' from the patent softness of the bodily forms.³³ The Rowland statue thus forms an excellent visual link between the academic classicism of Pasiteles and his school, the work of restoration which went on in Italy under B. Cavaceppi late in the eighteenth century, and the Neo-Classicism of Canova, Thorvaldsen, or, in the terms best explained by Benjamin Rowland, the Americans Hiram Powers and William Wetmore Story.

TUFA HEAD FROM AN ARCHITECTURAL SETTING, 150 B.C. or later (Fig.63).

This late Etruscan fragment probably comes from a large architectural ensemble, perhaps a pedimental group.³⁴ The subject could be Apollo, and the type has been based very generally on the Apollo Belvedere of the fourth century B.C. Tarentine limestone sculpture of the third to second century B.C. has served as the stylistic intermediary. The head seems too big to have been part of one of the corner figures of a cinerary chest, like the once-plastered and painted travertine example from the Tomba dei Volumni near Perugia, in an older style but dated as late as 75 to 50 B.C. This ideal divinity or hero was also doubtless once painted, to enrich the setting and to conceal the rough quality of the local, central Italian material used by these latest, vigorous Etruscan artists working just at the time when their civilization was being overwhelmed by late Republican, proto-imperial Rome.

Although damaged, this 'Apollo' conveys an excellent idea of the impact of Hellenistic style on the monumental carving of Italy northwest of Rome, presumably the region around Vulci, Tarquinia, or Cervetri. It is impossible to visualize precisely the scene from which this head was taken, but, if from a pedimental group on a wooden building or a stone tomb, the analogy of multi-figured compositions in monumental terracotta should suggest a setting rich in action. Terra-cotta was best for this form of sculpture but the cinerary chests prove that such carving was practised with consummate skill in various volcanic stones.³⁵

inventory No.1861.11-27.34; found by Captain R. Murdoch Smith, RE, and Commander E. A. Porcher, RN, in the Temple of Aphrodite at Cyrene.

³² H.(max.): 0.705m. Pentelic marble.

³³ A. BLANCO: *Catalogo de la Escultura*, Madrid [1957], p.22, No.12E, pl.III.

³⁴ Accession number 23.69 H.: 0.23m.

³⁵ Cf. GIGLIOLI: *L'Arte Etrusca*, pls.378ff., various similar heads. The head seems too big to have been part of a cinerary chest, as the travertine example

TYCHE-FORTUNA OF A GREEK IMPERIAL CITY, about A.D. 200 (Figs.65, 66).

The urban goddess held a cornucopia in her left hand and, doubtless, a tiller, rudder on orb, in her lowered right. She wears a mural crown above her diadem. Traces of red paint and gilding survive in her hair, on her polished flesh, and in her full, rich drapery, chiton and long himation.³⁶ Carved sensitively yet forcefully from the crystalline marble of southwest Asia Minor, this statue represents the best of Aphrodisian export sculpture in the period of Severan expansion early in the third century A.D. The Tyche-Fortuna is reputed to have been found at the Roman colony of Cremna in Pisidia, together with several other Tychai, a Hermes, and a set of the Nine Muses.³⁷ The setting was, obviously, a Kaisareion or Sebasteion where offerings were made around imperial bronze statues, by priests or magistrates and the heads of the urban guilds. Agents from the sculpture workshops of Carian Aphrodisias were certainly on hand to sell statues such as this to the patrons and donors of the city.

Full use of the good quality marble has been made. The flesh surfaces were highly finished; the hair has been undercut to offset the crown, drapery, and incised pupils of the eyes; and the drapery itself has been treated in a sensitive combination of volume and subtle detail. The ultimate prototype of this Tyche was a goddess such as Persephone or a Muse in the period around 340 B.C. Such statues have been identified with Praxiteles because of the draped Muses appearing on the outside slabs of the base of the cult-statues of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto at Mantinea in the Peloponnesus. Indeed, the so-called Polyhymnia of the Vatican collections has a similar form of body and arrangement of drapery, one difference being in the position of the right arm and another being merely in the presence of a floral diadem around the top of the head instead of the mural crown.³⁸

APHRODITE-TYCHE AND EROS, about A.D. 200 (Fig.64).

The goddess is looking down, slightly to her left. She wears soft boots and a sleeved, ungirdled chiton under a long mantle or himation. A twisted or bunched end of this himation is wrapped loosely across her body and hangs over her left arm.³⁹ The left hand was probably holding a mirror, into which the goddess could have been gazing, as in the similar instance of a statue of this Greek imperial period from Salamis on Cyprus. The right hand carried an uncertain attribute; traces of a related support are visible at the right upper leg. An apple could have been held here. At the divinity's feet appears a small sleeping Eros, seated on a rock and supporting his head with both hands resting upon his knee. This Eros is of a type going back to Attic grave stelai in the fourth century B.C. (stele in the National Museum, Athens, from the Ilissos river) and is a composition familiar from Hellenistic to Graeco-Roman funerary sculpture. The plinth on

from the Tomba dei Volumni near Perugia, in an older style, but dated as late as 75 to 50 B.C.: P. J. RIIS: *An Introduction to Etruscan Art*, Copenhagen [1953], p.112, pl.72, Fig.106. A head from the lid of a large urn offers some similarities, but the style is usually different, faces fatter and not so roughly architectural at sides and back: as L. GOLDSCHIEDER: *Etruscan Sculpture*, London [1941], pl.18, in the Museo Civico, Chiusi.

³⁶ Accession number 1971.746 H. (max.): 0.955m. H.(of plinth): 0.075m. Western Asiatic marble. C. VERMEULE in *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann*, Cambridge (Mass.) [1971], p.171; *Centennial Acquisitions*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [1970], pp.28f., No.13.

³⁷ See Sotheby catalogue, 26th November 1968, Nos.173, 174; Sotheby catalogue, 1st December 1969, No.170.

³⁸ M. BIEBER: *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, p.23, Figs.45f.

³⁹ H.: 0.645m. Western Asiatic Marble. *Art of the Ancients: Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, Andre Emmerich Gallery Inc., New York [1968], p.48, No.59. Also Sotheby Sale, 26th November 1968, p.71, No.172. From southern Asia Minor.



63. *Architectural Head*. Italic, 150 B.C. or later.



64. *Aphrodite-Tyche and Eros*, about A.D. 200.



65. *Tyche-Fortuna of a Greek Imperial City*, about A.D. 200.



66. Another view of the statue illustrated in Fig. 65.



67. *Aphrodite-Hygeia*, about A.D. 200. (J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.)

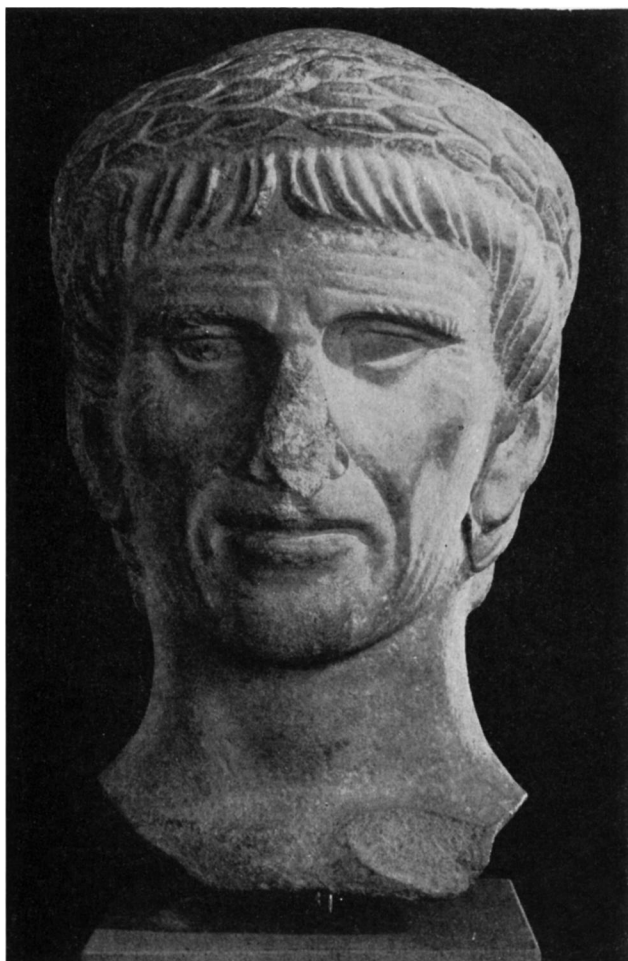
Sculptures from the Benjamin and Lucy Rowland Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



68. *Funerary Urn of Cassius*, about A.D. 200.



69. Another view of the Urn illustrated in Fig.68.



70. *Frederick II, Hohenstaufen*, about A.D. 1240.



71. *Lady of Divine Aspect*. Late Antonine Period, about A.D. 175 to 180.

which the ensemble has been carved is a simple slab, without profile.

Figures of the draped Aphrodite are rare in Greek or Roman imperial times but do occur on coins.⁴⁰ There was evidently a cult of the goddess as patroness of cities in Asiatic provinces from Ionia to Pisidia. The iconographic type, known from at least one full-sized statue found in this region, recalls Tyche rather than the goddess from Kos, Knidos, or Cyprus. Among many parallels, including the Rowland statue just discussed, a bronze from the De Clerq collection can be adduced.⁴¹ It is perhaps best to think of this small statue as a Tyche, one of many from cities such as Cremna in Pisidia, with the special attributes of Aphrodite-Venus rather than the Graeco-Roman Fortuna.

A nearly lifesized Greek imperial statue of about the same date in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, however, shows that a related type could be made into a Hygeia (Getty Museum, acc. No.A. 71.S-220) (Fig.67). Here Eros sleeps on the divinity's right not her left side, and she holds an egg(?) in the right (rather than the left) hand, which is raised. The *puntelli* on the drapery of the Rowland statue can be explained from the Getty marble, where Hygeia's snake is coiling up from the lowered left (rather than the right) hand. Despite these differences, the two statues are not mirror reversals, merely variations on the same theme. Although the canon of the feet is also reversed, the Rowland goddess wears soft boots, while the Getty Hygeia is shod in sandals. Both heads turn slightly downwards to their own left sides, and the arrangements of the long chiton or tunic, and enveloping himation or cloak, differ considerably. The Rowland statue is softer, more refined in its surfaces, more like the Rowland Tyche-Fortuna just discussed, and the two Rowland marbles probably originated in the same (Aphrodisian?) workshop.

FUNERARY URN OF CASSIUS, Graeco-Roman, Roman Imperial Period, Circa A.D. 200 (Fig.68, 69)

This small, sarcophagus-like cinerary chest or urn shows the Triumph of Dionysos combined with the scene of the Death of Pentheus at the hands of the Maenads, or at the hands of his mother Agaue and her sister Ino.⁴² Dionysos is supported by the satyr Ampelos, and two more satyrs, an old Silenos, a raving Maenad, and a gnarled tree fill the vertical space. The lid shows a bearded Silenos reclining to the right and a Maenad in similar posture to the left. An Eros brings a wreath to one, while a second Eros is offering a beaker to the other, all in a schema taken from the lids of Roman Season Sarcophagi. Torches, lying towards the viewer, their flames curving upwards with the relief panel, appear on the sides of the lid.

Lid and chest are in excellent condition, with a light yellowish patina. The lid was fastened to the body by three metal clamps; they are now lost, but their rectangular cuttings remain on lid and body. The sculptured surfaces are also in first-class condition, with some remains of rootmarks and a light, yellowish patina.

The inscription reads: D.M.L. CASSI.COLONIANI.EQ.R. VIXIT.ANN.XXXV., 'To the Gods and Shades, Lucius Cassius Colonus (the son of) Colonianus a Roman Knight. He

lived thirty-five years.' The date is between about A.D. 180 and 220, and the entire ensemble, lid and body, is an excellent essay in later Roman imperial mythological sculpture reduced from the scale of a monumental wall-painting or a large sarcophagus relief to the area of this chest. The style is vigorous, the drill being used for many details, as was the case with larger sarcophagi in the third century A.D.⁴³

To sum up, this sepulchral chest provides a virtually perfect presentation on a small scale, in two types of perspective, of the scenes of the triumph of Dionysos usually found on large sarcophagi. The whole monument is a superlative demonstration of Late Antique mythological compositions based on Hellenistic paintings.

LADY IN QUASI-DIVINE GUISE (Fig.71)

Full of character and individuality, despite visible damages to nose and chin, this anonymous portrait presents the subject in somewhat ideal fashion.⁴⁴ The complete statue must have shown this mature young lady of slightly plump but decided features, ones with character, as a goddess, perhaps as a draped Persephone or as an Artemis similarly clad. The hair is bound in a fillet above the forehead, drawn back in wavy strands, and knotted with the ribbon behind. A heavy ring of braids, like that of a Hellenistic Aphrodite, encircles the crown, although they do not quite come to a topknot. These braids are attractively looped and divided. The face is a moving illustration of late Antonine emotionalism, the head turned slightly sideways and the eyes upwards as if inspired by the unseen or unrevealed beyond.

There are close parallels for all aspects of this head in and from Asia Minor. A battered portrait in the Museum at Canakkale, also of the late Antonine period, has the same little locks of hair before the ears and the same eyes, featuring two little drill-holes beside a ridge to represent the highlights for the pupils.⁴⁵ The manner of arranging the hair continues in the same atelier of portraitists in marble, and presumably bronze, into the period of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222 to 235), as revealed in a fragmentary head in the British Museum from Ephesos.⁴⁶

FREDERICK II, HOHENSTAUFEN (Fig.70)

He wears a stylized oak wreath, a *corona civica*. A small hole on the top of the head just behind the wreath must be for a pin, a hat or 'meniskos' to keep pigeons from sitting on the statue and dirtying it. The breaks around the base of the neck and at the start of the shoulders would suggest the head and neck had been inserted in a draped statue.⁴⁷ Since the underside has been fini-

⁴⁰ M. BERNHART: 'Aphrodite auf griechischen Münzen' (Munich [n.d.]) pl.2f. The type recalls Tyche statues rather than Aphrodites, one for many being a bronze of the De Clerq Collection.

⁴¹ A. DE RIDDER: *Les bronzes*, Paris [1904], pl.50, p.323. It is perhaps best to see this small statue as a Tyche, one of many from cities such as Cremna in Pisidia, with the special attributes of Aphrodite-Venus rather than the Graeco-Roman Fortuna.

⁴² H. (with lid): 0.372m. W.: 0.325m. Thickness or depth: 0.25m. Crystalline white marble from the Greek islands or western Asia Minor. *The Benjamin and Lucy Rowland Fund 1972.356*. From the Art Market in Switzerland. Ex Ars Antiqua Auktion V [1964], No.16, pl.6.

⁴³ See F. MATZ: *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage*, III, (*Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, IV, 3), p.405, note 12 (where other, more monumental sarcophagi are listed and where there is a line on the questionable authenticity of this urn). This cinerarium is unusual, to be sure, both for its late date and the complexity of its reliefs, but there are other parallels, in and from collections in Rome, for such urns in the third century A.D. The standard, temple-form, rectangular, sarcophagus-like Roman cinerary chest of the late Augustan through Hadrianic periods has floral designs, garlands and boukrania, or merely architectural embellishments on its surfaces, as the Hadrianic example in the British Museum from Crowe's tomb at Benghazi: D. M. BAILEY: *Annual of the British School at Athens* 67 [1972], p.10, pl.4 c,d.

⁴⁴ H. (max.): 0.28m. Marble from the Greek islands or western Asia Minor, with strong crystals. *The Benjamin and Lucy Rowland Fund 1973*. From a private collection in central Europe, and said to have been found in Asia Minor.

⁴⁵ J. INAN, E. ROSENBAUM: *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor*, London [1966], p.110, No.112, pl.LXVI, Figs.3-4.

⁴⁶ J. INAN, E. ROSENBAUM, *op. cit.*, p.136, No.165, pl.XCVI, Figs.3-4.

⁴⁷ Accession number 48.1971 H.: 0.41m. Gray marble from Italy or Asia Minor (?). The nose is broken away, and a section around the left ear is re-joined. B. ROWLAND, *Pantheon* 31 [1973], pp. 351-56.

shed, the portrait could have been a bust rather than a full-length figure.

The Emperor Frederick II symbolized or actively inspired a Classical revival in Italy from Capua to Amalfi or Brindisi in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Gold coins with his portrait and a few rare monumental marble likenesses formed a part of this attempt to revive Roman imperial grandeur at the early waning of the Middle Ages. In one marble portrait, the court sculptor has used a likeness of Augustus Caesar as his model.⁴⁸ Here, it would seem, the inspiration has come from a sculptural likeness of the fourth Emperor, Claudius (A.D. 41 to 54). Indeed, there might be the possibility that an ancient Roman imperial portrait, presumably of this same Emperor, had been recut to create the image of Frederick II.⁴⁹ This image was certainly designed to adorn one of his major triumphal monuments, perhaps the arch of Capua of which a number of other Classically-inspired sculptures are known. Perhaps because of its imperial civic crown, the Rowland Frederick II is more of a brooding power and less of an academic curiosity than any of the other surviving portraits of this enlightened ruler or his political advisors.

THE ancient marbles from the Rowland collection span nearly two thousand years of history, from the early Classicism of Myron in the Aegean around 450 B.C. through the Hohenstaufen revival near Naples or Brindisi in the first half of the thirteenth century A.D. to the early High Renaissance in Northern Italy. These sculptures in the main reflect very accurately the tastes of Professor and Mrs Rowland in all aspects of their collecting, an interest in the ideal human form, in iconography, and in glyptic creations which stimulate further scholarship. The Rowlands have always been most generous in lending works of art from their collections, and some of these marbles have been shown many times at the Museum of Fine Arts, while others have been on continuous view in the Classical Gallery of the Fogg Museum in Cambridge.

With his bequest to the Department of Classical (Greek and Roman) Art of the Museum of Fine Arts, Professor Rowland included a group of post-Renaissance drawings (Pozzo) after the Antique. This combination of Greek sculpture and all aspects of its survival, its intellectual preservation, provides a full measure of his renowned humanism.

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

⁴⁸ B. ROWLAND: *The Classical Tradition in Western Art*, Chapter 23, p.129, Fig.89; C. VERMEULE: *European Art and the Classical Past*, Cambridge (Mass.) [1964] pp.25, 27.

⁴⁹ Compare, for example, the youthful head of Claudius in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, No.649: F. S. KLEINER, *AJA* 75 [1971], p.393, pl.86, Figs.5, 6, a relationship discussed with Professor Rowland.

Obituary

Francesco Arcangeli

WITHIN the last ten or fifteen years Italy has lost a number of her best writers, art critics and painters. We all remember Ungaretti, Cecchi, Morandi, Longhi, Fiocco. They were all born in the mid-eighteen-eighties or around 1890. Francesco Arcangeli belonged to the generation of Longhi's pupils; a man of many gifts, a poet, an essayist, art scholar and critic; he became in his later years the successor of Longhi and Bottari at the University of Bologna. He belonged undoubtedly to the inner circle of Longhi's *scuola* though his approach and temperament contradicted the normal categories of art-historical discipline. His romantic sensibility and his critical sense were sometimes at loggerheads. In the *scuola* of Longhi one could imagine X to be an infallible connoisseur, Y a better philologist, but nobody had,

in my opinion, Arcangeli's gift to respond to the work of art, to take it in with eye and heart, and to identify with it. He was not a specialist in any particular field: old painting as well as the art of the nineteenth century and that of his contemporaries aroused his critical acumen. His ideas and discoveries were dispersed over a great many articles in magazines and introductions to catalogues, for the conditions of his life and his uncertain health made it impossible for him to produce 'weighty' books – with one exception, the monograph on Morandi. However, the art of the *Val Padana* – Lombardy and Emilia – remained the centre of his scholarly work which was influenced to a high degree by Longhi's university course (the latter has become legendary). It is of course Longhi's merit to have brought back to life the painters of the Trecento in Lombardy and Emilia out of the dark ages of the Berenson era. The naturalistic, lyrical, colourful and 'popular' approach of a Vitale da Bologna or Jacopino di Francesco were opposed to the refined and ultimately academic conceptions of the Tuscan and Sienese artists. These particular qualities of the art of *Val Padana* which can be considered specific to the *genius loci*, were held by Arcangeli to be perceptible in the general evolution of the art of that region; thus he brought together an exhibition in Bologna (1970) which, under the heading of *Natura e espressione*, showed a disparate number of works: by Vitale, Jacopino, Andrea di Bartolo, Aspertini, Ludovico Carracci, G. M. Crespi and Morandi. Arcangeli saw an 'affinity' between these artists. This experiment was received with scepticism and did not carry weight with his colleagues.

Only his friends could perceive that this exhibition should be seen as a sort of autobiography, as his *profession de foi*. In this spirit too one should read the important introduction to the catalogue with its pathetic last sentences. As already hinted he never produced a general survey of 'his' Bolognese trecento artists. We must be satisfied with casual observations but can clearly perceive in his approach a constant thread: Arcangeli was attracted by Northern, transalpine art while the renaissance equilibrium remained foreign to him; he felt more at home with Romanesque than with Classical art. A particular sentiment inherent in his philosophy as a whole, determined his relation to the work of art as a physical object. It is obvious that Bolognese *cordialità*, with all its implications, played an important role in his appreciation of artists like Tommaso da Modena, Ludovico Carracci or G. M. Crespi. One is struck by the fact that Arcangeli always felt attracted by artists from the far North whose destiny was tragic – Munch, van Gogh, Soutine. As I have said there were no barriers to his critical sensitivity, no hiatus between old and modern art.

I remember how he linked impressionist landscapes to verses by Verlaine and Rimbaud; he had a particular gift of finding equivalents in poetry for the impressions evoked by figurative art. He sided early with some painters from his homeland as well as from abroad and took great interest in the informal art of the Americans; one remembers how much he appreciated *Gli ultimi naturalisti*, particularly Morlotti, and how much sympathy he showed for Burri's fantasies. But the full measure of his critical and literary gifts were reserved for his monograph on Morandi. Only very few people have read it; an evil fate ruled over it. I do not think it necessary to revive the whole story. Its sad sequel was that the friendship between the painter and his biographer went to pieces. Now that they have both passed away, and Bologna's cultural life has become impoverished, it seems in retrospect that a kind of *Wahlverwandschaft* existed between them. Their integrity, their humour, their resignation, their Leopardian melancholy link both in my memory.

It will not be difficult to imagine on which side Arcangeli would have come down in the recently revived discussion on Classicism *versus* romanticism; his predilection throughout was



The Westmacott Jupiter: An Enthroned Zeus of Late Antique Aspect

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The Westmacott Jupiter: An Enthroned Zeus of Late Antique Aspect

Introduction

The J. Paul Getty Museum is rich in masterpieces of Greek and Roman sculpture, works like the Lansdowne Herakles, the Mazarin Venus, or the Crouching Aphrodite from Sir Francis Cook's and Lord Anson's collections which were as famous in their homes in the British Isles or western Europe as they are now at Malibu. Catalogues, guides, standard histories of Classical art, and specialized articles have featured these statues and reliefs. Under the direction of Burton Fredericksen and his colleagues, the Getty Museum has also acquired a number of Greek and Roman sculptures of prime interest to students of ancient civilization rather than chiefly to critics and admirers of ancient beauty. One of these statues is discussed in these pages. Like many other marbles in the Getty Museum, the Westmacott Jupiter has the virtue of having once belonged to a distinguished Briton, a leading exponent of official sculpture in marble in the New-Classic style, and of having acquired an important pedigree in the days of Queen Victoria, if not at an even earlier date.

The Westmacott Jupiter has gone virtually unnoticed for its contribution to Greek imperial art, and on this count alone the statue merits consideration at this time. I should like to dedicate this short study to Professor Bernard Ashmole, from whom I learned much about Greek sculpture in the United Kingdom a quarter of a century ago, and with whom in recent years I have discussed many of the marbles in the J. Paul Getty Museum both in person and by correspondence. As a connoisseur, his eye has few rivals; as a teacher, he yields to no one in kindness and understanding.

The Statue

One of the ugliest, in classical terms, and, seemingly, least interesting small statues in the J. Paul Getty Museum may have been a cult-image of considerable ethnic and political significance, and may prove to be both important and rewarding in identifying the latest, pre-Christian stages of pagan antiquity in the Roman Empire (Figs. 1a,b and 2a,b,c,d). The statue came most immediately from Laguna Beach. Long before acquisition by Mr. Getty, the ensemble had been mentioned and recorded as part of the small collection of the British Neo-Classic sculptor Sir Richard Westmacott (1775 to 1856) in London. In his survey of the classical and related antiquities in the British Isles, Adolph Michaelis wrote,

- 1) A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge 1882, p. 486; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, I (*Clarac de poche*) Paris 1906, p. 193, no. 1 (Clarac, III, 410A, 669B). Miss Mary Comstock, Professor Jiri Frel, Mr. and Mrs. Kyriakos Nicolaou, and Miss Marion True have helped me in preparing this article.
- 2) G. Ferrari, *Il Commercio dei sarcofagi asiatici*, Rome 1966, p. 115,

in 1882, "At the residence of WESTMACOTT, the sculptor, Count Clarac, in the year 1833, found a number of marbles with regard to the actual whereabouts of which I have no information to give. Clarac had published the following statues or statuettes, apparently for the most part rather seriously restored." Michaelis listed number one as, "Statuette of Serapis, restored as Zeus"¹ (Fig. 3).

The right arm and hand with a thunderbolt and the left with a scepter-staff are now missing. They may have been restorations, as Michaelis has suggested, but this question should have little effect on the iconography of the statue as a whole. Such parallels as do exist might suggest a phiale or patera as a better attribute for the extended right hand.

The arrangement of the chiton under the himation and the rows of four curls over the brow (Fig. 4a,b,c,d) are characteristics of Sarapis rather than Zeus, but the fact that the himation is pulled up over the back of the head and that there are two eagles, or the remains of same, as supports for the arms of the throne would confirm that this is a representation of Zeus derived from the Graeco-Roman statues of Sarapis in the Hellenistic tradition. This particular version, by its sculptural detail, certainly dates no earlier than the Severan period of the Roman Empire. A clue to dating the statue in the third century A.D., perhaps as late as the beginning of the last quarter of the century, seems to be provided by the eagle on the surviving armrest, the style of the drapery, and the cutting of the feet on a statue or very high relief of Zeus, evidently from an Asiatic sarcophagus, published as in the Museum at Konya (Iconium).² This handsome fragment, a superlative demonstration of classicism's survival and modification in the later Hellenistic to imperial worlds, might also confirm an atelier in western Asia Minor as ultimate origin for the "Westmacott Jupiter."

Related Statues

The Hadrianic or early Antonine enthroned Zeus from Salamis on Cyprus offers a good comparison in more traditional, Greek imperial terms (Fig. 5). While earlier in date by about a century, this Zeus from the major city of later Roman Cyprus is a sculpture of equal quality, with greater fluidity of body and confident simplicity of drapery, as befits excellent carving based ultimately on an older prototype. The upper torso is bare, not covered by a chiton, in the tradition of the Jupiter Capitolinus and, ultimately, of the Pheidian Zeus.³ The small statue

pl. 27, fig. 3.

3) V. Karageorghis, C. Vermeule, *Sculptures from Salamis*, I, Nicosia 1964, pp. 31f., no. 25, pl. XXIX; volume III, forthcoming, will document the rediscovery (mentioned and illustrated in the excavation reports of 1969) and rejoining of the eagle's head. J. Frel reminds me that the seated "Capitoline" Jupiter with the Macon treasure indicates

from the Gymnasium at Salamis also provides an excellent illustration of the relationship between this figure and the widely-diffused, early Hellenistic images of Sarapis, to be discussed presently, for a seated Sarapis of similar date, in bluish-gray Cypriote marble with Parian extremities, was also found in the Gymnasium and bath complex at Cypriote Salamis. The so-called "Infernal Jupiter" in the British Museum presents another comparable, in many respects more timely statue and also serves as an iconographic middle ground between the Capitoline Jupiter and the Hellenistic Sarapis. The "Infernal Jupiter" has the three-headed dog Cerberus and the traditional eagle either side of the footrest, but otherwise the statue agrees in all other respects with the "Westmacott Jupiter" as a probable representation of Zeus in his non-Egyptian aspects as Hades.⁴ It seems possible but not likely that a small figure of Cerberus occupied the broken area of the plinth near the right foot of the Westmacott statue.

A full description of the Jupiter or Zeus in the British Museum and comments on this statue are based on A.H. Smith's catalogue of the classical sculpture in that collection. The "Chthonian or Infernal Zeus", both arms restored, was purchased by Charles Towneley in Rome in 1773 and appears frequently in later Neo-Classic literature.⁵ "He is seated on a throne with a footstool. He has long flowing hair, bound with a taenia; *a chiton with short sleeves, a large mantle* (italics mine), and sandals. The figure is restored as holding a thunderbolt and sceptre. On the right of the throne is an eagle, and on the left Cerberus. The combination of these symbols indicates that in this statue the Olympian and Chthonian divinities are united in one type. Such mixed types were common in late Roman art. 2nd cent. A.D. (?)." This statue thus not only bespeaks a fusion of the traditional images of Zeus with those of Sarapis, as conceived at the outset of the Hellenistic age, but also follows the main details of the "Westmacott Jupiter" insofar as they can be divined from Clarac's plate or the work, in both instances, of the restorer.

The same processes of modification from several prototypes, seen in the London and Malibu statues, also

characterized other cult-statues in the late Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods. These processes can be adduced in the development of small marble figures of Tyche-Fortuna, based on older images of the enthroned Hera or of Demeter and circulated in varying forms from east to west and vice versa in the Roman Empire. The relationship with major models of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. soon became lost or at least blurred, and the attributes of these Roman imperial images could be interchanged, or the positions of the arms altered, to create new variations on old stereotypes.⁶ Routine though this may seem to the modern eye accustomed to viewing Greek sculpture in the light of Pheidias (his Zeus at Olympia) or Polykleitos (the Hera at Argos), this predictable elaboration of old stereotypes was a standard aesthetic practice in the creation of new devotional sculptures in the four hundred years from 75 B.C. to 325 of the Christian era. The Westmacott-Getty Zeus represents a creative phase in ancient sculpture which can only be explained against the background of a multi-national Graeco-Roman world in which traditions other than those of Athens or Sikyon in the Golden Age shaped the imagery of public temples and private chapels.

The Style of the Westmacott Jupiter

If the "Westmacott Jupiter" seems distorted or ill-formed in terms of traditional concepts of the Pheidian Zeus or its early Hellenistic successors, the marble now at Malibu has its chronological parallel and stylistic counterpart in a monumental bronze statuette in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fig. 6). This Zeus, once seated on a chair, a throne, or even a geographic symbol, held a scepter-staff in the raised right hand and extends a four-sided pyramid with a ball on each corner in the left.⁷ This is a well-documented Greek imperial symbol for Mount Argaeus in Cappadocia, appearing on Antonine to Severan coins of Caesarea. It must, therefore, be concluded that this bronze came from Cappadocia and reproduces a famous late Hellenistic or imperial cult-image in a temple near Caesarea. Its curly head set slightly askew, the elongated upper body, the small lower limbs, and the flat, zig-zag folds of drapery are

the presence of such statuary in Roman cult groups, with a number of gods and goddesses: H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Silver Plate (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the British Museum*, London 1921, pp. 10f., no. 35, pl. VI.

4) S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 184, no. 6.

5) A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, III, London, British Museum, 1904, p. 6, no. 1531. "Restorations: both arms with attributes, head of eagle, part of plinth, and of throne." For varying types of Hades and Zeus, see S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, IV, Paris 1913, pp. 10-11. Compare, also, the bronze in the British Museum, with Zeus-Hades-Sarapis seated, radiate crown and modius on the head, an eagle at the left side, once balanced by a

Cerberus. All this made the perfect, supreme, all-purpose divinity: A. B. Cook, *Zeus, A Study in Ancient Religion*, I, Cambridge 1914, pp. 188-189, fig. 137. Cf. also a Hellenistic terracotta relief in Munich, reproducing a statue of Hades-Sarapis: R. Lullies, *Eine Sammlung griechischer Kleinkunst* (Munich, 1955), no. 208.

6) See the references under L. Budde, R. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge*, Cambridge 1964, pp. 64-65, no. 101, pl. 34. The Sarapis and Cerberus from Salamis is also in Cambridge: Budde, Nicholls, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32, no. 56, pl. 18.

7) Museum of Fine Arts, Accession no. 1972.920; from a private collection in Germany. H.: 0.205m.

characteristics, in their own way, of the enthroned Zeus "Sarapis" in the Getty Museum. It seems reasonable to conclude from these shared stylistic features that this is how the Father of the Gods in cult form came to be represented in the first half of the third century A.D., in a period when, to modern critics examining them in retrospect, many of the principles of Late Antique sculpture become recognizable.

Cult-Images of Zeus or Sarapis

The Father of the Gods is inevitably portrayed half-draped or in the heroic nude. Representation with a chiton covering the chest does relate to the image of Sarapis-Hades-Osiris created for the temple in Alexandria by Bryaxis the Younger around 300 B.C., but other manifestations of the major Greek divinity were fully clothed in variations on the chiton or tunic and himation or cloak. There is ample evidence that the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman worlds saw the creation of cult images in which Zeus was fully clad as befitting the ancient Near Eastern divinities and despots with which he came to be identified or which sought assimilation in his image. Unusual forms of Zeus were expected in the classical world in Syria or Mesopotamia, in Egypt or the desert to the west where Ammon reigned, but western Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Gaul, and Spain demanded, or could tolerate, only minor variations in the traditional iconography of Zeus-Jupiter. It was out of this atmosphere that Zeus came to be clad in garments resembling those of Sarapis in later classical times.

The Westmacott Jupiter and Zeus- Hadad- Jupiter- Ba'al-shamin

There can be little coincidence in the fact that the high relief, half-figure "bust" of Zeus-Hadad from Khirbet Tannur, southeast of Jerusalem and north of Petra in Arabia, is a virtual replica of the Westmacott-Getty figure.⁸ There is, to be sure, little to connect the Julio-Claudian through Antonine sculptures of Arabia with the Severan to mid-third century period of the Roman Empire, save one important historical consideration. The Emperor Philippus I, known as the Arab (A.D. 244 to 249), came from this part of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. It is therefore very plausible that the decade before the middle of the century might have been the time when the Westmacott Jupiter was carved and set up, presumably in Italy, perhaps as a reminder that the Zeus of Syria or Arabia had his place in the most conservative fashion, in the homeland of Jupiter Capitolinus. Such a statue would have had great appeal in a com-

8) N. Glueck, *Deities and Dolphins, The Story of the Nabataeans*, New York 1965, pp. 330, 470, pl. 154.



1a,b The Westmacott Jupiter. J. Paul Getty Museum
70.AA.124. With restorations



3 The statue as published by the Comte de Clarac



2a,b,c,d The Westmacott Jupiter, without restorations. J. Paul Getty Museum, 70.AA.124



munity of Syrians or Arabians settled in Rome, in the Alban Hills, or a port such as Ostia. Since a number of Roman Emperors in the thirty years from A.D. 255 to 285 had intimate connections with the East, there is every additional reason beyond sculptural parallels in Asia Minor (the Zeus at Konya), to date the Westmacott Jupiter in these decades. Other monuments, statuary, reliefs, mosaics, and minor arts, testify to the prosperity of the Oriental communities in Italy during these years.

Zeus and the Roman Emperors

A further reason for presentation of an imperial Zeus in conservative garb may lie in the relationship of this figure with later representations of the Roman emperor as an enthroned magistrate. As the Emperors became more clad in ceremonial and more connected with the obscure parts of the Empire and their customs or costume, a trend toward conservative, Eastern divinities became noticeable, a reaction to the nudity and doubtless the mental liberties of Greece's Golden Age. This form of Zeus carries over into the iconography of Christ in apse mosaics of the churches in Rome of the fourth through the seventh centuries A.D., both in presentations of the enthroned God the Father and similar representations of God the Son.⁹ That the Hellenistic world of about 200 B.C. was prepared for the visual juxtaposition of a half-draped Zeus and a fully-clad, enthroned figure is apparent in the famous "Apotheosis of Homer" relief signed by Archelaos, son of Apollonios of Priene, where Zeus reclines comfortably with his eagle above while Homer sits enthroned and erect, looking exactly like a Hades or Sarapis, in the lowest register below. The transition from the humanistic Zeus to the Jovian Homer, and vice versa, is an easy one to make in statuary, in Graeco-Roman cult images, given the statuesque quality of such figures in reliefs of this nature.¹⁰

Another reason for a shift from the half-draped to the fully-clad Zeus in the Roman imperial period stems from the fact that a clothed Zeus was popular in Archaistic decorative art, in various reliefs created in general imitation of Archaic statues and carvings in relief. Three-sided candelabra, set up in shrines and villas throughout Italy, were particularly cherished vehicles of this art, as the example in Copenhagen reputed to have been found in Campania.¹¹ This form of visual revival of the past

9) See A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 49-51, figs. 23 and 24.

10) Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 129-132, pl. XIII, fig. 98.

11) F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, Copenhagen 1951, p. 210, no. 282, Billedtavler pl. XX: here the standing Zeus holds a scepter and an eagle. This type of Zeus, updated, was very popular in Phrygia and Lycia in Greek imperial times. A terracotta votive lamp of about A.D. 50 shows this Zeus enthroned in a temple, his eagle at his feet; Athena and Hera are visible

doubtless also conditioned the Latin West to the introduction of a Zeus in the full garb of the ancient East. A small bronze statuette in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, presents a modern, Graeco-Roman version of just such a Zeus, standing, carrying a patera in the right hand and an eagle on the left wrist. Although the costume is the classical chiton and himation, it is unusual enough in this context to give the figure as a whole, clearly Zeus or Jupiter from the attribute, an appearance to be equated with the noble past and the philosophic East rather than with the immortal humanism of the major divinities. Dorothy Hill noted, rightly, in cataloguing this statuette, "The complete drapery is unusual and may be due to provincial origin. The date is Roman."¹²

Conclusion

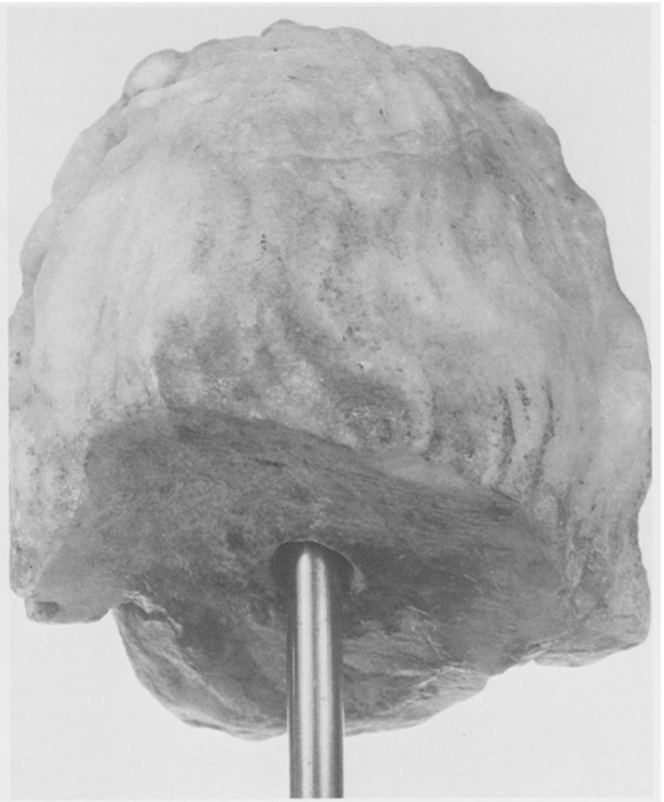
The Westmacott Jupiter is not merely a curiosity of the later Roman imperial age. This statue represents an importation into the Latin West, as a cult-image, of a Zeus which flourished and had developed in Asia Minor, Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, in the last area in relation to the traditional Sarapis of Bryaxis. The aim was to present an alternative to the Jupiter Capitolinus, a conservative variation which would have been palatable to the large communities from the Hellenistic East settled in the commercial centers of the Latin West. The fact that Emperors such as Elagabalus (A.D. 218 to 222) and Philip the Arab came from these regions certainly stimulated an official interest in images such as this.

Ptolemaic Egypt gave to Cyprus a curious, folk-art image of Zeus (Ammon), enthroned and fully draped, in which can be seen echoes of a major statue of the fifth century B.C. (Fig. 7).¹³ The dumpy little god has ram's horns and holds a cornucopia in one hand, a phiale in the other. He wears his himation as a cloak around his shoulders and over the long chiton at his knees. Two rams flank the high-backed throne, serving almost as if they had been elaborately carved armrests on the architypal cult-image. It is a long road from this little Cypriote

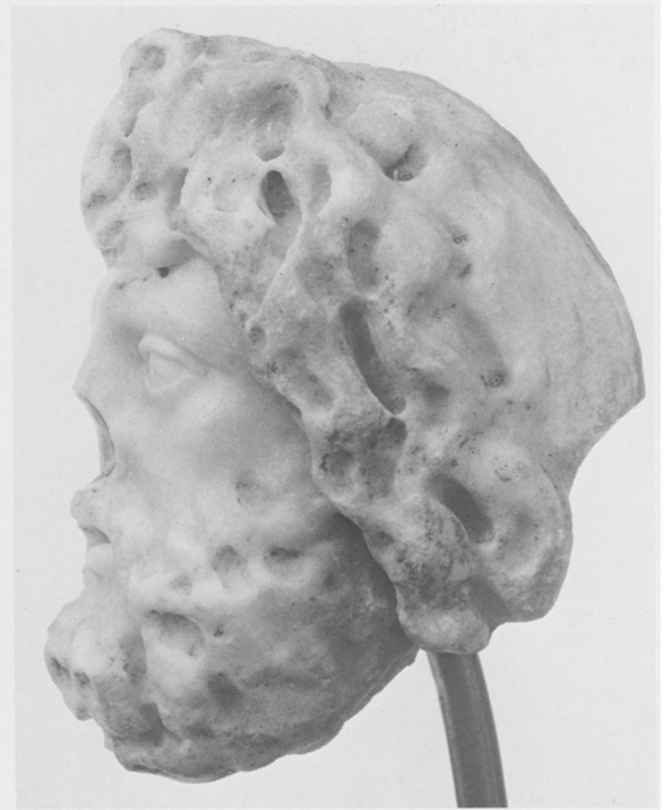
within the columns either side; *Gods and Men in the Allard Pierson Museum*, Amsterdam, 1971, p. 13 (reference kindness of Prof. J. Frel).

12) D. K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore 1949, p. 10, no. 16, pl. 6. The classicizing, late Republican or early imperial, section of the base or comparable architectural panel in the J. Paul Getty Museum, from Rome, features a cult-image of the general type discussed in these pages (a Dionysos like that of Alkamenes in Athens?) being carried in procession in a cart: see *The J. Paul Getty Collection*, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, June 29-September 3, 1972, no. 4.

13) Compare V. Karageorghis, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 87, 1963, pp. 338-339, no. 5, fig. 20 and references. These statuettes are found in clay (terracotta) as well as limestone. They are occasionally equated with the Syrian god Baal Hamman.



4a,b,c,d Head formerly on the Westmacott Jupiter





5

- 5 Zeus from Salamis on Cyprus. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum. Photo courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus



6

- 6 Bronze Zeus after a statue in Cappadocia. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Edwin E. Jack Fund

- 7 Limestone Zeus Ammon, enthroned between two rams. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum. Photo courtesy of Dr. Vassos Karageorghis



7

Zeus Ammon to the immediate world of the Westmacott Jupiter, but common notions of an eastern Hellenistic or Greek imperial Zeus produced parallels of costume and iconography (rams and eagles) for both statues. Set alongside the little Cypriote Zeus Ammon, the Westmacott Jupiter emerges as the largest, one of the grandest, of a series of East Greek cult-images, most of which were circulated in or near the lands of their origin. The Westmacott Jupiter, therefore, is doubly important, not only for its own iconography but also because it brought the draped, enthroned Zeus into the old heart of the Roman Empire in the West.

Cornelius Vermeule
Boston Museum of Fine Arts

Addendum

In the summer of 1974 the Westmacott Zeus was submitted to conservation treatment in the Conservation Department of the J. Paul Getty Museum. The restorations, most of them mentioned in C.C. Vermeule's paper, were removed, as well as the numerous iron pins. As a result, it was concluded that the head does not belong to the body. There is, of course, no material join, but the marble is different and the proportions are not consistent with the body. However the head may have belonged to a comparable piece, or to a similar small statue of a seated Sarapis, as suggested by the three locks of hair hanging over the forehead. The scholarly contribution made by C.C. Vermeule's article is not affected by these material facts.

David Rinne
Jiří Frel



The Weary Herakles of Lysippos

Author(s): Cornelius Vermeule

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The Weary Herakles of Lysippos

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

PLATES 51-55

Abstract

Lysippos created a bronze statue, lifesized or probably larger, of Herakles leaning on his club after supporting the heavens on his shoulders, the apples of the Hesperides in the hand behind his back. The statue was made for Sikyon or Argos, or a copy for each city. The statue must have been cast about the time Alexander the Great died. Early in the Hellenistic period a version was made for Athens, and perhaps around 200 B.C. a baroque styling of the statue was fashioned for Pergamon. The first versions and the later recensions were all copied in various media on scales from colossal to miniature, including coins.

Versions were made for the Greek imperial cities of Asia Minor, and the admiration of Emperor Commodus (about 190) led to statues with the Emperor's features, usually very idealized. The baroque versions, large and small, continued through the era of the Tetrarchs, especially on the coins of Maximianus Herculeus. Toward the end of Antiquity, and sooner, the Weary Herakles became more than just a decorative figure for gymnasia and baths. The Lysippic Herakles stood as a symbol of the cares, imperial, civic, and even spiritual, which the pagan ancients and their Judeo-Christian successors carried on their shoulders.

PROLOGUE

Almost all that antiquity could possibly tell us is known about the ultimate prototype of the Farnese Hercules. The traveler and geographer Pausanias, in the second century A.D., mentions a bronze Herakles by Lysippos in the agora-complex at Sikyon on the northern coast of the Peloponnese. The antiquarian rhetorician Libanios of Antioch, two centuries later, describes a weary, resting Herakles in loving detail.¹ Such a statue, with the

head modelled to resemble the Roman Emperor Commodus (ruled 178 to 192), was found in the sixteenth century in a garden wall amid the ruins of the imperial palaces on the Palatine Hill in Rome. This version, an overlifesized statue in marble, now in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, bears the ancient "signature," "Work of Lysippos."² Furthermore, this very statue, or one like it, perhaps the Farnese colossus from the Baths of Caracalla, now in Naples and signed by a certain Glykon of Athens, appears on Roman imperial medallions of Commodus struck in the last two years of his rule, when he was extravagant in his devotion to the cults of the Roman Hercules.³ One of Glykon's Herculese (there were two of the same size) in the Baths of Caracalla was mentioned in an early (to middle?) third century A.D. papyrus inventory of works of art in the imperial capital.⁴

Given this, and more, information, Franklin Plotinus Johnson, in his definitive study *Lysippos* published in 1928, identified at least fifty marble and bronze statues, torsos and heads based in varying ways on the concept of the aging hero, leaning on his club, over which has been draped the skin of the Nemean lion, Herakles' first and most celebrated labor or conquest.⁵ Certain statues, notably a marble in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, were thought to be "purer" reflections of Lysippos's original statue in bronze, and other statues or statuettes in various media were singled out as later variations or contaminations of the prototype. With these conclusions and deductions as a basis, study of the weary, resting Herakles by Lysippos has not really made much progress in the past forty-

¹ J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece, 1400-31 B.C.* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1964) 148-49.

² E. Sjöqvist, *Lysippos, Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple*, II (University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio 1966) 28.

³ C. Vermeule, "Herakles Crowning Himself," *JHS* 77 (1957) 13-15, pl. III, especially no. 12. Medallions of the year 192, Commodus's last, show a Weary Herakles with the Emperor's portrait, as in certain statues to be discussed presently: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Roman Medallions*, Boston 1962, pl. 5, no. 45.

⁴ E. Paribeni, *Sculture greche*, Museo Nazionale Romano (Rome 1954) 25, under no. 26; C. Vermeule, *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (New York 1964) 370; idem, *The Burlington*

Magazine 110 (1968) 552. Post-Antique history of the Farnese Hercules: H. von Hülsen, *Römische Funde* (Berlin-Frankfurt 1960) 44-51. R. Lanciani reported (*Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* [Boston and New York 1888] 153) that the "torso (was) discovered in the baths of Caracalla, the head at the bottom of a well in Trastevere, the legs in the farm of 'le Frattocchie,' ten miles from Rome." One wonders if the Farnese Hercules is all one statue or if, like the Capitoline Mars Ultor, it might incorporate parts of several replicas.

⁵ F.P. Johnson, *Lysippos* (Durham, North Carolina 1928) 197-200. See also, J.J. Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art: Criticism, History, and Terminology* (New Haven 1974) 429, and note 9.

five years. The modern monographs have concentrated on limited aspects of the master's style. Certain creations, whether large marbles or tabletop bronzes, all Graeco-Roman copies (or late Hellenistic versions at best), have been singled out at random as statements of what the great Sikyonian master originally intended. All recent writers have been united in commenting on the popularity, influence, and longevity of the Weary Herakles as a key document of ancient sculpture.

Although the statue appears in miniature as a city-badge on a Peloponnesian (Sikyonian or Argive) silver tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, struck before the end of the fourth century B.C., certain critics have argued that the Weary Herakles by Lysippos stood not in the market-place or gymnasium at Sikyon but in or near the Agora of Athens.⁶ Support for these suppositions comes, it is said, from the fact that a small bronze and a small marble version, the former thought to be very "pure" in stylistic terms, have been found in the excavations of the "Greek" or old Agora.⁷ Also the figure appears on Greek imperial (Hadrianic or later) bronze coins of Athens, in a series featuring the famous statues, reliefs, and paintings of the city. Finally, the fact that Pausanias does not describe the bronze Herakles by Lysippos at Sikyon, and Libanios does not state where or by whom was the weary Herakles he praises so lovingly, leaves the matter of original location open to some doubt.

Reexamination of the fifty or so versions listed by F.P. Johnson, plus consideration of evidence brought to light in more recent years, enables one to trace the chronology of the Lysippic Herakles and its later variations from about 320 B.C., when the first statue was made, to the period around A.D. 215, when the Baths of Caracalla in Rome

were more or less completed. Most critics of Greek sculpture are agreed that Lysippos created his life-sized or larger bronze statue (bronze was his favorite medium) relatively late in his long career. Several modern writers have gone further, suggesting that the type of the resting Herakles known from marble copies in Copenhagen, Dresden, Boston, and elsewhere was an earlier creation by Lysippos on the same theme, a bronze fashioned under the influence of Attic or Polykleitan sculpture about 360 B.C.⁸ This Herakles, in turn, relates to the Meleager attributed to Skopas (pl. 51, fig. A), to the Polykleitan or later funerary boy known as the Narcissus, and to the Asklepios of Attic votive reliefs late in the fifth century B.C., or even to the elders, eponymous heroes, or heralds of the Parthenon Frieze.

Selective grouping of the Weary Herakles will reveal that the small statues or statuettes found in Athens derive not from the bronze (or bronzes) by Lysippos but from a Hellenistic modification, doubtless also in bronze, of the lost original. This modernized variation of the master's work has likewise not survived. Despite lack of specific evidence, of a statement giving ironclad information, it may be supposed that the statue by Lysippos was set up in a public place in the city of Sikyon or possibly at Argos. Reasons for these suppositions become clearer when the selective groups of statues are examined.

THE WEARY HERAKLES: CLASSIFICATION INTO FOUR GROUPS

COPIES CLOSEST TO THE ORIGINAL

A line of descent for the Weary Herakles by Lysippos almost to Late Antiquity can be traced in the so-called colossal versions, all of which also exist in the smaller creations made at various times

⁶ E.T. Newell, S.P. Noe, *The Alexander Coinage of Sikyon*, Numismatic Studies No. 6 (The American Numismatic Society, New York 1950) 17, no. 27, pls. VIII, XVIII; E. Sjöqvist, *Lysippos*, figs. 17, 18, 19 (the tetradrachm and a detail of the city-badge). Athenian origins of the statue: Al. N. Oikonomides, in *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art* (Chicago 1964) lvi, 169, pl. 2, etc. A.W. Lawrence, *Greek and Roman Sculpture* (London 1972) 207 (perhaps after the bronze original in the market-place of Sikyon). G. Lippold, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, III, 1 (Munich 1950) 281-82 (perhaps identical with the statue from Sikyon). G.M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven 1950) 290 (may have been the statue mentioned by ancient writers as having stood in the market-place of Sikyon).

⁷ D.B. Thompson, *Miniature Sculpture from the Athenian Agora* (Princeton 1959) fig. 57. The other (Argive or Siky-

onian) Herakles of Lysippos could well be the statue shown in the center of a palaestra colonnade, with an Apoxyomenos, on Graeco-Roman "Campana" architectural terracotta plaques, a figure also revised in Pergamene Hellenistic versions as well as, later, in Graeco-Roman copies. See Allard Pierson Museum, *Algemeene Gids* (Amsterdam 1937) 54, under no. 516, pl. XXVIII; *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art, The Classical Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston 1972) 238, 273, fig. 276b.

⁸ W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen* (Munich 1969) 101-103, figs. 94 (Copenhagen Herakles), 95 (Farnese Hercules). Libanios (*Ekphraseis*, XV; see above, note 1: J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece*, 148) may give the statue's location, "For Herakles rested there, . . . as Argos received him after he destroyed the lion." He is clearly describing the canonical Weary Herakles, not the earlier (Copenhagen) type.

after their prototypes. The large-scale, marble fragment of head, neck and start of shoulders in Basel is the progenitor of Group One, closest to the original by Lysippos. (pl. 51, fig. 1) This first group also includes (where not specified the statue or statuette has been carved in some form of marble):

1. The majestic scale of the Basel fragment, widely published in all recent works on Greek sculpture and on Lysippos, can best be appreciated in relation to the education of children. M. Schmidt, "Schüler führen Kinder," *Museums Kunde* 1971/1972, fig. p. 87.
2. An unfinished statuette found on Delos, so-called House of Hermes. The lower legs and plinth are missing. J. Marcadé, *BCH* 77 (1953) 564f., no. 10, fig. 54.
3. Torso from Rome, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, (Sir) John D. Beazley gift. The left arm and upper part of the support (lion's-skin and club) of this small, sensitive statue have been preserved, the right hand holds a single apple behind the back. *Catalogue*, no. 573, pl. 75.
4. Statue from the Gymnasion at Salamis. Three apples appear in the hand behind the right hip. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum. V. Karageorghis, C. Vermeule, *Sculptures from Salamis*, I, Nicosia 1964, 17f, pl. 15. (pl. 51, fig. 2)
5. Approximately lifesized head in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Acc. no. 18.145-14, from Rome. Modelling of hair and beard are vigorous. G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1954, 77, no. 130. (pl. 51, fig. 3a; pl. 52, fig. 3b)
6. Miniature head in the Metropolitan Museum, no. 131. Acc. no. 23.160.46, from Italy. A fillet adorns the head, and the beard has been exaggerated. Both these heads are G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures*, pl. XCIX.
7. Head in a private collection in Bavaria. H. (to start of the neck): 0.28 m. The date and details parallel the larger head in New York (no. 5), although here the copyist, a master of the Antonine period of the Roman Empire, has put a good touch of Hellenistic naturalism into the lines of the forehead and the curves of the cheek. He has also used the deep and running drills with vigor and considerable imagination.

THE HELLENISTIC MODIFICATIONS

The overlifesized marble heads at Newby Hall, Yorkshire, and in the British Museum, London, copy a Hellenistic, probably Pergamene variant of about 200 B.C.⁹ They are Numbers 1A and 1B in

this group. Other examples in Group Two comprise:

2. Head and start of the shoulders in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. no. 27.122.18. Acquired in Italy, this fragment sets forth the Hellenistic style in a clear, precise manner; the quality is excellent. G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures*, no. 129, pl. XCVIII. (pl. 52, fig. 4a, b, c)
3. Statue in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Although patched and restored, this is a good, academic copy of the Hellenistic modification. G.A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, Le sculpture*, I, Rome 1958, 58f.
4. Statue in the Villa Borghese, Rome. The copyist's work is freer and somewhat rougher than that of the Uffizi statue but the condition of this marble seems somewhat better. F.P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, 198, no. 5, pls. 38f.
5. Composite capital in the Tepidarium of the Baths of Caracalla, Rome. The Herakles is carved as an almost-freestanding statue against the foliage of the architectural background. E. von Mercklin, *Antike Figuralkapitelle*, Berlin 1962, 158, no. 385a, pl. 97, fig. 752.
6. Bronze statuette, said to have been found at Alexandria, in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Inv. no. 54.1005. Although worn and bereft of major attributes, with a filleted wreath on the head, right foot and plinth missing, this is a careful, well-modelled figure, full of vitality. D.K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture*, Baltimore 1947, 49f, no. 97, pl. 24.
7. Bronze statuette in the Athenian Agora. Attributes under the left arm and plinth are now missing, but this is a handsome, powerful, and very expressive small figure. D.B. Thompson, *Miniature Sculpture from the Athenian Agora*, Princeton 1959, fig. 57.
8. Bronze statuette from "Terrace-house II" at Pergamon. Although routine work, now having an encrusted surface, this statuette lacks only the club under the lion's-skin to be complete. *AA* 1966, 441, figs. 22a and b.
9. Bronze statuette from Foligno or Perugia. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Long famed for its quality and completeness, this large statuette gives an excellent image of how the Hellenistic (Pergamene) world interpreted Lysippos. C.M. Havelock, *Hellenistic Art*, Greenwich (Conn.) 1969, 119f, fig. 81.
10. Small limestone statue, the head, right arm, legs below the middle of the thighs, the support below this point, and (naturally) the plinth missing. Despite the material, this northwestern

⁹ Newby Hall head: *Einzelaufnahmen* (hereafter *EA*), no. 4935; Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque, La sculpture*, IV, 2 (Paris 1963) 591, fig. 251. British Museum head: A.H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture* (London 1908) 95-96, no. 1736;

F.P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, 200, no. 1; M. Collignon, *Lysippe* (Paris 1905) 105, pl. 20 (one of the few accessible photographs of this important, very Roman copy).

- provincial version reflects a good model. Valkenburg, found outside the limits of the *castellum*. *FA XVIII-XIX* (1963-1964) (published 1968) 613, no. 9071, pl. XXXVI, fig. 111 (information furnished by L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford).
11. Bronze statue in the Villa Torlonia-Albani, Rome, a variant with left arm out, from a Telephos and the hind group (?). The lower arms are said to be wrongly restored, but this may be the copyist's position. M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1961, 37, fig. 79. The latest definitive publication states that only the rock on which the club rests is restored; the copyist, therefore, has borrowed his modifications from the pre-Lysippic (Copenhagen-Dresden-Boston) statue of the Weary Herakles: Hans von Steuben, in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die Sammlungen in Rom*, IV, Tübingen 1972, 253, no. 3279.
 12. Small marble statue, considerably repaired and probably restored, but the classification seems clear. The head *may* belong. Florence, Lung' Arno Corsini, 10. *Einzelaufnahmen*, no. 4074.
 13. Large South Italian terracotta statuette, a showy sculpture, needing careful firsthand examination. London, Art Market. Christie's Sale, 18 October 1972, 33, no. 111, pl. VII.
 14. Bust or fragment of a statue. London, British Museum, no. 1735, the Payne Knight Bequest and presumably from Italy. Nose, right ear, and bust have been restored. A.H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, 95, no. 1735, fig. 14.
 15. Bronze statuette. Detroit, Dr. and Mrs. Irving F. Burton. The head is wreathed; the condition is good. D.G. Mitten, S.F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1969, 249, fig. 238.
 16. Bronze statuette. Musée de Mariemont. This is a minute version of the previous, in fairly good condition. P. Lévêque, *Les antiquités . . . du Musée de Mariemont*, Brussels 1952, 92, no. G68, pl. 32.
 17. Small marble statue. This unusual sculpture from western Asia Minor also provides a link with the sub-group of small statues related to the so-called School of Aphrodisias. Detroit, Institute of Arts. V. Karageorghis, C. Vermeule, *Sculptures from Salamis*, II, Nicosia 1966, p. 19, fig. 6. (pl. 53, fig. 5)
 18. Small marble statue, similar to the marble in Florence, likewise somewhat restored. The wreathed head has been said not to belong. Leningrad, Hermitage. O. Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, I, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, 30, no. 11, pls. X, XII.
 19. Statuette in Pentelic marble (?). Athens, Agora Museum (S 1241), from a well at the north-west foot of the Areopagus. H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 180, pl. LIX, fig. 2 (reference and photograph kindness of Professor Thompson). Although close in many respects to Group One, the elongation of the beard, the emphasis on the left shoulder, and (least of all) the swordbelt, the complex support place this statuette (H.: 0.37 m.) in Group Two.
 20. Tiny bronze statuette (H.: 0.094 m.). Athens, Agora Museum, from a cistern near the "Theseion," with similar small replicas of other famous Hellenistic statues. T.L. Shear, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 19, fig. 16. With simplifications around the treetrunk support and removal of the swordbelt (itself an unusual addition), this unrefined but complete statuette follows the same prototype as no. 19, the marble statuette from the Athenian Agora.

THE GROUP OF THE FARNESE HERCULES

Group Three is represented by the Farnese Hercules himself, based on a late Hellenistic or Roman imperial version which, on account of its size or potential for being enlarged, became especially popular in the late Antonine or Severan Age. Since the statue, in the lower courtyard of the National Museum, Athens, from the Antikythera shipwreck cannot be later than between 80 and 65 B.C., this group can be proven to be late Hellenistic rather than purely Antonine or Severan in origin.¹⁰ The large statue from the Roman baths at Argos also falls within this group, close to both the statue from the sea and the namepiece in Naples.¹¹ (pl. 53, fig. 6)

There are other sculptures belonging in the immediate circle of the Farnese Hercules (Number 1 in this group), the Antikythera statue (Number 2), and the figure in the Argos Museum (Number 3). These additions comprise:

4. The figure below Herakles wrestling Antaios in the series of Herakleses in foliate scrollwork on one of the pilasters in the Severan Basilica at

¹⁰ G. Bass, *Archaeology under Water* (London 1966) 79-82. G.D. Weinberg, V.R. Grace, G.R. Edwards, H.S. Robinson, P. Throckmorton, E.K. Ralph, "The Antikythera Shipwreck Reconsidered," *TransPhilSoc* 55, Part 3 (1965) 4, 48, etc. S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum, Collection of Sculpture, A Catalogue* (Athens 1968) 74. J.N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, I, *Die Funde von Antikythera* (Athens 1908) 55-62, no. 23, pl. XI, fig. 1 (the Weary Herakles of Lysippos as a statue in Argos). P.C. Bol, *Die Skulpturen des Schiffs-*

fundes von Antikythera (AM Beiheft 2) (Berlin 1972) passim.

¹¹ J. Marcadé, *BCH* 81 (1957) 409-13, figs. 2-5. The mere presence of a Herakles (Hercules) of Farnese type in Argos gives that city more connection with the ultimate prototype than most Hellenistic or Greek imperial provincial centers with their random versions in marble of smaller statues or with their souvenir-sized bronze statuettes. Marcadé has observed that this statue from the baths at Argos is identical with the Antikythera marble, a slight variant of the figure in Naples.

Lepcis Magna. A sculptor conditioned by the carvers of sarcophagi has made this reduction. Although damaged here, the head can be visualized from other figures of the hero in these pilasters. M. Squarciapino, *La Scuola di Afrodizia*, Rome 1943, 87-93, pl. XXVIII, a. M. Floriani-Squarciapino, in *Le Rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques*, Paris 1965, I, 230; II, pl. 32, fig. 1, shows the head complete, a diagonal join across the right cheek.

5. Marble statuette in the Museo Biscari, Catania. The figure is very characteristic, despite an extensive list of restorations. G. Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari*, Milan-Rome 1930, 13, no. 21.
6. Small marble statue in the Museum of Archaeology, Leiden. This late Graeco-Roman decorative work has a modern head. J.P.J. Brants, *Description of the Ancient Sculpture*, The Hague 1927, 4, no. 11, pl. VII, no. 11.
7. Bronze statuette found in the sanctuary of Hercules Curinus at Sulmona. The left foot is mutilated, but the figure is a strong one, especially the hero's hair and the lion's mane. Chieti, Archaeological Museum. G. Becatti, *The Art of Ancient Greece and Rome*, New York 1967, 217, fig. 195.
8. Marble statuette in the Musée de Compiègne. All below a line at the knees is restored; the neck is new, but the head appears to belong. É. Espérandieu, *Recueil*, 153, no. 3918; F.P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, 198, no. 10.

THE ROMAN FIGURES, INCLUDING PORTRAITS

The fourth and last group claims the fragment of a small statue in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, as a sub-type and revolves around the Palatine Hill-Palazzo Pitti colossus, "signed" as the work of Lysippos and having a portrait of Commodus scarcely less ideal than the famous half-figure bust of the Emperor Commodus (180 to 192) as Hercules in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome. This group is documented from the large bronze medallions depicting Commodus as the Weary Herakles. While hardly a significant work of art, the Boston Herakles of the latest Lysippic type has the virtue of being totally an expression of its age, the decades when Commodus and Septimius Severus (193 to 211) made the cult of Herakles an in-

strument of Roman imperial, pan-Mediterranean policy, a fact reflected in the major arts such as statuary and sarcophagus reliefs, and on coins. The fragment, presumably from Rome, certainly from Italy, has been broken or cut off and dressed (perhaps in post-antique times) irregularly through the upper shoulders. The surfaces are somewhat weathered.¹² (pl. 53, fig. 7a, b)

The drilling of the eyes, which is undoubtedly ancient, indicates a date in the second or third centuries A.D., probably between about 190 and 210. Like the famous Farnese Hercules in Naples, this small statue probably stems from the late Hellenistic to Antonine baroque recasting of Pergamene creations in the spirit of Lysippos or other fourth century masters. Like the Palazzo Pitti statue from the Palatine Hill, the cult of Divus Commodus has influenced the shape of the head, although this fragment cannot be classed as an ideal portrait. In the Antonine period double- and triple-sized copies (like the Farnese Hercules) were made to suit the grand niches of Roman baths and basilicas. Reduced (half and third-size) copies such as this were also turned out for domestic shrines, villa gardens, fountain-houses, and other areas having small architectural or tabletop settings.

SMALL STATUES FOR ARCHITECTURAL SETTINGS: A SUB-GROUP FROM SOUTHWEST ASIA MINOR

With the addition of a wreath above the brow, the head of the fragment in Boston as part of a complete statue can be visualized from the small resting Herakles found near the theater and agora complex at Side in Pamphylia, on the southern coast of Asia Minor, in 1947.¹³ The excavator, Professor A.M. Mansel, has associated the Herakles at Side with the school of Aphrodisias, and the same city famous for its sculptors in Caria may have produced the fragment brought to Boston from Rome before the American Civil War, as well as the small statue long in the Museum at Berkeley (California) from Aydin (Tralles), an Argive city halfway back down the Maeander River from Aph-

¹² Accession no. 76.738. H.: 0.15 m. L. (of face): 0.10 m. Marble seemingly from Western Asia Minor. Gift of C.C. Perkins. C. Vermeule, *AA* 68 (1964) 331, pl. 106, fig. 18. Statue in Florence, Palazzo Pitti, from the Palatine Hill: W. Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz* (Munich 1897) 134, no. 186. Bust of Commodus as Hercules in Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, from the imperial gardens on the Esquiline: W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, II (Tübingen 1966) 306-307, no.

1486.

¹³ A.M. Mansel, *AA* 1956, cols. 41ff, fig. 6; idem, *Die Ruinen von Side* (Berlin 1963) 21, 24, fig. 10 (as related to the "School of Aphrodisias"); the "purer," Lysippic statue from the Gymnasium at Salamis on Cyprus forms a regional contrast in decorative, "export" statuary since Side and Salamis were on the same Greek imperial trade route toward the Syrian coast. (See E. Sjöqvist, *Lysippos*, 30, fig. 16; also, above, Group One, Number 4.)

rodiasias to Ephesos. (pl. 54, fig. 8a, b) Exaggerated poses, bunches of knotted muscles, and distorted limbs characterize the group, one composed of statues evidently created to adorn the public areas and, doubtless, private estates of Greek imperial cities along the Mediterranean coast and in the Aegean or Anatolian hinterlands of Asia Minor. That at least one version, the head and shoulders in Boston, was found in Italy, demonstrates the widespread popularity of the type, an accolade also accorded all major groups of the Weary Herakles.¹⁴

The Boston Herakles and the more complete statues in this local, Greek imperial style depart, in an understandably post-Pergamene fashion, as far as any Lysippic representations of the hero do from the feeling for ideal grandeur and the careful plasticity inherent in the large heads modelled on the statue made by Lysippos shortly before 316 B.C., presumably for his native city of Sikyon. The magnificent marble fragment, already mentioned and fully published when in the Kunstmuseum at Basel, best illustrates the differences between the ultimate prototype and its sensitive translations into marble, on one hand, and these manneristic, overly-decorative statues from ateliers in Asia Minor on the other.¹⁵

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE LISTS OF COPIES

No full-sized bronze fragment or copy of any version of the Weary Herakles has survived. Full-scale marble copies, fragments or whole statues, have been documented for all the major groups dependent on the lost bronze or bronzes by Lysippos. The big marbles give the best idea of the figure's grandeur. The bronze statuettes record the minute details of style and iconography. The small statues in rustic materials and provincial styles illustrate how widely recensions could vary from

¹⁴ The small, muscular Herakles of exaggerated stance, so popular in Asia Minor, spun off variations of its own, with or more likely without portrait features. One of these, like the statue from Side and carved in Pentelic (?) marble (height as preserved: 0.48 m.), was in the possession of Münzen und Medaillen A.G. in September 1973. The left arm at the shoulder, the head and most of the neck, the right arm from the middle of the upper arm, the right leg at the upper hip, and the left leg from below the knee are now missing. The small statue was once restored; an iron dowel remains in the neck. The left hand was on the hip, not on the club. The figure has the characteristic tight muscles and was conceived in an exceptionally exaggerated style.

¹⁵ J. Dörig, *AM* 71 (1956) 180-92; compare also G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures*, 76-77, nos. 129-31, the remarks therein on various Hellenistic versions of Graeco-Roman copies of the Lysippic-Farnese type in the collection of

the prototypes and the ultimate original. These statues also prove that the popularity of the Weary Herakles extended to the physical and intellectual peripheries of the Greek and Roman imperial worlds.

Group Two, the Hellenistic (probably Pergamene) version of the Lysippic archetype, has proven to be, by far, the most popular in number and diversity of copies. This is doubtless because the Hellenistic statues were available to the copyists in major centers, such as Athens, while the statue or statues by Lysippos may not have been visited so frequently at Sikyon or Argos. Also, Graeco-Roman taste favored Hellenistic recastings of traditional subjects over their purer, less-exciting fourth century B.C. models. Group Three (the Farnese Hercules and its forerunners) and Group Four (the statues adapted as portraits) were too overwhelming or too topical to enjoy the popularity accorded the Hellenistic statues and statuettes in all media. The manneristic little marble statues from the school of Aphrodisias were also too far removed in their own special ways from the main Lysippic current to share the universality of the Hellenistic Herakles, which was hardly a drastic modification of what Lysippos originally intended.

MIRROR REVERSALS OF THE VARIOUS TYPES

The mirror reversals of the Weary Herakles, although much fewer in number, go through the same chronological progression from Lysippos in the fourth century B.C. to Glykon of Athens in the late Antonine or Severan periods. Although an awkward, relatively modest work of sculpture, the small marble statue in the Chania Museum on Crete reflects a prototype of the fourth century B.C.¹⁶ The marble statuette in the Walters Art

the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. In June 1973 a marble statuette of the manneristic, muscular type, associated here with southwest Asia Minor, was being offered at auction (on 9 July, as lot no. 177) by Sotheby and Co. in London. The head, with considerable drillwork, had been broken and reset; it may have been added to the body in post-Antique times. Another small statue of the exaggerated type from southwest Asia Minor was sold in London, also by Sotheby and Co., 4 May 1970, p. 62, no. 168. This broken and repaired torso with left leg to the knee, and right arm, is 0.584 m. in height; whitish marble has been used.

¹⁶ C. Vermeule, *The Burlington Magazine* 110 (1968) 552. Chania Museum, no. 41. The lower half of the support (heavy club and lion's-skin) is missing from a line with the fingers of the right hand; a second (tree-trunk) support joins the left leg from plinth to knee, all originally accenting the statue's stiffness.

Gallery, Baltimore, corresponds to the Aphrodisian sub-type of the Side and Tralles (Berkeley) statues, with mannered muscles everywhere.¹⁷ (pl. 54, fig. 9) Finally, the Pergamene Hellenistic (Newby Hall) statues have their mirror counterparts in statues such as the lifesized (?) marble which was at Spink and Son, London, in the period not long before the Second World War.¹⁸ (pl. 54, fig. 10)

So far, to our knowledge, no later Hellenistic or Roman, freestanding mirror reversal has come to light with the broad, disjointed shoulders and torso of the Farnese Hercules, unless the fragments of a second colossus found near Glykon's statue in the Baths of Caracalla belong to such a replica.¹⁹ In addition, no such backwards composition has been seen with a head which might be classed as a portrait of the ill-starred Emperor Commodus. Such portraits on all these types of Herakles came into popularity during the last two, mad years of his rule or during his dynastic rehabilitation under Septimius Severus.

MAJOR VARIATIONS ON THE LYSIPPIC THEME

Other late Hellenistic "rococo" or Graeco-Roman variations on the Weary Herakles theme include a Herakles with the lion's-skin worn on head and shoulders,²⁰ Erotes as Herakles,²¹ and even the drunken Silenus with the attributes of Herakles arranged in this fashion.²²

In every phase and period of the Weary Herakles,

¹⁷ Accession no. 23.65. H.: 0.257 m. From the Dattari collection and therefore presumably from Egypt. Collections de Feu M. Jean P. Lambros d'Athènes et de M. Giovanni Dattari du Caire, *Antiquités Égyptiennes Grecques et Romaines* (Paris, Hotel Drouot, 17-19 June 1912) 40, no. 336; F.P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, 199, no. 26. Miss Dorothy K. Hill kindly informs me that the levelling of the neck and the dowel hole appear to be ancient.

¹⁸ Photo A.C. Cooper, London, no. 20469. Compare S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, II, 1 (Paris 1897) 209, no. 3 ("Adam 12. Statuette, Suspect."). The statue photographed for Spink and Son has, to my knowledge, not appeared in a museum, a private collection, or a public (auction) sale since the end of the Second World War. It was probably photographed on commission for an owner and remains in the town or country house where it has been since Napoleonic times, as (for example) the sculptures at Londonderry House in London.

¹⁹ E. Paribeni, *Sculture greche*, Museo Nazionale Romano, 25, under no. 26. See also *The Burlington Magazine* 110 (1968) 552, and note 36. Enrico Paribeni identified at least one other reversal among the oversized sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla.

²⁰ *EA*, no. 4063; in a Florentine palazzo. Curiously enough, a Herakles with lion's-skin worn as cap and cloak, forepaws knotted on the chest, is one of the latest survivors from An-

whether leaning to his left or, in reversal, to his right, there are versions, large and small, which go back to the Copenhagen-Boston Herakles of about 360 B.C. This statue, Attic and Polykleitan in its sources, has been shown to have been influenced by grave stelai and votive reliefs of the first half of the fourth century B.C. The motif was a fairly common one, well-known in Attic vase-painting of the Archaic and classical periods. In his creation in bronze of about 320 B.C., Lysippos gave new grandeur, force, and even intimacy to a concept of Herakles well suited to the emotions of Greece just after the age of Alexander the Great.

THE WEARY HERAKLES IN LATE ANTIQUITY

The latest datable appearances of the Weary Herakles in Greek and Roman art are on Roman imperial coins of the last quarter of the third and the first decade of the fourth centuries A.D. From what can be seen of style on these reverse dies, the exaggerated, muscular type of the small statue in the University of California, Berkeley, from southwest Asia Minor has been followed. The head is held erect, looking out in profile rather than down towards the club. The face may be a portrait of the Emperor Commodus (A.D. 180 to 192), who was deified by his Severan successors and who even had Jerusalem (Aelia Capitolina Commodiana) named in his honor between A.D. 201 and 209. Otherwise, the portraits of these numismatic ver-

tiquity, appearing on a silver bucket in Vienna, made in Constantinople between A.D. 610 and 629. The figure is eclectic, combining a Myronian head with a patently Graeco-Roman body: J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London 1968) 50-51, fig. 65. The artist of the situla probably copied this Weary Herakles from a Greek imperial columnar sarcophagus (as the example mentioned below, in note 32).

²¹ D. Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini* (Rome 1939) nos. 1103, 14, pl. 47, no. 189, and list of copies or variants; H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (Oxford 1926) 149, no. 35, pl. 53. There are two excellent examples in marble in the Musée du Louvre ("Cupidon en Hercule"), both about "lifesized" and both shown wearing the lion's-skin on the head, the paws knotted around the neck: S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I (Paris 1897) 142, nos. 5, 9. One more was once in Berkeley Square, London, in the Lansdowne House collection: S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I, 359, no. 6; A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge 1882) 449f, no. 57: "Whether Eros is meant is not quite certain; no wings."

²² Christie's Sale, 18 October 1972, 52, no. 187; from the Hope collection at Deepdene, Surrey: S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I, 466, no. 6; A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 286, no. 18, with probable older provenance in Italy and remarks on the exaggerated aspects of the parody.

sions of the Weary Herakles may be intended to represent the ruling, Late Antique emperor.²³

The coins include:

1. *Aureus* of Carinus (283 to 285). The Weary Herakles stands on a small groundline on the reverse. The inscription VIRTUS AVGG emphasizes the hero's connections with the imperial virtues.²⁴ (pl. 55, fig. 11)
2. Bronze *folles* of Maximinus Daza as Augustus in the East, struck at Antioch in Syria about May 310 to May 311. The Weary Herakles is crude and ill-proportioned, the results of sloppy craftsmanship by the die-cutter. Here, as far as can be possibly surmised from a worn coin the size of a shilling or a quarter, the figure was intended to be a portrait of the Tetrarch whose rule centered around Alexandria in Egypt. If not copied from a Late Antique statue, or an older image altered to accommodate the portrait of Maximinus, this Weary Herakles was derived from a representation on a Greek imperial coin of Asia Minor in the century from about A.D. 175 to 275.²⁵

The date of the *folles* is not long before all overtly pagan divinities disappear from the Roman imperial coinage. The first reverse, that of the Emperor Carinus, can be traced back in the third century A.D., to an *aureus* of Gordianus III (238 to 244).²⁶ On these *aurei*, the bearded figure is clearly Hercules rather than Gordian, who was a beardless young man, portrayed on the obverses. From the time of Gordianus III, numismatic representations of the Weary Herakles in the Roman im-

perial series, and its Greek imperial counterpart in the East, can be traced back through the Hellenistic period to the coinage of the immediate successors of Alexander the Great.

Finally, a barbaric double (?) *aureus* of Gallienus (260 to 268) features an unusual Herakles on the VIRTUS AVGVSTI reverse. A portrait of the emperor may have been intended, but the style is too rustic to say for certain.²⁷ The figure stands so erect that the die designer's prototype could have been the older resting Herakles, the Copenhagen-Boston type often identified with the earlier work of Lysippos towards the middle of the fourth century B.C.

Carinus (283 to 285) had a younger brother Numerianus (283 to 284), and the AVGG of the reverses with the Weary Herakles as the type figured indicates that they shared the sentiment of imperial Virtue as a common theme. Two superbly-preserved *aurei* of this reverse show how different the statue could be when handled by the same or allied die designers in the imperial mint of Rome.²⁸ (pl. 55, figs. 12a, b, 13a, b) In the first reverse die Herakles seems to be bearded in the Late Antique imperial fashion, a portrait of the Emperor Carinus. Furthermore, he holds the apples of the Hesperides in canonical fashion in his right hand, on his hip. The second reverse clearly follows a different, Hellenistic statuary prototype. Herakles is definitely Herakles, with a heavy head and a full, rich beard. The god places his right hand on his hip, omitting the apples. Thus, it can be shown that even at a date near the end of the pagan antiquity artists in the imperial capital, the seat of art as well as power, were fully aware

²³ Identification of the Late Antique Roman imperial numismatic type of the Weary Herakles with the several statues recorded from Asia Minor is logical, since these provinces featured the figure extensively on local coins in the first three quarters of the third century A.D. For example, a master die-designer working at Kibyra in Phrygia under the Emperor Antoninus Pius (138 to 161) produced a reverse for a bronze of large (sestertius) size showing a very muscular Herakles, like the sub-group belonging with group four, the underlifesized muscular, decorative statues from southwest Asia Minor. Under Gordian the Third (238 to 244) another, almost-barbaric artist copied the Antonine reverse in a series of bronzes of the same, large (or even larger) size. See *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung von Aulock IX, Phrygien*, Berlin 1964, pl. 122, nos. 3734 (Antoninus Pius), 3748-50 (Gordianus III). The copy at Kibyra was distinguished by a small, draped herm in front of the hero's club, doubtless to indicate this particular statue stood in or near the municipal gymnasium. A curious, painterly medallion large bronze reverse of the Koinon of Thirteen Ionian Cities under Antoninus Pius, one of a series with similar

powerful obverses and elaborate mythological reverses, shows a mirror reversal of the Herakles in the scene of Hermes (?) and the infant Dionysos near the sources of the Maeander River: *Sammlung von Aulock XVII* (1968) pl. 270, no. 7813; also P.R. Franke, *Kleinasien zur Römerzeit* (Munich 1968) 51, no. 209.

²⁴ *The Frederick M. Watkins Collection*, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass. 1973) 153, no. 170; other references in *Antike Münzen*, Auktion 7, Bank Leu AG (Zurich, 9 May 1973) 51, no. 425, pl. XXIV.

²⁵ C.H.V. Sutherland, R.A.G. Carson (eds.), *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, VI, by C.H.V. Sutherland (London 1967) 639, no. 152, pl. 15.

²⁶ *As Ars Classica Sale XVII* (Geneva 1934) 47, nos. 904, 905, pl. 26.

²⁷ *Sammlung Franz Trau, Münzen der römischen Kaiser* (Vienna 1935) 71, no. 2940, pl. 37.

²⁸ *Antike Münzen*, Auktion 7, Bank Leu AG (Zurich, 9 May 1973) 51, nos. 425 (Carinus), 426 (Numerianus), both pl. XXIV.

of the different statues involved in the long, past, somewhat-complicated history of the Weary Herakles.

For all the tributes to Hercules engendered by the divine title assumed for Caius Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus during his first reign as Senior Augustus (A.D. 286 to 305), it is surprising there are not more coin types featuring the hero. Most of those which do survive give statuesque vignettes of the commonest labors of Herakles. A pre-reform bronze Antoninianus displays the Farnese Hercules in sketched-out, indifferent form as a reverse within the traditional VIRTUS AVGG legend.²⁹ The gold *aurei* of the early phase of Maximianus's rule present either the relatively-slim, muscular hero of the small statues from Asia Minor or the overblown figure best known from the marble colossus in Naples.³⁰ Again, both legends deal with the two senior emperors' Herculean virtue. A mediocre *aureus* die, mint of Ticinum (modern Pavia in northern Italy), is also recorded for Diocletian (284 to 305), early in his joint reign with Maximianus Herculeus.³¹

Clearly borrowed from better versions in the coinage of the previous generation, these reverses offer nothing new to the last years of the Weary Herakles in ancient art. These coin types were indications that the visual admiration of the Weary Herakles had run its course in the arts of Antiquity. Modern critics have had to look elsewhere for the survival of this figure into the Middle Ages and, naturally, for its ultimate revival in the Italian High Renaissance.

EPILOGUE

The Weary Herakles fashioned by Lysippos at

²⁹ H.A. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham (eds.), *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, V, Part II, by P.H. Webb (London 1933) 270, no. 439.

³⁰ *Sammlung Franz Trau*, 94, nos. 3428, 3452, pl. 41.

³¹ *Sammlung Franz Trau*, 92, no. 3348.

³² Mary Comstock, Heinz Herzer, William Peck, Emily Vermeule, Dietrich von Bothmer, and Herbert Cahn have helped in the preparation of this study. These observations and notes will form the basis of a full analysis of all traceable replicas and variants of the Weary Herakles.

The appearance of two variations of the Farnese figure (Group Three) on the rectangular bronze plaque from Galjub in Egypt (as part of the Hildesheim treasure), in the Art Museum at Princeton, New Jersey, gives evidence of how the ancients "catalogued" the statues, for dissemination in the minor arts. See K. Weitzmann, "The Heracles Plaques of St. Peter's Cathedral," *The Art Bulletin* 55 (1973) 4-6, fig. 4. Prof. Weitzmann has related these Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman figures to those in very high relief on Greek imperial

the outset of the Hellenistic age became one of the most popular, most utilized monuments of Greek sculpture in the later history of Antiquity. The influence of the statue can be traced from its own time, through the Pergamene age from 250 to 150 B.C., to the end of the pre-Roman imperial period, and ultimately, beyond Caracalla (ruled A.D. 211 to 217), to the Tetrarchs at the beginning of the fourth century, on the eve of the Christian phase of the Roman Empire. The statue, in its several forms, was famous in painting, in marble reliefs, on coins and medallions, and even as a statuesque element in the midst of an elaborate Roman imperial composite capital. The original and its first Hellenistic prototypes gave birth to varied versions, some patently bizarre, in later Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman times. These included Herakles wearing the lion's-skin over his head, Herakles resting in mirror reversal to the basic prototypes, drunken Silenus parodying the Weary Herakles, and even little Eros posed as the Farnese Hercules, wearing or holding the hero's attributes or "spoils." As a popular artistic vent for the imagination of the ancients, the Lysippic Herakles had few rivals.³²

CONCLUSIONS

As a thorough indication how the ancients grasped and exploited a composition, a sculpture, or a sculptural motif, the Lysippic Herakles had few peers over six hundred years of Greek and Roman art. Furthermore, the Weary Herakles as a concept in freestanding sculpture, relief, and painting excited men's perceptions from Alexander the Great's time to the end of pagan Antiquity.³³ Lysip-

sarcophagi, good intermediaries between the cult-images and the minor arts. The sarcophagi tend to record unusual variations of the Weary Herakles, as the columnar example from the Mattei collection in Rome showing a statuesque figure with lion's-skin worn as a cap and club resting on a bovine head: S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains*, III (Paris 1912) 298, no. 1. The Weary Herakles in the center of the strigilar sarcophagus of Marcus Aurelius Bassus and his wife, a large fragment found in 1940 in excavation along the Via Praenestina near Rome and dated in the late Severan period, is the muscular little Greek imperial hero from Asia Minor. He stands in the Gardens of the Hesperides, leans on skin and club, and holds his bow in the relaxed, lowered left hand. The curly head is well rendered, in the Hellenistic traditions of the Greek East: *JHS* 77 (1957) 15, fig. 10.

³³ That the addition of the infant Telephos to representations of the Weary Herakles is a post-Pergamene modification (F.P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, 202-203) finds further confirmation in the fact that baby Telephos and the hind were added to

pos was ever the right sculptor in the right place for his age. While Aristotle expanded men's minds into material affairs and emotional expressions, so certain fourth-century painters and sculptors, led by Skopas or Lysippos, performed Procrustian experiments on Greek feelings for the visual arts. The Weary Herakles became a semi-divine weather-vane of the naturalistic, mind-moving phase of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman art.

Almost every later great Greek and Roman sculptor, painter, and even architect felt a need for reference to the Weary Herakles in his own terms, with respect to his own age. Whether larger or smaller, more baroque or more ideal statues of Herakles were created, whether the tired hero be-

came a part of public mural decoration (Herculeum) or secondary architectural carving (Rome and Lepcis Magna), the Lysippic Herakles moved as a constant yet changing theme throughout the art of Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. With the disintegration of traditional pagan, Hellenic and Roman values in the ancient world, the Weary Herakles came to stand as a symbol of man's salvation, or disappointment in same, through divine labor. The Weary Herakles clearly survived in certain forms of art through the Middle Ages. He could then go on to become a major symbolic factor in the Renaissance and later Classical, humanistic epochs.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

Edward Perry Warren's well-preserved, miniature copy of the Herakles identified with Myron (M.F.A., no. 14.733). The edge of the child's cloth-lined basket, formerly taken for the

waters of a sacred spring, survives on the plinth of this late Hadrianic to early Antonine marble: W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen*, 73, 75, fig. 67.

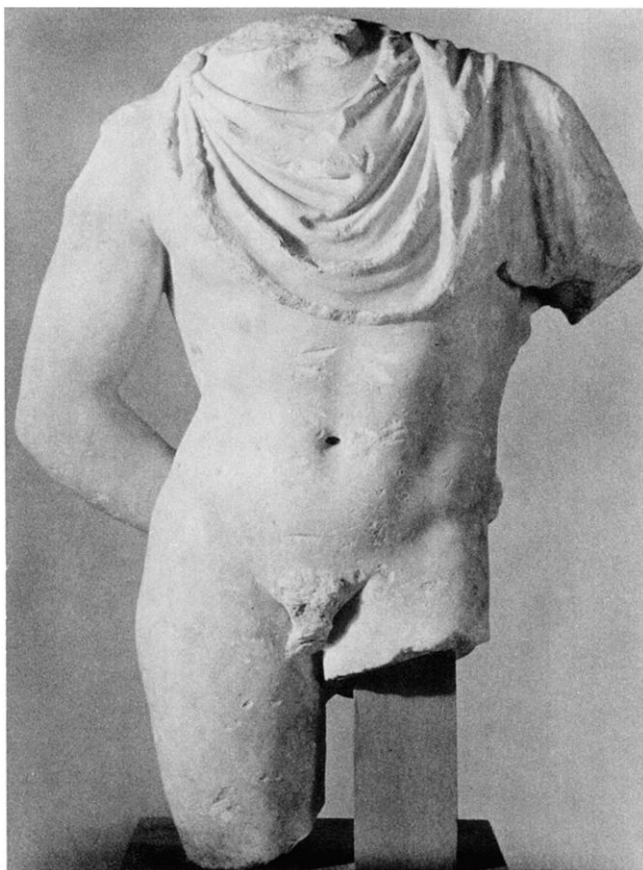


FIG. A. Meleager after Skopas. From Egypt, perhaps Alexandria. The Brooklyn Museum. Photo: Museum, courtesy of Bernard V. Bothmer

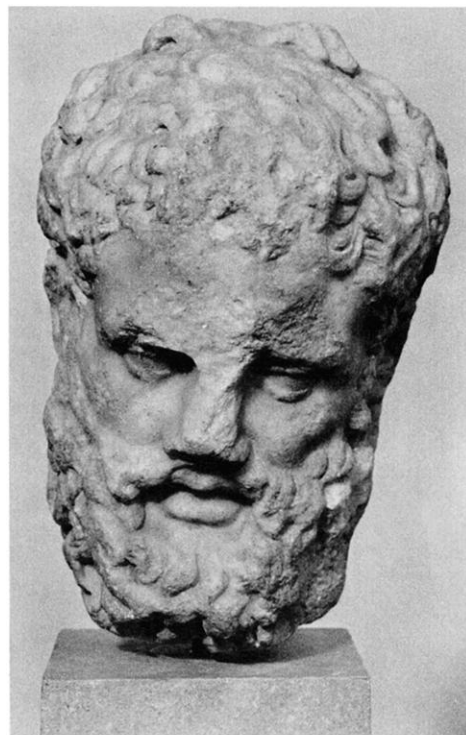


FIG. 3a

FIG. 3a

FIG. 3. Lysippic Herakles: Group One. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. no. 18.145.14. Rogers Fund. Photo: Museum



FIG. 2. Lysippic Herakles: Group One. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum. Photo: Department of Antiquities, courtesy Vassos Karageorghis



FIG. 1. Lysippic Herakles: Group One. Basel, Antikenmuseum. Photo: Claire Niggli

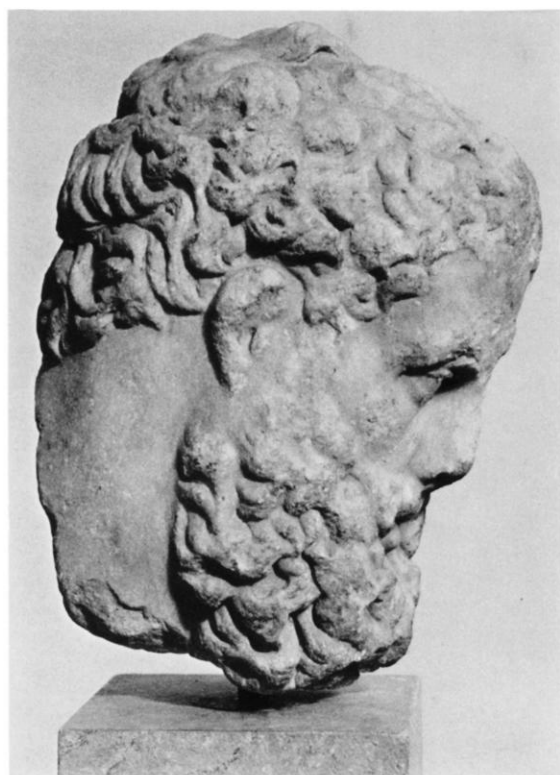


FIG. 3b

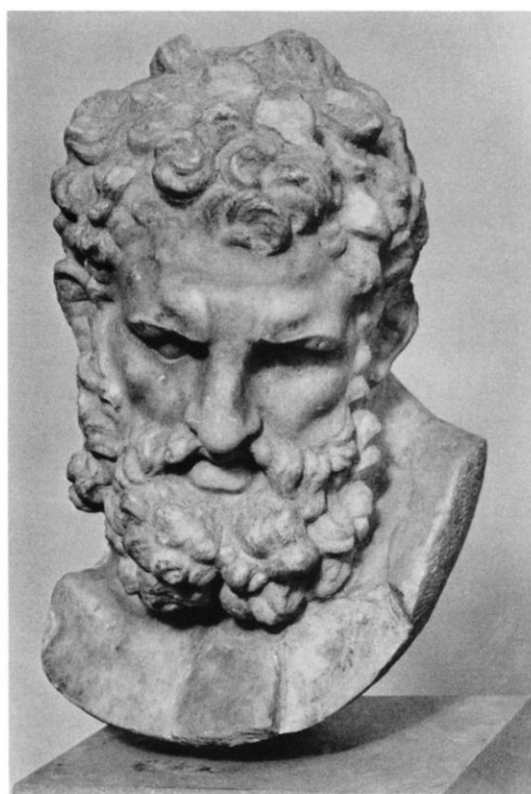


FIG. 4a

FIG. 4. Lysippic Herakles: Group Two. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Acc. no. 27.122.18. Fletcher Fund. Photo: Museum

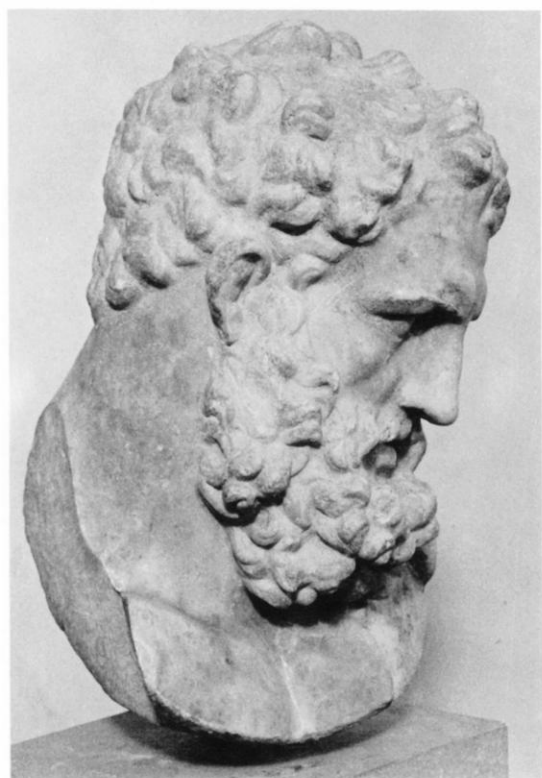


FIG. 4b

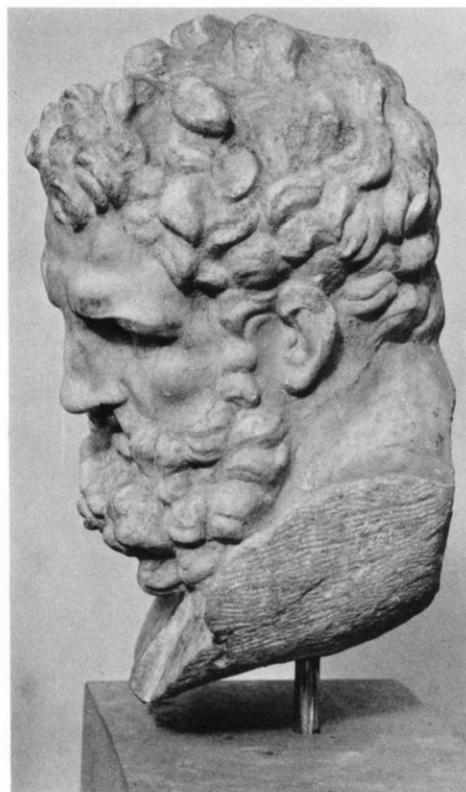


FIG. 4c

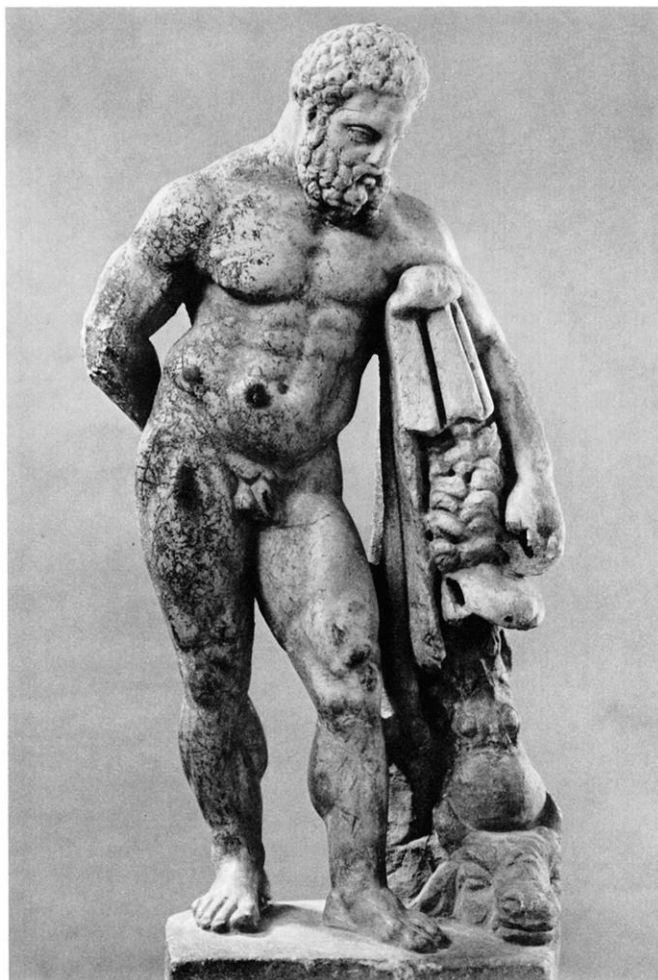


FIG. 5. Lysippic Herakles: Group Two. Detroit Institute of Arts. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Archives

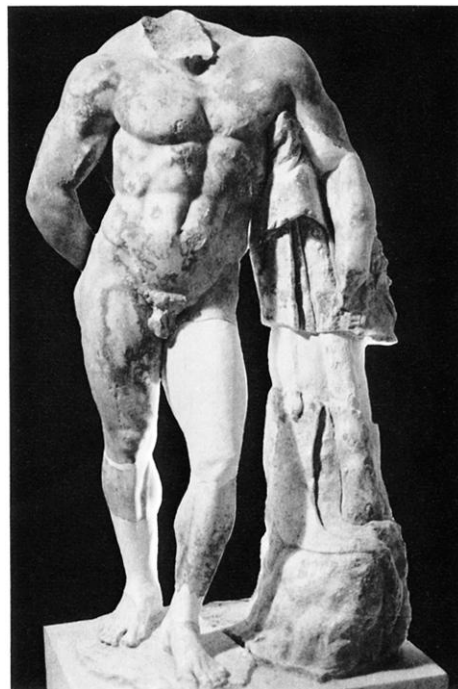


FIG. 6. Lysippic Herakles: Group Three (Farnese Hercules Type). Argos Museum. Photo: Museum

FIG. 7. Lysippic Herakles: Group Four (Influenced by Portraits of Commodus). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Gift of Charles C. Perkins. Photo: Museum

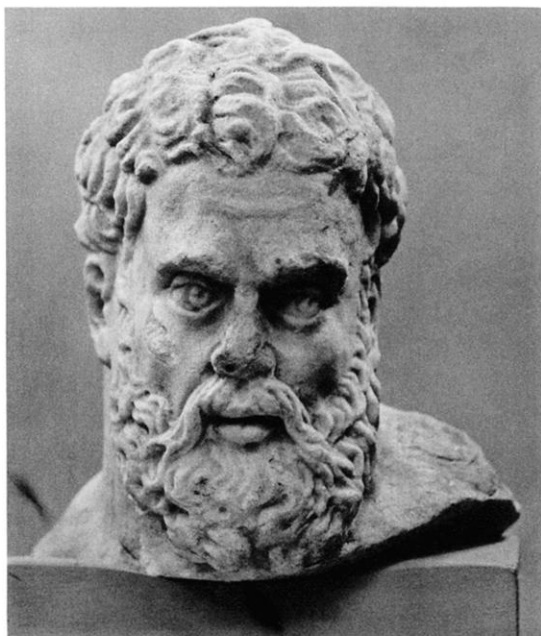


FIG. 7a

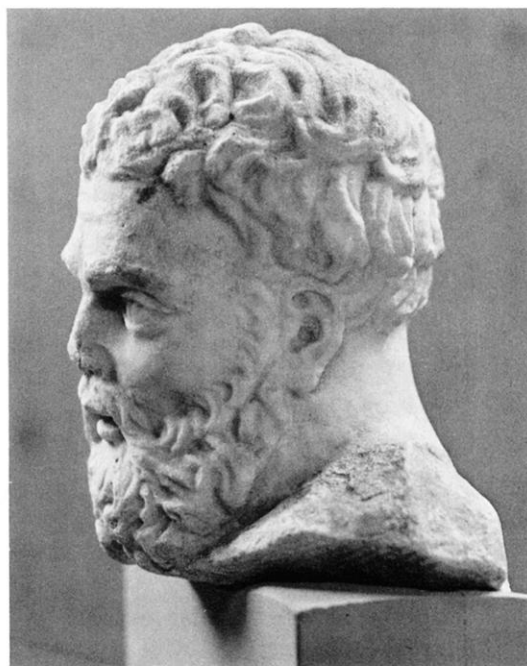


FIG. 7b

FIG. 8a

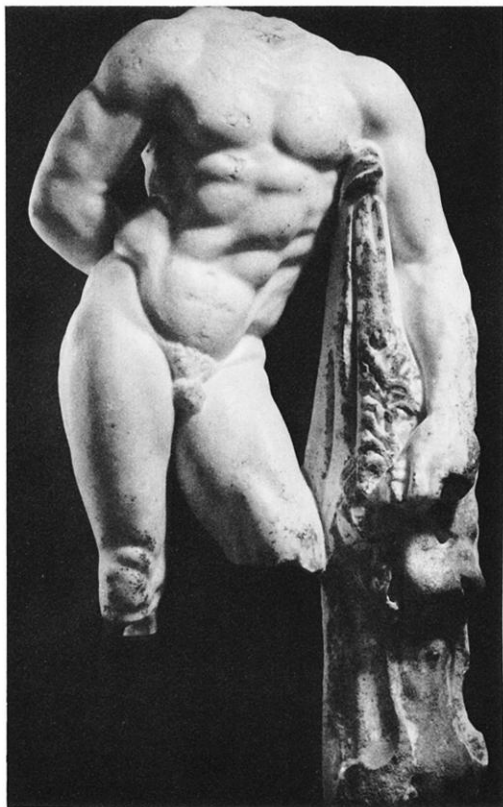


FIG. 8. Lysippic Herakles from Asia Minor. Berkeley (California), University of California, University Art Museum (Museum of Art and Archaeology). Exhibited on loan from the Lowie Museum of Anthropology. Photo: Museum



FIG. 8b. Reverse



FIG. 9. Reversed Lysippic Herakles. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Photo: Museum, courtesy of Dorothy K. Hill

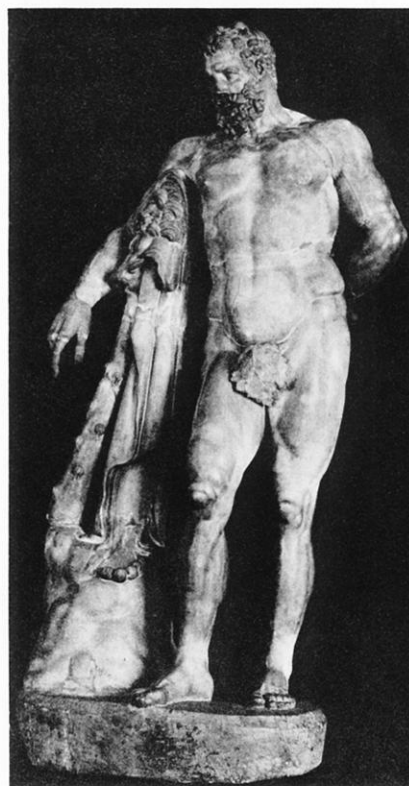


FIG. 10. Reversed Lysippic Herakles. London, once Spink and Son. Photo: A.C. Cooper, courtesy of R. Forrer



FIG. 13a

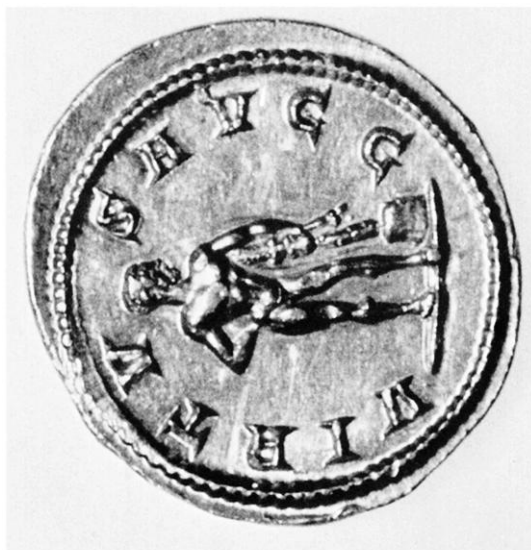


FIG. 11. Gold Aureus of the Emperor Carinus (283 to 285). Cambridge (Massachusetts), Fogg Art Museum, The Frederick M. Watkins Collection. Acc. no. 1972.242.
Photo: Museum, courtesy of Jill Brinnon

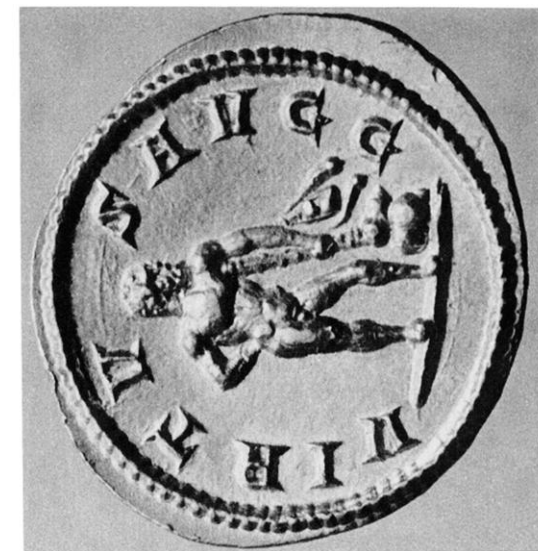


FIG. 12b



FIG. 12c



FIG. 12d

FIG. 13. Lysippic Herakles, from a Hellenistic Model. Aureus of Numerianus (283 to 284).
Provenance and Photo: as Previous

FIG. 12. Lysippic Herakles, Apples (?) in hand. Aureus of Carinus (283 to 285). Zurich, Bank Leu AG (Auction 7). Photo: Numismatic Department of Bank Leu Ltd., courtesy of Mrs. Silvia Hurter



The Colossus of Porto Raphti: A Roman Female Personification

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THE COLOSSUS OF PORTO RAPHTI: A ROMAN FEMALE PERSONIFICATION

(PLATE 12)

IN the course of preparing a new edition of a book written a quarter of a century ago on the iconography of Dea Roma and related imperial female personifications, it has seemed appropriate to turn again to the now much-published over-lifesized marble statue atop the conical island at the mouth of Porto Raphti in Attica. In writing about the statue in *Hesperia* (1962) and again in *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (1968), I was patently guilty of having assumed too much in drawing conclusions about the Raphti and its place in the iconography of Roman imperial personifications. This short summation attempts to remedy that oversight, in the light of other interpretations evidently worked out by a group of distinguished colleagues and published in these pages.¹ Since there is no need to go over the ground already covered, to begin afresh with a modern description and appraisal of the statue, this article is divided into the topics which have caused the most difficulty or confusion in understanding the iconography and interpreting the meaning of the Raphti.

Perhaps the most basic question to be treated is the sex of the divine or human figure portrayed by the statue. This question revolves around the chest of the statue, alas partly damaged and partly covered by a cloak. It also concerns whether a female in the Roman Imperial period can wear a low-girt chiton, a cloak primarily on one shoulder and down the left side, sandals or sandal-boots or bare feet, and can have the back of the cloak, less likely the same part (hem) of the chiton, or a separate cloth like a blanket spread out over the top one third of the front of the rockwork seat. I shall try to show that all these characteristics fit a female personification of the period roughly A.D. 80 to 200 and that they are uncharacteristic of Roman princes, since male personifications (save river gods) scarcely exist and when they do they wear the scanty costumes of Graeco-Roman gods and heroes.

¹ S. G. Miller, "The Colossus of Porto Raphti Reconsidered," *Hesperia*, 41, 1972, pp. 192-197, pls. 31-34. I had presented my own ideas in the 62nd general meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Hartford, Conn., December 1960: see *A.J.A.*, 65, 1961, pp. 192-193. It was there that Miss Lucy Talcott made her brilliant explanation of the "tailor's scissors". Mr. Miller might seem to imply (p. 192) that his identifications are more correct because he studied the statue at its own level. So, under varying conditions, did numerous others from Dörpfeld (sitting on the statue in the famous German Institute photograph of 1893) to the present writer, on three occasions in the early 1960's. Since Mr. Miller's article with its splendid photographs, my own contribution in *Hesperia*, 31, 1962, pp. 29 (note 3), 62-81, pls. 24-27, and the books or articles cited below offer ample photographic support for the arguments reiterated here, I do not feel it is necessary to reproduce them once again with this article.

THE UNEMPHASIZED BOSOM

Unless one breast is bare, the ill-defined female bosom is a common feature of over-lifesized, heavily draped cult-statues and related decorative sculptures of the Roman Imperial period. The standing Roma from the temple of Roma and Augustus at Ostia illustrates this perfectly, where the right breast is bare and pronounced while the left is scarcely visible under the tunic and cloak.² The colossal marble statue of Dea Roma enthroned, in the gardens of the Villa Medici at Rome, is in nearly every respect like the personification at Porto Raphti, save that the cloak hangs well over the left shoulder and is not pinned around the upper body. The chiton, on the other hand, is girt precisely at the same "low" level as that of the Raphti. Yet, the treatment of drapery on the chest of this Dea Roma from a small temple on the Quirinal Hill in Rome is such that it would be hard, with more destruction and weathering, to say whether a fleshy older male divinity (like Sarapis or Asklepios) or a Pheidian-type goddess were represented (Pl. 12, a).³

The same lack of emphasis on the bosom can be seen as late as 1895 in a classicizing group, S. Galletti's bronze monument to the Italian statesman Camillo Cavour in the Piazza Cavour, Rom , where the standing Italia and seated Roma are both swathed in classical drapery to the extent that they are more muscular than feminine.⁴ This form of upper body has as its corollary the concave curvature of the area from chest to stomach, an area invariably full and rounded on statues of Roman Emperors wearing tight-fitting cuirasses (the one *seated* example being the much-published "Augustus" of late Flavian date, in the Villa Torlonia-Albani close to Rome). The slab with the seven young, or seemingly so, priestesses from the Great Antonine Altar at Ephesos and the comparable relief of the city-goddesses in the Louvre, from a late Hadrianic triumphal or commemorative arch in Rome, present all aspects of ideal Imperial womanhood draped in the full repertory of Graeco-Roman fashions. Their bosoms are hardly more prominent than those of the Roman imperial males (Hadrian, Anto-

² C. Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London, 1959 and 1974, pl. IX, left; E. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, I, New York, 1928, pp. 163-164, fig. 193 (a bad photograph): dated after A.D. 42 in the reign of Claudius. The Amazon pillars from the Antonine theater at Ephesos offer similar contrasts in de-emphasized female characteristics when placed alongside older, stricter copies of their Pheidian-era prototypes: see B. S. Ridgway, *A.J.A.*, 78, 1974, p. 3, pl. 2, figs. 5, 6, etc. The Amazon Roma of Julio-Claudian to Antonine art is, of course, likewise based ultimately on Amazons of the fifth century B.C.

³ *The Goddess Roma*, pl. IX, right. M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Le Antichit  di Villa Medici*, Rome, 1951, pp. 89-90, no. 142, pl. XL, fig. 75. Sarapis is restored as Dea Roma, statues in the Villa Medici and in the Villa Torlonia-Albani: Cagiano, *op. cit.*, p. 102, no. 239, pl. XLIII, fig. 85.

⁴ *The Goddess Roma*, pl. XII, right. The same applies, for example, to Claudia Antonia Sabina's elegant daughter, circa A.D. 190, reclining on the lid and the two slender females seated and standing on the front of the same sarcophagus: C. R. Morey, *Sardis*, V, i, Princeton, 1924, pp. 8-12, figs. 3, 13, 14.

ninus Pius, and the young Caesar Marcus Aurelius) in the slab near the priestesses and two personifications (Ephesos and Alexandria?) on the Ephesian altar.⁵

BARE FEET OR CONTOURED SANDALS WITH OVERHANGING TOES

Both conditions, or ways of presenting the feet, characterize the monumental marble geographical personifications and female divinities of the Roman Imperial period. The colossal Dea Roma now in the Villa Medici has a bare left foot visible in front of the lower drapery and throne, just on the plinth. Although the end or front of the present foot has been restored, the restoration could hardly be otherwise save that a very small piece of sandal might have covered the ball of the foot. The seated Roma in high relief on the altar of the *Gens Augusta* in Tunis from Carthage wears Amazonian boots or covered sandals with the toes hanging out on the plinth.⁶ In such statues or their immediate reflections in deep relief, the usual "footprint" is like that of the seated Roma on the base of the Column of Antoninus Pius in Rome, a sandal modeled to the shape of the foot like the last made by a London bootmaker. When set in a plinth, this can well look like a bare foot.⁷ The small marble statue identified as Alexandria (standing) in the British Museum leaves two good, perhaps lightly sandaled, footprints on the thick plinth.⁸

All this and lots more, obviously, is by way of stating that what remains on the plinth of the Raphti can be either a bare or a sandaled foot. Like the wishfully prophetic tea leaves in the bottom of Grandmother's cup, the present "bare" print of the left foot may represent a little bit of self-serving thought, aided by fortuitous gouges which occur beside the heel as well as underneath the area of the toes. The presence of bare feet, moreover, is as limiting to identification of the Raphti as determination of whether or not the chest was curved enough to be female. No fully costumed statue of a Roman emperor, save the personal (to Livia) cuirassed Prima porta Augustus with the divine Eros-Ascanius-Julian grandson at its side, has bare feet, and no image of Zeus or any emperor in the guise of Zeus wears the combination of costumes visible on the Raphti.

⁵ C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1968, pp. 107–113, figs. 39–45, where only the goddess or personification on a pile of rocks does manifest plump breasts and a high-girt chiton. Or compare the low-girt or ungirt females on the short end of the Severan Attic Phaedra sarcophagus in S. Nicola, Agrigento, and the similar, submissive geographical Tyche on the left in the Tigris-Euphrates register of the Arch of Galerius at Salonika: R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, The Late Empire, Roman Art A.D. 200–400*, New York, 1971, pp. 300–306, figs. 279, 280.

⁶ *The Goddess Roma*, pl. X, top.

⁷ L. Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1973, pl. 3.

⁸ J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School, A Chapter in the History of Greek Art*, Cambridge, 1934, p. 42, pl. XXIII, fig. 3. A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, III, London, 1904, pp. 13–14, no. 1545, from Rome and "probably executed in the time of Hadrian."

THE LOWER LIMBS: BARE OR LIGHTLY CLAD, AND PARTLY COVERED

The end of the cloak falls down the left side and seemingly across the legs. Therefore, the front of the rockwork "throne", partly covered by a bit of garment or cloth, could well have been seen behind the legs, while these legs were partly covered by the cloak or even the front of the tunic. Partly bare legs were also to be expected. These points are perfectly in keeping with female personifications of the Trajanic to Antonine periods, as a number of examples in the imperial series of coins for the provinces demonstrate. Compare, for instance, Dacia seated on a rockwork seat, cloak on her left shoulder in the fashion of the Raphti, and lower limbs bare or nearly so, feet apparently bare or partly covered by high sandals, on large *aes* or sestertii of Trajan and especially Hadrian⁹ (Pl. 12, b). It seems unlikely any such figure would be set up or re-used in eastern Attica, but the Raphti could have been the symbol of some imperial campaign in the East, Parthia, Armenia, or even Judaea being candidates, the last perfectly reasonable if one remembers Hadrian's concern with Attica and the fact two violent wars with the Jews were fought in his reign. This would have made the visual message something like that of the Stoa of the Colossal Figures at Corinth, a type of monument copied in Greece and Asia Minor, as the head in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery in Kansas City, Missouri gives evidence.¹⁰

Britannia, hardly germane here, offers a similar identity of iconographic detail.¹¹ Italia, a popular type of personification circulated throughout the Empire in the minor arts, shows that the most visible attribute, surely in the raised right hand, might have been a cornucopiae, although the right shoulder of the Raphti seems too elevated.¹² In these contexts alone, the iconography of active, almost Amazonian but fully tuniced provinces, the Raphti cannot represent a Roman emperor, the combination of such full, non-heroic costume and sandals or bare feet having no parallel in Greek or Roman imperial art. Even in Hellenistic times the stele of Polybius from Clitor (Kleitor) in

⁹ Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, pl. III, nos. 23–26, pl. XIII, nos. 16, 19. Hadrianic sestertius dated ca. A.D. 137; superb specimen, from Prince Waldeck's collection: Münzhandlung Basel, *Sale 3, 4 March 1935*, no. 387, pl. 18; Bank Leu A.G., Zürich, *Auktion 10, 29 May 1974*, p. 20, no. 152, pl. IX.

¹⁰ Inv. no. 32–146. Height: 0.31 m.; in very crystalline "Island" or western Asia Minor marble. T. Hadzisteliou Price, *Arch. Class.*, 24, 1972, p. 49, note 2, pl. XXIX, 2. No. 7 in an article on portraits, real and ideal, in Kansas City, in *Apollo*, N.S. No. 99, May 1974, no. 147, p. 316.

¹¹ Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, pl. XI, nos. 24, 25. Britannia's counterpart, the "Gallia" of the trophy-ensemble at Saint-Bertrand de Comminges (Lugdunum Convenarum in southwest France), is sexless, has a long ungirt upper garment, is wrapped loosely in thin drapery to below her ankles, and exhibits bare feet; the monument is Augustan, 27 to 20 B.C.: G. C. Picard, *Les trophées romains*, Paris, 1957, pp. 270–273, pl. IX.

¹² Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, pl. XVI, no. 1. If the Raphti were male, the statue would have resembled the effeminate, Anatolian eunuch-deity Attis, as the fourth-century B.C. or Graeco-Roman (copy) marble statue in the Denman collection, San Antonio: H. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries that Shaped the West, Greek and Roman Art in Texas Collections*, Houston, 1970, pp. 32–35, no. 11. This would never have suited an Attic hilltop.

Arcadia offers little iconographic comfort; although tunic and cloak are of the same general type, and feet are bare, right arm, shoulder, chest, and an expanse of side nearly to the waist are also shown in the heroic nude.¹³

NOT AN EMPEROR, PROBABLY NOT AN EMPRESS

That the right arm was raised, the left lowered and close to the side and leg, is a common factor in many such imperial-cult or, more likely, commemorative statues. Be it noted, however, that such a pose has nothing to do with the Pheidian Zeus, or the early Hellenistic Zeus of the Seleucids at Antioch (Pl. 12, c), or the various versions of the Capitoline Jupiter, including the painting of Jupiter-Hadrian (?) at Eleusis, where, in all cases, the *left* arm is raised holding the scepter-staff and the attribute is in the lowered *right* hand (Pl. 12, d). Emperors in the heroic near-nude do appear with either arm raised, as in the cuirassed statues, but those as Zeus-Jupiter follow the traditional iconography. In these imperial statues clad only in an ample cloak, it is the back end of that garment on which the subject sits and which hangs over the seat behind the legs, these being in turn often very well draped. Since the head and neck, and obviously the arms of the Raphti were made separately, it might be that the lower legs, drapery, and feet were also carved from a separate block of marble and pinned on (at the left side and through the right foot), thus giving leeway for any manner of covering around the lower limbs and representation of a garment or cloth and the rockwork behind.

Being of marble and out in the open, the raised right hand of the Raphti would have had to be supported (like the extended hand of the Athena Parthenos), whether the attribute was ears of wheat, a torch, a spear, a scepter-staff, or a cornucopiae. The choice of attributes for the left hand is extensive, although I had favored an orb. In no way, however, to state again in stronger terms, can the Raphti represent an emperor, Caesar, or high administrator, who are never shown in Roman art seated with sandals or bare feet, lower limbs possibly undraped, and an undergarment of this type. Emperors or *imperatores* in historical and state reliefs may sit cuirassed on curule chairs or camp-stools, or in various formal, civilian or traveling costumes on similar seats, but they, and certainly their consorts, do not favor rocks.¹⁴ The two ancestral figures,

¹³ M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1961, p. 162, fig. 691. Comparison of the Raphti's costume to the little jerkins of the Augustan *camillus* and *victimarius* introduced retrospectively into the Sacrifice of Aeneas on the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome (Miller, p. 193) seems difficult to sustain in the light of developments in Roman state relief, East and West. See I. S. Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art," *Mem. Am. Ac. Rome*, XXII, 1955, pp. 40-41.

¹⁴ R. Brilliant, *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XIV, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*, New Haven, 1963, pp. 156-157, figs. 3.130 to 3.140, pp. 151-153, figs. 3.114 to 3.119. The most valid of Mr. Miller's parallels on p. 194 (last paragraph) is "Valentinian II" on the silver dish in Madrid, but the prince sits on an elaborate throne, not a rock. Although the Hellenistic "Apotheosis of Homer" relief is built up the slopes of Mount Parnassus (or Helicon), only the Muses in the second register,

one fully clothed and the other heroic, half-draped, in the remaining niches of the Philopappos Monument in Athens, give a good indication of civic and divine costume for Hellenistic princes and Roman emperors in the Greek imperial world.

For what it is worth, emperors after the age of Marcus Agrippa and his rostral crown on coins and in decorative relief do not wear headgear in the form of city battlements. One cannot, therefore, consider the notion of a mural crown used as a beacon light and, at the same time, identify the Raphti as male, the Genius Populi Romani and similar mural-crowned young male personifications being dressed only in the heroic himation or in nothing at all. On the other hand, all this does not preclude the thought that the Raphti once represented a Roman empress in the guise of a geographical personification. It would have been totally in keeping with his honors to women at Olympia and Rome for Herodes Atticus to have erected a statue of Faustina I or II or even Regilla as Oikoumene or Attica or Achaea. Herodes Atticus could have journeyed over to admire the statue from his Marathonian estates, and perhaps it was he alone who made the harbor of Porto Raphti safe and "operational" for his frequent adventures in Asia Minor.

HADRIANIC OR ANTONINE DATE

This period, as opposed to the Severan, seemed more in keeping with an age when Hadrian or Herodes Atticus was setting up such statues from Olympia to Athens to the eastern side of Attica. Stylistic arguments for a Severan or later date weaken when it is observed that the same decisive cutting of drapery first crinkly and then flat occurs in the more worn province reliefs from the podium of the Hadrianeum in Rome, for example the relief in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome.¹⁵ To be sure, the

from semi-nude Zeus down to elaborately enthroned Homer, sit on a clump of rocks like that of the Raphti (compare the good photograph in G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, London, 1969, p. 182, fig. 248). Seatcloths or drapery on the squared blocks and the arrangements of the area behind the legs, especially of Homer, answer visually some of the technical problems posed by carving and piecing together a large, outdoor statue like the Raphti. When Zeus is a mountain-god, in his pose as a cult-image reversed from that of the Raphti, he still prefers a throne and holds the mountain as a symbol on his hand. The Hadrianic-to-Severan Zeus of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Mount Argaeus in his lowered right hand, is a good example, which has a relationship to large bronze statuettes similar to that encountered with the Raphti: *The Museum Year: 1972-73, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pp. 22, 42. See also A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, ii, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 951, fig. 842, 962, fig. 849; III, ii, Cambridge, 1940, p. 1176, fig. 919; etc., including a bronze Zeus *Olympios* on his throne: *ibid.*, p. 1196, pl. LXXXII. The rather sexless, medium-girt, fully draped, and barefooted Constantinopolis on the dish of Asper, A.D. 434, in Florence offers a Late Antique comparison of a general nature for the Raphti in metalwork; she is standing: W. F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, New York, 1961, p. 332, pl. 109.

¹⁵ Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, pl. XXXVI, no. 1; K. Stemmer, *Arch. Anz.*, 86, 1971, pp. 564-565, fig. 2. A small, bronze, battlement-crowned *male* personification from Autun is seated on a rock and holds a cornucopiae; he is, however, bare from the waist up, save for the cloak over his left shoulder: E. Babelon, J.-A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1895, pp. 265-266, no. 624.

captives of the Façade of the Colossal Figures at Corinth appear to belong early in the Severan period, so as between Antonine and Severan one has little quarrel, but the age of long-lived Herodes Atticus provided the perfect climate for such a combination of decoration and function, like the Nymphaeum at Olympia. Such drapery as that of the Raphthi occurs at many places and in many forms in the Aegean world, at Smyrna and on Crete for instance, from the first century B.C. to the end of the Julio-Claudian period.¹⁶

THE PERSONIFICATION IN HER PRESENT LOCATION

The arguments in these pages restate my belief that the statue has been in her present, intended position since Classical Antiquity. She, and the statue on the smaller, inner island (the "Raphtopoula"), were no chance erections of a troubled later Middle Ages. Not even lions were dragged to the simple, beachhead "ports" of Attica in such impoverished times. In these days of jet travel and speedy ships we forget that, in times of prosperity (such as the Hadrianic and Antonine periods of the Empire) as well as times of strife, a landlocked harbor on the eastern coast of Attica, looking through the Aegean towards Asia Minor and the Levant, was of considerable use to a pan-Mediterranean economy. Ships not able or willing to round Sounion in summer or winter winds could lay into the harbor the way much larger ships in the days of coal used the great harbor of Kea on their way to Constantinople. That the pedestal of the Raphthi was damaged, robbed, and repaired in the Middle Ages (propped up precariously and repaired again in the nineteenth century) is no clue to the statue's relocation in the late Middle Ages. Much of one Dioskouros of Monte Cavallo needed considerable care of this sort to survive *in situ* from Antiquity to modern times.

The horizontal poros blocks at the base of the pedestal, topped by vertical slabs of similar material, and finally surmounted by four marble rectangles under the statue made a very sophisticated installation, far more attractive in its simplicity and from a distance than many of the statue bases in the old shrines of Greece, Delos for instance. The combination of poros and marble had an honorable tradition in Attic art, as the plinths and bases for funerary lions of the fourth century B.C. indicate. I find it hard to believe, in the light of the way monuments of sculpture were set up in Rome in the late Middle Ages, in front of the Lateran or on the Campidoglio for instance, that such a complex installation could have been created in these times on a remote hilltop in Attica.

That the Raphthi and its companion statue do not enter the literature of travelers or chroniclers until the waning of the Middle Ages (in Venetian or central Italian terms)

¹⁶ D. Papastamos, Kl. Staehler, *Κρητ. Χρον.*, 24, 1972, p. 96. The general thesis, reaffirmed in these pages (the heroic, half-draped, enthroned god or male personification as contrasted with the heavily draped, relatively sexless female, goddess or personification) has its symbolic, chronological beginning in Athens and Attica in the stele with seated Demos crowned by standing Demokratia from the Agora, 336 B.C.: M. Lang, *Excavations of the Athenian Agora*, Picture Book No. 4, *The Athenian Citizen*, Princeton, 1960, cover and fig. 29; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, 21, 1952, pp. 355-359, no. 5, pl. 90.

is hardly support for a thesis that the statue was placed there recently. If so, Greece and Asia Minor, not to mention Syria and even Egypt, would parade a host of monuments from giant temples (such as the temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus) to colonnaded harbors (Pompeiopolis) to Nilotic wonders of all sizes which it would be fair to suggest were placed in use so travelers of the Trecento or Quattrocento could "discover" and record them.

The back of the Raphti, despite centuries of wind and rain, is perfectly finished with curves of drapery and attention to the rockwork pattern of the seat. Such finishing need only be contrasted with the really rough back of the otherwise-sophisticated Primaporta Augustus in the Vatican or most marble cuirassed figures of later-than-Augustan date from Asia Minor to see what happens to a Roman imperial statue when it is destined for a niche.¹⁷ That the back of the Raphti is stiff, rectangular, and close to the flat surfaces of the block of marble from which the drapery and body emerged is fully in keeping with Roman copies or creations after older Greek originals. The many accomplished marble versions of the so-called Venus Genetrix of Julius Caesar, like the statue in the Louvre or the copies adapted as Roman portraits, show how a goddess or lady with an imaginative front, from top to bottom, could be endowed with a draped back as stiff as that which we see in the Raphti.

THE PORTABLE BRONZE IMAGE IDENTIFIED AS OIKOUMENE

Between the Raphti and the large statuette found many years ago on the slopes of Hymettos east of the modern airport and towards the Porto Raphti side of Attica, there are notable differences, which I should have explained in the previous publications.¹⁸ The undergarment of the bronze figure is relatively high girt, and the cloak takes the form of a mantle on right shoulder, left arm and lap, rather than primarily on the left shoulder, down the left side, and across the left thigh. The words "perhaps even a replica" were doubtless too strong for those used to the terms in reference to the work of Myron, Polykleitos, or possibly even Lysippos. Both large marble Raphti and large bronze statuette were varying expressions of the same *type* of geographical personification. So-called replicas of the early Hellenistic Sarapis of Bryaxis show how colossi and their reflections in all media on varying scales differ or can be influenced by other statues and statuettes expressing the same divinity or concept. The Tychai of Antioch and other Eastern cities behave in the same fashion, in marble, small bronzes, and on coins.

¹⁷ H. Ingholt, *Archaeology*, 22, 1969, pp. 308–310. Geographical personifications on the breastplate ("Galatia", p. 313; "Armenia", p. 317), and the "Parthia" from the podium of the Hadrianeum in Rome (p. 316), contribute more examples of the masculinity of female personifications in the Roman imperial world. The defeated geographical personifications on the cuirass of the Primaporta Augustus sit on rocks, which are partly covered by their cloaks (large-scale details: H. Kähler, *Die Augustusstatue von Primaporta*, Cologne, 1959, pls. 19, 18, as Dalmatia and Germania).

¹⁸ Cf. *Hesperia*, 31, 1962, pp. 75–78 and pl. 27; Vermeule, *op. cit.* (above, note 5), pp. 35–36, fig. 15.

The bronze statuette from Attica also shows how, on a large scale in marble, the rockwork could be carved out behind the draped legs and also how the silhouette of sandaled toes on the plinth could look like bare footprints after eighteen hundred or more years' exposure to the Attic and Aegean elements. The seated Tyche, spear once in the raised right hand (so the catalogue says) and small cornucopiae in the lowered left, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the bronze statuette known as "Felix Ravenna", which was cited in connection with the bronze Tyche from Attica, gives an even better demonstration of how a majestic lady seated in long chiton and himation could have lower limbs and feet set well forward of her seat. Indeed, there is considerable open space between the feet, and on either side of the lower limbs. The end of the himation or cloth on which the personification sits even spreads out at either side, behind the lower legs and thighs.

SUMMATION

This review of the Raphti should emphasize what the statue is, not what a list of scholars past and present have thought it ought to be. The figure is female, of the tough Imperial type best represented by certain provinces on coins of Hadrian and the Antonines. She is probably a geographical personification or possibly an Antonine empress (or leading private female) assimilated to or in the guise of the divine symbol of an area as broad as Oikoumene or as restricted as Achaea or Attica.¹⁹ The statue dates most probably in the Antonine period, and it was set up in an age when Porto Raphti harbor benefited from the prosperity of the Aegean. Evidence external and internal has suggested that the female served as a beacon light at night, a condition best effected if the goddess-personification wore an elaborate version of the mural crown

¹⁹ In conclusion, the badly damaged goddess or princess (Agrippina the wife of Germanicus?) seated on rocks at the left of the Julio-Claudian family relief in Ravenna is, in many respects, the Early Imperial forerunner of the Raphti: H. Kähler, *Rome and her Empire*, London, 1963, pp. 92-93, color plate. She suits the variety of relationships suggested in these pages better than the enthroned personifications and heroic imperial personages on the sardonix cameos.

To return to the ages when standard imperial images were being perpetuated in a variety of media, a significant geographical personification is enthroned in the central tondo of the late second- or third-century mosaic from Carthage, shown at the Paris exposition of 1889, and long stored in the Trocadéro. She is Oikoumene, Mother Earth, or possibly Carthago; Ge or Tellus at this time, however, is usually shown as the half-draped, buxom counterpart of Oceanus or the typical river gods, as on the famous bronze medallion of Commodus: see Bank Leu, *Auktion 10*, 1974, p. 25, no. 201, pl. XII (the Naville—*Ars Classica*, 10, 1925, p. 123, no. 1763, pl. 76 specimen). The personification of the mosaic is evidently female (a point disputed by scholars) and ungirt, raises her right arm (attribute invisible), holds a cornucopiae in the left, has her cloak around her lower limbs, and exhibits lightly sandaled feet. She is, therefore, a nearly contemporary illustration of what the Raphti could have been, the chief exception being the throne of urban cult-images as opposed to the rockwork seat of open-air geographical identities: D. Levi, *The Art Bulletin*, 23, 1941, pp. 252, 290, no. 4, fig. 6; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1922, p. 222. Her head is unfortunately damaged; a partly nude male near her feet ought to be the Ocean.

appropriate to such figures. The Raphiti and her surroundings have suffered since she was set up, but she has not been moved from the place intended for her in Antiquity. She has not had to undergo the humiliating double migrations of the lion of Liopesi or the beasts of Porto Leone.

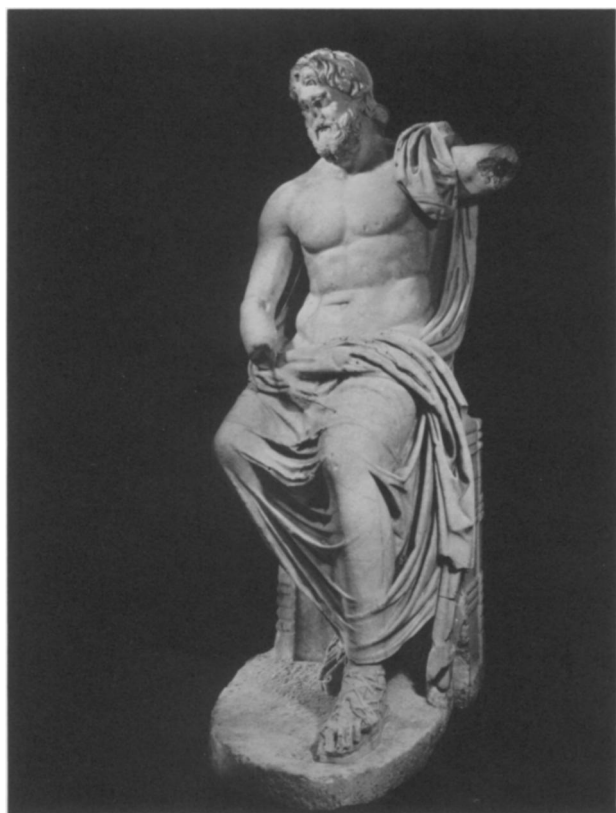
CORNELIUS VERMEULE

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON



b. Dacia. Reverse of a sestertertius of Hadrian. (Photo, Bank Leu A.G., Zürich)

a. Minerva restored as Roma. Paris, Musée du Louvre. (Photo, Musées Nationaux)



c. Heroic-scale Zeus, of Hellenistic type. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum. (Photo, Prof. J. Frel)



d. Zeus of Caesarea in Cappadocia, holding Mount Argaeus. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. (Photo, Hickey and Robertson)

Greek and Roman Sculpture from the Northern Coasts of the Black Sea (Chiefly Russia)

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are not (like plays) taken off if attendances are poor. The National Theatre is supposed to operate at, say, 90% capacity; but who is to say what the audience capacity is for an exhibition of Salvator Rosa paintings or North American Tribal Art?

Even experts are fallible, and mistakes under the present system can of course still be made. However, the odd lapse, the occasional exercise of bad judgement, is a small price to pay for the employment of knowledge and experience in situations free of political interference. The *Policy Paper* is deeply suspicious of Arts Council representatives because they 'represent no-one but themselves'. But that is one of their chief virtues. The decision on whether or not to mount a travelling exhibition of Bernard Leach pottery, Rothko paintings, Jim Dine drawings or Van Gogh self-portraits should always be, and *must remain*, a cultural and not a political issue. The central rôle of the Arts Council and, indeed, of our museums, is to provide cultural opportunities, to make art available. Whether the public avails itself of these opportunities is, as the *Policy Paper* implies in

another section, a matter of taste, upbringing and education.

The National Theatre, the English National Opera, the Royal Shakespeare Company and Covent Garden present the classics and new work with seats at all prices. Tickets are available for dockers as well as diplomats and duchesses. The idea that this kind of thing is a luxury way out of reach of the working classes is of course nonsense. As everyone knows, enthusiasts will pay twice or three times the cost of even a Wagner stall at Covent Garden for a football fixture or boxing match.

One of the perennial problems of the Arts Council is in fact finding enough money for the big London theatrical and opera companies, which contribute so much to our cultural welfare, not to mention their drawing power with tourists (a point fortunately not lost on the framers of the *Policy Paper*). The National Theatre is at the moment facing a new financial crisis. Is it not time these institutions were taken out of Arts Council jurisdiction and treated like National Museums, with independent status and answerable through *Trustees* to the Government?

CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE

Greek and Roman Sculpture from the Northern Coasts of the Black Sea (chiefly Russia)

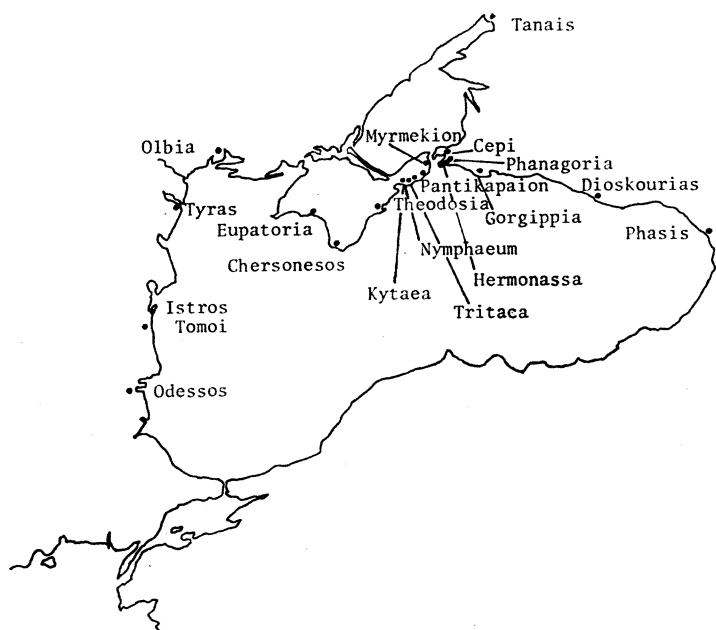
Introduction

ARCHAEOLOGISTS active in Russia during the past century and a half have published much about the statues and reliefs in marble and good-grade limestone, found at the classical settlements of Tyras and Olbia and those ranged clockwise around the coasts to Gorgippia and Dioskourias or even Phasis. Savants of the nineteenth century concentrated on regional surveys (notably the Cimmerian Bos-

phorus) and more specially on masterpieces most like those in the princely collections of western Europe and of the landed gentry in the British Isles (Fig.A). The present century from the reign of the last Czar to the disruptions of the Second World War saw the collection of certain monuments (notably grave stelai) in heroic books and also comprehensive catalogues of museums where marbles were installed (the Hermitage; or the British Museum as a result of the Crimean War).

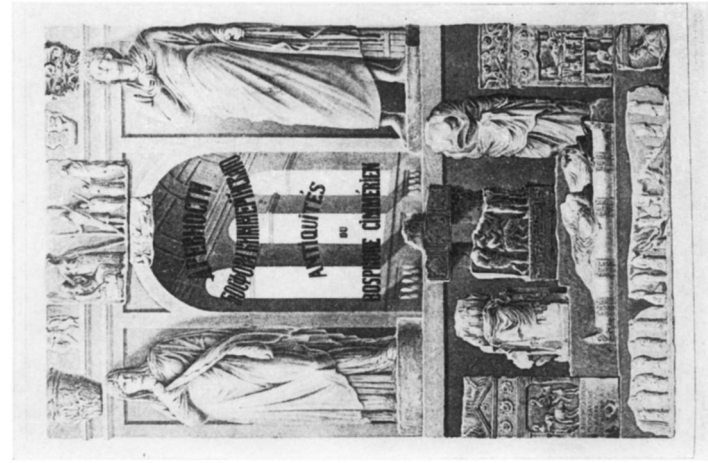
Since 1945 there has been a splendid succession of excavation reports, articles on major and minor finds, regional or local museum guides, and informative picture-books well written by recognized authorities. Since marbles from the Black Sea cities are scattered from Leningrad to Moscow and modern Odessa or Kerch or Sochi, the task of framing these notes has been made much easier thanks to these recent picture-books by Soviet scholars and the comprehensive bibliographies which they invariably contain.¹

The reasons for writing this article are neither to criticize the scholarship of the past nor to offer second-guesses on



A. Classical Settlements around the Black Sea.

¹ First among these and extensively quoted here is doubtless G. SOKOLOV: *Antique Art on the Northern Black Sea Coast*, Aurora Art Publishers, Leningrad [1974] (hereafter SOKOLOV). One book, with an essay and captioned plates, is devoted entirely to sculpture: M. KOBYLINA: *La sculpture antique sur le littoral nord de la mer Noire*, Editions 'Nauka,' Moscow [1972] (hereafter KOBYLINA). O. WALDHÄUER: *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, three volumes, Berlin-Leipzig [1928-36] (hereafter WALDHÄUER, I, II, or III), describes many of these sculptures. All three authors have written a number of articles in archaeological journals, which supplement the discussions in these monographs and catalogues. The regional museums usually issue useful handbooks with illustrations, the one for Odessa being a good example. While a number of the sculptures splendidly pictured in Sokolov's book appear here in Fig.2 (after Stephani, below note 16), the illustrations in this article have been drawn from the other marbles catalogued by Waldhauer. Fig.10, however, is SOKOLOV, p.78, No.68, as a Dionysos of the fourth century B.C.



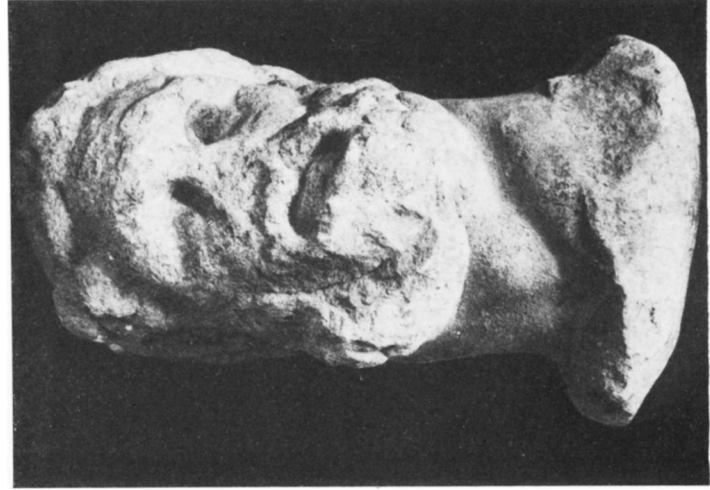
2. Title page of L. E. Stepani (1854, 1892). Various statues and reliefs. These and the following sculptures are in Leningrad, Hermitage. Most are mentioned in this study.



3. *Ideal Head*. c.425 to 400 B.C. From Olbia.



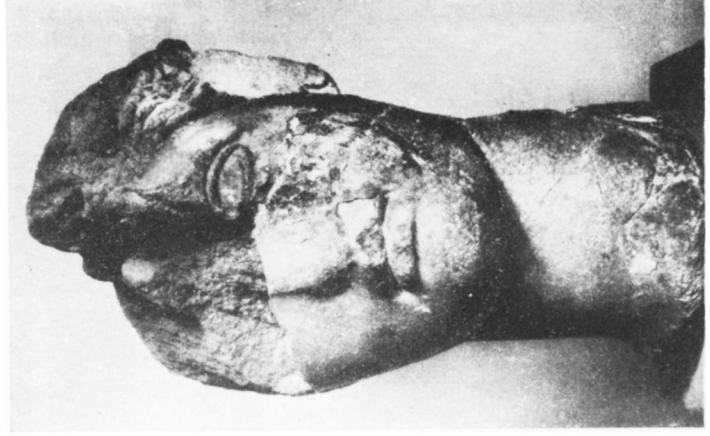
4. Profile view of the head in Fig.3.



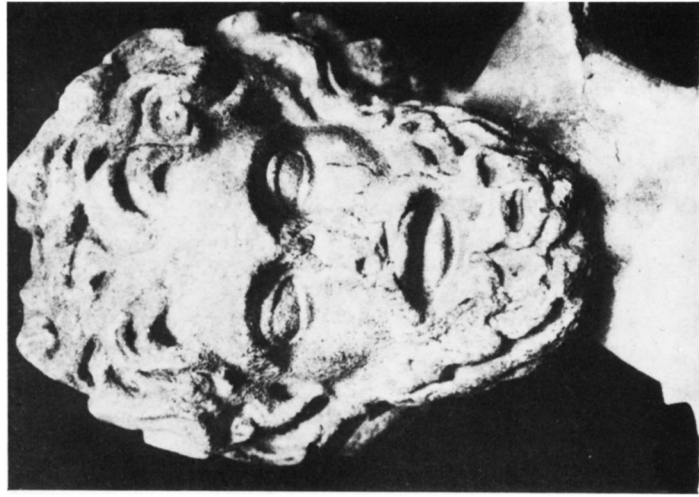
5. Skopasian 'Herakles'. From Panticapaeum.



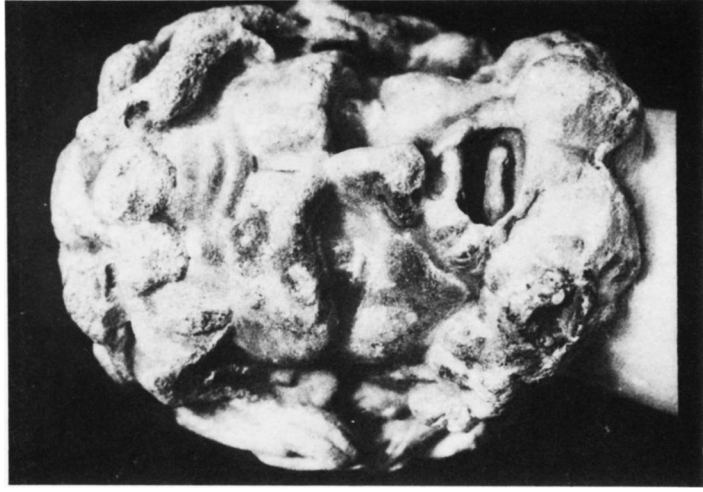
6. *Kybele*, after Agorakritos. From Panticapaeum.



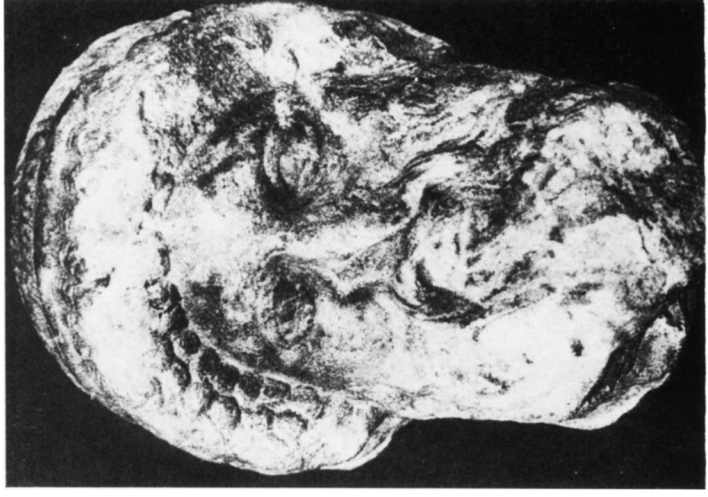
7. *Goddess or ideal female*. From Panticapaeum.



8. 'Posidon' post-Pergamene style. From Olbia.



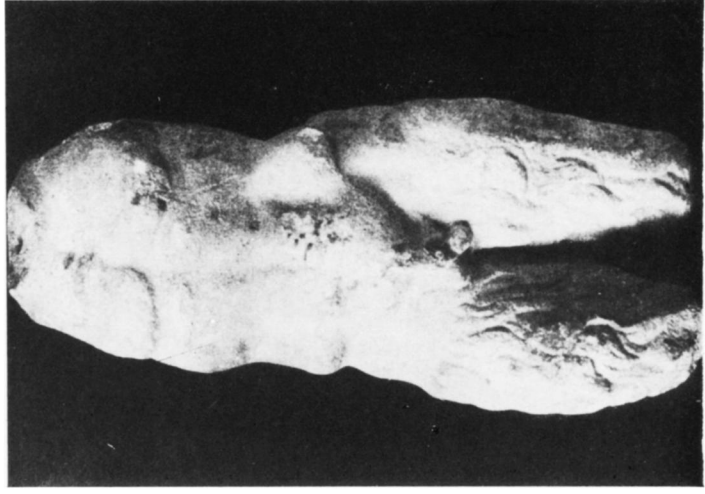
9. 'Seagod', Pergamene style. From Panticapaeum.



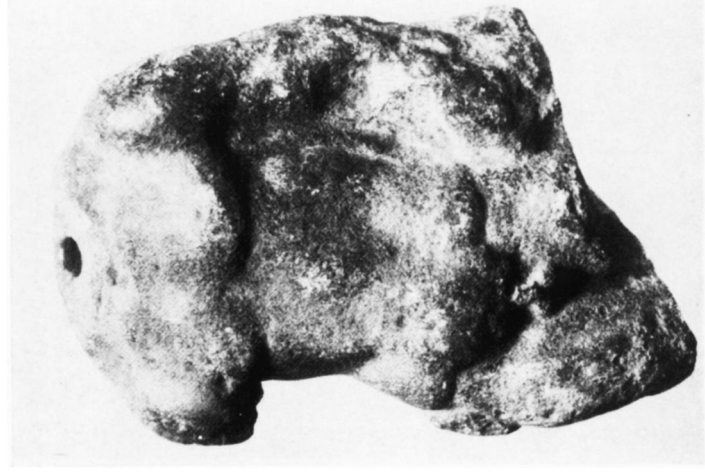
10. *Herm* head of fifth-century B.C. type. From Chersonesus.



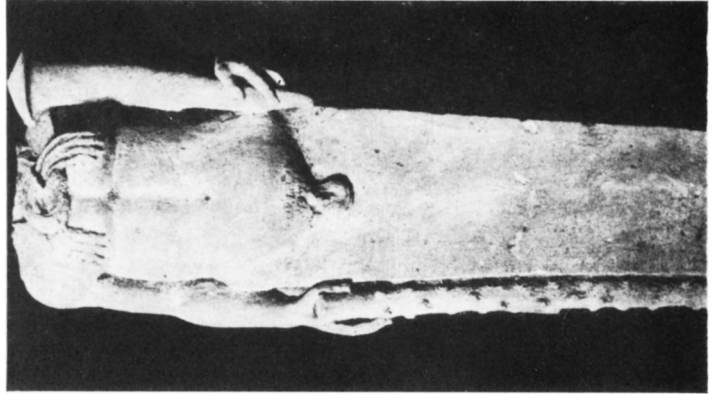
11. *Draped female*, probably a portrait-statue. From Panticapaeum.



12. *Pan*, Graeco-Roman. From Panticapaeum.



13. *Lysippic Weary Herakles*. From Panticapaeum.



14. Terminal figure of *Herakles*. From Panticapaeum.

Soviet and earlier Russian or foreign publications, which have been in the main thorough, correct, and informative. Certain conclusions can be drawn from a general survey which suggest the classical through Graeco-Roman to Late Antique sculptures of the Black Sea region were both related closely to the tastes and workshops of Asia Minor or the Greek islands and also considerably different, exhibiting an individuality of subjects and iconographic arrangement peculiar to the cities of Tyras, Olbia, Chersonesus, Panticapaeum, and Phanagoria.²

Characteristics: The Size of Statues and Reliefs

Most marbles are small, owing to high costs of transport along the Black Sea coasts (Figs.3, 4, 10, 13). Large sculptures were usually carved in regional limestone, reflecting the ability to create monumental works in or after good Graeco-Roman styles without having to transport the stone from afar. Considering that Livadia Palace was constructed from Italian (Carrara) marble and (Travertine) stone, transport could be and was arranged in Antiquity when the commission was of sufficient importance and the clients had the means to pay. Since the areas in question were only partly or nominally within the Roman Empire, there were few of the large-scale civic or municipal commemorations associated with imperial rule. The lack of American civic sculpture in Alaska offers a cogent parallel.

What surviving sculptures from 450 B.C. to A.D. 350 were of scales from nearly life-sized to heroic, that is up to one and a half times life-size? (To my knowledge, no truly colossal marbles have survived from the northern Black Sea sites.)³ There were Attic funerary reliefs and (comparatively fewer) votive statues from Olbia and Dioskourias; certain heads and at least one relief have been dated in the years 440 to 400 B.C., while there are sculptures to be identified without question with the Attic masters and their followers from 380 to 330 B.C. (Figs.3, 4).⁴

In the centuries from 330 to the death of Mithridates, there are heads of divinities and heroes in the late style of Lysippos or in the baroque mould of Pergamon (Figs.5, 8, 9).⁵ At the outset, or up to two decades earlier, a series of statues were set up on the acropolis of Panticapaeum in the tradition of the draped rulers of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.⁶ Sarcophagi like those from the royal necropolis at Sidon, of the ornamented but unfigured (although undoubtedly usually painted and perhaps gilded) architectural type with elaborate pedimental roofs, were commissioned for rich burials either side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. The most famous examples come from the Taman peninsula.⁷ Some, similar (relatively plain) stelai with pediments, rosettes, and inscriptions had been produced for most cities in the second half of the fourth and the first half of the third centuries B.C.⁸ A large group of such stelai, many with painted decoration (such as knotted fillets) well preserved, has been extracted in pieces and in some instances reassembled in full from the so-called Tower of Zeno, one of the most photogenic survivals of the fortifications of several periods at Chersonesus.⁹

The purely Hellenistic sculptures of fairly large size are usually difficult to date as between third to first centuries B.C., save that the very Pergamene copies or creations cannot be before about 225 B.C. and the patently rococo decorative or classicizing statues or reliefs must belong either in the century from 150 B.C. or the quarter of a millennium of Graeco-Roman copyism in these regions (Figs.6, 7). The last period extends, historically, from Julius Caesar or Ovid to the Huns or Goths and the death of the Emperor Traianus Decius in Moesia. There are also Archaistic reliefs of varying quality, notably a superlative example from Phanagoria, representing two nymphs or Horae clad in elegant, swallow-tailed drapery and linking hands while moving to the right.¹⁰ This base, and other such sculptures of Horae or Seasons or divinities, may be dated as early as the fourth century B.C.

² A visit was made to these regions under the auspices of the Associated Harvard Alumni in September 1976. The reports by J. BOARDMAN, in *JHS, Archaeological Reports for 1962-63* (pp.34-51) and K. S. GORBUNOVA, *JHS, Archaeological Reports for 1971-72* (pp.48-59) have been very valuable. Mary Comstock and Kristin Anderson, together with Marcia D.-S. Dobson (who collected catalogues on an earlier trip in these regions), Sandra K. Morgan, Emily T. Vermeule, and Florence Z. Wolsky have helped prepare these notes. Kristin Anderson created the map shown here (Fig.A) after various Russian and British publications. Minor sculptures in metal and clay, in and out of Russia, are not considered here. They are numerous: e.g. relief-plaques from Olbia in Leiden: J. H. C. KERN, *Mnemosyne* 8 [1955], pp.219-21; the cuirass-*pteryx* 'matrix' in Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, from a grave at Kerch; D. M. ROBINSON: *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, Princeton [1936], pp.303-13 (correctly identified by Ellen Reeder Williams).

³ Two such statues from Kerch were lost about 1855 in the Volga *en route* to St Petersburg. They evidently represented a man and woman, the former in the heroic guise of a divinity like Apollo or Hermes ('about fifteen feet in height') and the latter perhaps represented as a Muse or even as Isis, on account of the network in her hair (she was 'twelve feet in height'); D. MC OR MACPHERSON: *Antiquities of Kerch*, London [1857], pp.85-86.

⁴ See O. LORDKIPANIDZE: 'La Géorgie et le monde grec', *BCH* 98 [1974], pp.899-904, figs.1, 1a and 1b (found in Sukhumi Bay, exhibited in Sochi, and to be dated about 400 B.C., according to Jiri Frel, whose advice has been most appreciated); SOKOLOV, pp.42-43, Nos.21, 22 (stele from Olbia; Moscow, Historical Museum, inv. No.11766). The noblest head of about 340 B.C. is the bearded god, probably Asklepios, from Olbia, also in Moscow, Historical Museum, inv. No.11769, which O. Waldhauer felt was close to Skopas: SOKOLOV, p.41, No.20; KOBYLINA, pl.VII; O. WALDHAUER, *JHS* 44 [1924],

pp.48-49, p.I. A goddess from Olbia, in Leningrad, is probably the purest example of Pheidian or post-Pheidian statuary from the Black Sea: WALDHAUER, III, pp.32-34, No.270, pl.XXVI (Figs.3, 4). An Attic funerary-banquet relief of 350 B.C. has been excavated at Gorgippia: W. BLAWATSKIJ; *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale, Supplemento 1970*, Rome [1973], pp.159-60, fig.167.

⁵ Herakles, fragment of a statue, from the foot of Mt. Mithridates: SOKOLOV, pp.38-39, No.17; WALDHAUER, I, p.82, No.76, pl.XLIV.

⁶ KOBYLINA, pl.XVIII; WALDHAUER, I, p.50, No.36, pl.XVIII; *idem*, *JHS* 44 [1924], pp.50-51, fig.5.

⁷ Sarcophagus from a barrow-vault near Taman (ancient Hermonassa): SOKOLOV, pp.72-73, No.63. The plain body, between the pedimented roof and the moulding of the base, is characterized by rows of rosettes in inset panels, eight rosettes in the panels on the sides and three on the ends.

⁸ The tombstone of Maia, wife of Kallias, found in Kerch (Panticapaeum) in 1901, is an excellent example of these stelai: SOKOLOV, pp.78-79, No.69. So also, although less well preserved, is the similar, slightly simpler monument of Kalliadras, son of Artemidoros, found at Chersonesus: SOKOLOV, p.89, No.85.

⁹ K. S. GORBUNOVA, *JHS, Archaeological Reports for 1971-72*, pp.52-53, fig.11 (a complete example, painted from pediment to rosettes to fillet to moulded base).

¹⁰ KOBYLINA, pl.XVI, found in 1970 and in the Museum of Fine Arts (Pushkin), Moscow. Compare the tripod-base in the Agora Museum, Athens, S 370 (and/or S 7327): E. B. HARRISON: *The Athenian Agora*, XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton [1965], pp.79-81, No.128, pl.30; C. M. HAVELOCK: *Hellenistic Art*, Greenwich (Connecticut) [1969(?)], p.196, No.162; dated about 100 B.C. and with several parallels having different scenes.

or in the middle of the Hellenistic period, while such carvings of a somewhat less-refined, clearly-derivative nature belong to the first and second centuries of the Empire.¹¹

A group of heads of divinities and ideal persons, perhaps from votive or funerary statues since necks have been worked for insertion in draped figures, belong both to the recasting of monumental fifth and fourth-century cult images in Graeco-Roman times and to the Hellenistic traditions of Praxiteles, Skopas (more frequently), and especially Lysippos. They follow predictable models, sometimes enlarging or reducing the prototypes as had been done elsewhere in the Hellenistic world: Herakles, Hygeia, Demeter, or females of indeterminate identification if not stylistic origin (Figs. 7, 8, 9).¹² The group of Nike slaying a bull, from Mount Mithridates at Panticapaeum, gives an unusual freshness of dimension to a subject suggested late in the fifth century B.C. on the balustrade of the little Ionic temple on the Acropolis in Athens and usually handled in a somewhat lifeless Neo-Attic fashion in Rome and the surrounding imperial villas under the Empire.¹³

The Roman portraits in marble can rival the best work of Asia Minor, while the heads or figures in limestone run the scale from excellent regional creativity to rustic manifestations of a non-classical art. Although the bases of statues honouring Roman Emperors from Augustus through the Severans have been recorded, no imperial portraits have been identified from the territories of 'New' or modern Russia.¹⁴ An old woman of the late Augustan or early Julio-

Claudian period at Olbia would be hardly noticed in the Musei Vaticani but is rare among the monumental sculptures of the Black Sea region.¹⁵ The craftsmanship is good but far from exceptional; perhaps the portrait was brought to Olbia with the subject's family from some Graeco-Roman city as far away as Ostia or Rome itself.

The pair of statues from a major Graeco-Roman tomb at Panticapaeum, a young man of about A.D. 130 as the Lateran Sophokles or nearly so and his wife (or sister) as the 'Demeter' from Herculaneum, shows that the affluent citizens or princely families from the Cimmerian Bosphorus could send to Smyrna, Ephesus, or Aphrodisias for portraitists and the marbles with which the latter worked, either at home or on their travels abroad (Fig. 11).¹⁶

The aristocratic Neokles, the Philopappus of Gorgippia, was commemorated in A.D. 187 with a palliate statue, carved from life about 175, which is every inch the Antonine courtly equivalent of the anonymous man and woman from the tomb-chamber at Panticapaeum.¹⁷ With his ample hair, large eyes, carefully combed beard, and philosopher's carriage, Neokles could have stood with the rich and talented Vedius in the gymnasium at Ephesus or with his near-contemporary Herodes Atticus at Kiphissia or Marathon.¹⁸ This noble magistrate of Gorgippia is the last or latest surviving monumental statue in Greek marble from the northern Black Sea coast.¹⁹

Removal of re-used slabs and tombs from the main basilica at Chersonesus has yielded a group of Antonine

¹¹ As the relief showing Pappasilenos marching left to right, a staff with four bunches of grapes over his left shoulder and a *pedum* in the right hand, found in Kerch and in the museum there until the Second World War: KOBYLINA, pl. IX. Such is also the case with the relief of Artemis, Apollo, Hermes, and Peitho (?) in the Odessa Museum from Panticapaeum: S. REINACH; *Répertoire de reliefs*, III, Paris [1912], p. 478, No. 1.

¹² Although badly mutilated, the head and neck of a female, in Leningrad from Panticapaeum, must present a concept suitable for a cult-image, perhaps even a late Hellenistic or early imperial royal personage: WALDHauer, III, pp. 73-74, No. 335, fig. 80 (Fig. 7). For the perfect 'high-Hellenistic' divinity, major or minor, compare also the 'Hygeia' from Panticapaeum in the Museum of Fine Arts (Pushkin), Moscow: KOBYLINA, pl. XIV, 2. 'Poseidon' from Odessa-Olbia (?) in Leningrad: WALDHauer, I, p. 64, No. 48, pl. XXIX (Fig. 8). Alexandrian 'Hygeia,' found in 1902 by B. V. Farmakovsky in an ancient dwelling at Olbia, also in Leningrad: SOKOLOV, p. 84, No. 77; WALDHauer, III, pp. 74-75, No. 384. The head of a majestic woman in island marble, found at Panticapaeum in 1949, is an impressive piece of Greek sculpture, seemingly from the generation of Pheidias's pupils but most likely first century B.C. in the Pergamene classicizing tradition, similar to the goddess from Kos in Istanbul: J. BOARDMAN, *JHS, Archaeological Reports for 1962-63*, pp. 46-47, fig. 28; KOBYLINA, pl. XVII. The latter has termed this nearly-lifesized head Aphrodite and has dated it in the first century A.D. It is in the Museum of Fine Arts (Pushkin), Moscow.

¹³ SOKOLOV, p. 91, No. 86. A so-called 'Seagod' in Leningrad, also from Panticapaeum, belongs in the late Severan baroque, perhaps as late as A.D. 225, but the type is derived directly from that of the head found along the sacred way leading to the Asklepieion at Pergamon and dated in the first half of the second century B.C. Compare WALDHauer, I, pp. 82-83, No. 78, pl. XLVII, with E. AKURGAL: *Ancient Civilisations and Ruins of Turkey*, Istanbul [1969], p. 106, pl. 38. This 'Seagod' is among the most Pergamene baroque sculptures from the northern Black Sea coasts (Fig. 9). As Ariel Herrmann reminds me on the basis of the four small centaurs from the pre-Vesuvian, pre-earthquake villa at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata) on the Bay of Naples, he may have been an ordinary, rearing quadruped.

¹⁴ Olbia (and vicinity), Panticapaeum, and Phanagoria have produced dedications to Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, Vespasian, Hadrian, Septimius Severus (and his sons), and Severus Alexander: see C. VERMEULE; *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, Cambridge (Mass.) [1968], p. 451.

¹⁵ SOKOLOV, pp. 148-149, No. 160; KOBYLINA, pl. XXVII. The veiled lady has a virtual twin among the funerary high-relief portraits of the early Empire, in Luna marble and from central Italy: see *Ars Antiqua*, Auktion IV, Lucerne, 7th December 1962, pp. 15-16, No. 56, pl. XXI.

¹⁶ SOKOLOV, pp. 126-127, Nos. 132, 133. The head of the youngish man is very like a portrait, dated about A.D. 140, in the Wellesley College Museum: *Archaeology* 25, No. 4 [October 1972], p. 282, fig., and reputedly from Asia Minor. The hair of this head and the pupils of the eyes were rendered in paint. These two statues have been long known as principal ornaments of the title-page of L. E. STEPHANI: *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, published in 1854 and re-edited by Salomon Reinach, Paris [1892].

¹⁷ SOKOLOV, pp. 158-59, No. 174; KOBYLINA, p. 27, pls. XXI, 2, XXII. For the inscription, see E. BELIN DE BALLU: *L'Histoire des Colonies Grecques du Littoral Nord de la Mer Noire*, Leiden [1965], p. 163, No. 680 (summary of articles published in the USSR). The Hadrianic to Antonine relief of Tryphon, son of Andromenos, in Leningrad from Tanais, showing the subject on horseback in the armour of Roman auxiliaries on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, is the only 'state' (or royal or municipal) relief from the Black Sea region: SOKOLOV, pp. 150-51, No. 162. It is said to have commemorated his reconstruction of the city walls.

¹⁸ In his pan-Mediterranean qualities, regal Neokles compares well with the bust of an Antonine (Aurelian) Roman found in Spain and the very substance of a provincial aristocrat: *Greek and Roman Portraits, 470 B.C. to A.D. 500*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1972, No. 63. For Publius Vedius Antoninus and his contemporary Flavius Damianus, see pls. 53, 52 of E. AKURGAL: *Ancient Civilisations and Ruins of Turkey*, also pp. 154-55.

¹⁹ The headless, draped female after the so-called Kore of Praxiteles was probably likewise a vehicle for a monumental portrait-statue; this well-carved marble statue looks Antonine in date and comes from Panticapaeum, being now in Leningrad, Hermitage: WALDHauer, III, p. 38, No. 280, pl. XXX (Fig. 11). The Cimmerian Bosphorus has also produced the small, very veristic and lifelike portraits in plaster, one of about A.D. 250 resembling the so-called Philip the Arab in Detroit: SOKOLOV, p. 151, No. 163, in Leningrad, another in Kerch. For the head in the Detroit Institute of Arts, see *Roman Portraits*, Worcester Art Museum, 1961, No. 30; *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 [1961], p. 6, fig. 8; *PAPS* 108, No. 2 [1964], p. 104. British Museum, No. 2067 (A. H. SMITH: *Catalogue of Sculpture*, III, London [1904], p. 203, No. 2067), 'Probably from Kerch, 1856', must have been the torso of a statue generally similar to that described at the beginning of this note.

through Severan sarcophagi of the type blocked-out on Proconnesus in the Sea of Marmara (Propontis) and shipped all over the Mediterranean world.²⁰ Alongside these can be placed the splendid Attic sarcophagus, from the Quarantine Station near Kerch, with scenes of Achilles on Skyros and related tales on the body and the deceased couple reclining on the richly-detailed couch forming the lid. Although badly mutilated, this monument remains one of the finest imports to the Cimmerian coasts from the centres of Greek sculpture.²¹ Such commercial creations as these sarcophagi of unquestioned artistic and physical provenance in Greece or north-west Asia Minor gave evidence that the affluent citizens of the Crimea or the Cimmerian Bosphorus, usually identified as Greeks or very Hellenized local aristocrats, sought some of the same large funerary monuments in the latter centuries of the pagan Empire which their counterparts to the south and west bought around the Aegean or the eastern Mediterranean. The initiatives for such importations, therefore, were undoubtedly private and, in most instances, for sepulchral purposes.

Hellenistic and Roman Stelai

Most of these monuments were carved in local stones of good quality, but there are a number fashioned out of marble from Proconnesus or even the northern Aegean islands and western Asia Minor. These stelai, with their complex compositions and Greek inscriptions, are the best-published class of sculptures from the northern Black Sea regions.²² The Hellenistic examples are generally of the 'funerary banquet' class, so familiar from Thrace in general and the city of Constantinople in particular.²³ As time progressed, so-called native elements (riders in traditional Scythian costume, for instance) came to take an increasing part in the iconography of these panels, which often pre-

served the traditional Hellenistic banquet scene above.²⁴ The quality of carving in top-grade limestone or the equivalent was frequently excellent, groups of figures in ritual scenes being set in miniature temple-fronts with shields and other military equipment attached to the architecture.²⁵ Separate from these two classes of stelai, the Hellenistic and the rustic, were the purely native grave-markers from the Crimea and the Cimmerian Bosphorus. They seem to date in the first three centuries of the Roman Empire, with a few recognizably Hellenistic examples, and to vary from half-figure in native armour or (ladies) veiled in the himation, to nearly flat stones with only a few details of the face and body having been carved in relief.²⁶

Related to these last, rustic stelai is a class of funerary busts of almost Medieval aspect. The men have narrow, almond eyes in pointed faces, the latter seeming to end in beards, while the veiled women look like under-exposed negatives of their Hellenistic and Roman counterparts, right arm brought up to the edge of the himation in the so-called 'Pudicitia' pose.²⁷ The cemeteries and city walls of Chersonesus have produced a number of these grave-markers, which are difficult to date but which must belong to the second through fourth centuries of the Roman Empire, and possibly a century or so later.

The Small Statues in Marble

A glance at the contents of museums north of Istanbul confirms how many of these statues or large statuettes were carved in the Greek islands or Asia Minor and shipped along the coast past Mesembria and Istros to Olbia and elsewhere. The group of sculptures found under the old railway depot in Tomi-Constantia reveals how the ateliers of Aphrodisias could export the same statues in this direction, works of art which they also sent to Lycia, Pisidia, Cilicia, or Antioch in Syria.²⁸ One or more heads of ideal females from Olbia can be identified with the fifth century B.C. (Figs. 3, 4), but the significant numbers of easily-transportable figures were carved after 400 B.C. and were produced in greatest numbers as whole statues, busts, or herms in the Graeco-Roman period (Fig. 10). Their subjects suggest the concerns of the

²⁰ See SOKOLOV, pp. 168–69, No. 182 (inscription to Themistes and Basilike), large genii carry garlands either side of the deceased on a funerary couch which frames the inscription; SOKOLOV, pp. 164–65, No. 179, genii or Erotes support large garlands, Dionysiac heads facing each other in the areas above; SOKOLOV, pp. 166–67, No. 181, and KOBYLINA, pl. XXVI, section of sarcophagus with several Labours of Herakles presented in or as a single scene.

²¹ C. ROBERT: *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, II, Berlin [1890], pp. 26–29, No. 21, pls. VIII, IX; A. GIULIANO: *Il Commercio dei sarcofagi attici*, Rome [1962], p. 47, No. 246. Like several other sculptures mentioned here, this sarcophagus appears (twice, the lid below a view of one short side and the lid again from its foot) on the title page of L. E. STEPHANI: *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*; indeed, this page constitutes the first (and for a long time the only) major pictorial catalogue of the sculptures from Panticapaeum and its dependencies.

²² See generally, G. VON KIRSERITZKY and C. WATZINGER: *Griechische Grabreliefs aus Südrußland*, Berlin [1909]; also the publication of the examples from Phanagoria in the collection brought to Cambridge, England, by Professor E. D. CLARKE: L. BUDDÉ and R. NICHOLLS: *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, Cambridge [1964], pp. 84–86, Nos. 136–38.

²³ One of the best is the tombstone of Theogenes and Macaria, dated in the first century A.D., from the Chersonesus necropolis, and showing the couple standing, facing in their *naiskos*: SOKOLOV, pp. 161–63, Nos. 176–78. Within fifty years or less comes the tombstone of Philocrates, son of Pharnacion, from the vicinity of the citadel at Chersonesus and now in Sevastopol; the scene, reclining man and woman seated on his banquet-couch, is a full-bodied version of the conventional schema: SOKOLOV, pp. 144–45, No. 156.

²⁴ As the stèle from Panticapaeum, in Leningrad: SOKOLOV, p. 123, No. 129. The tombstone of Chariton, son of Mokkos (Moccus), shows only one scene, horseman and attendant beneath an enriched pediment; provenance and location are similar: SOKOLOV, p. 128, No. 134.

²⁵ As the tombstone from Panticapaeum, also in Leningrad, showing a warrior and the goddess Nike in an elaborate *heroon*: SOKOLOV, pp. 92–93, No. 89. The carving in local stone exhibits the strength (with greater refinement and detail) of architectural enrichment in Lycia or Pisidia, as the temple at Anydru-Evdir Han: G. E. BEAN: *Turkey's Southern Shore*, London [1968], p. 113, pl. 53.

²⁶ The area around Phanagoria has produced good examples of these rustic, native monuments: SOKOLOV, p. 102, No. 99, a statue of a warrior with his bow (?), sword (?), quiver and arrows. Two 'characteristic' statues of Sindian women, half-figures in flat rectangles, come from the floor of a dromos in a vaulted mound or barrow: K. S. GORBUNOVA, *JHS, Archaeological Reports for 1971–72*, p. 57, fig. 20.

²⁷ Man, Sevastopol, Chersonesus Historico-Archaeological Museum, inv. No. 4287: SOKOLOV, p. 173, No. 187. Woman, inv. No. 4543: SOKOLOV, pp. 172–73, No. 185.

²⁸ V. CANARACHE, A. ARICESCU, V. BARBU and A. RADULESCU: *Tezaurul de Sculpturi de la Tomis*, Bucharest [1963]; A. RHODES: *Art Treasures of Eastern Europe*, New York [1972], pp. 216, fig. (the human-headed snake, Glykon of Inebolu), 265; G. BORDENACHE: *Fauna XVIII* [1962 (1965)], pp. 220–21. No. 3093, pls. XIX–XXI, figs. 57–66.

local Greeks and their civilized friends with shrines, public or in the household, to useful divinities such as Asklepios and Hygeia, or woodland creatures such as Pan (Fig.12).²⁹ Herakles, ever popular with soldiers, sailors, merchants, athletes, and newly-aware barbarians, was well represented in several familiar forms, dependent on the famous creations of Skopas and Lysippos (Figs.5, 13).³⁰

'Rhodian' sculptures which might have adorned the peristyle gardens of Pompeian villas or the nymphaea of homes on Delos or at Ephesus were installed in sacral settings along the northern coast of the Black Sea, perhaps because of their relative rarity and the difficulties of transport along routes less commercial (for the arts) than between Caria and Ostia. Such was apparently the case with the small, half-draped Aphrodite placing one foot on a rock, from a shrine of the goddess at Kepi or Cepi on the Taman peninsula east of Panticapaeum.³¹ This excellent middle to late Hellenistic figure (rather than a Roman copy), a reduction of a type found from Asia Minor to Italy and Spain, belongs in the class with the Rhodian Aphrodite crouching sideways and wringing water from her hair. The figure could be easily varied as well as widely sold around Greek and Roman lands. There is even a mirror reversal of the Aphrodite from Kepi, the goddess again or a related nymph, in the Archaeological Museum on Rhodes itself.³²

Local sculptors made copies in regional stones of these small statues brought along the maritime routes. The Weary Herakles of Lysippos and its derivatives in Pergamene and late Hellenistic classicizing styles are always good measures of what was imported and what came to be most admired by Greeks, Roman garrisons, and their native followers (Fig.13).³³ Complex versions of the figure were carved in Greek marble on small pedestals of Antonine type (Odessa; the Varna Museum), while cities from Olbia to Panticapaeum contained versions of the statue in limestone. Some of these regional Herakleses copied the Lysippic prototype of the early years of Alexander the Great rather than the over-muscular, post-Pergamene creations so admired by

copyists working in marble in Asia Minor during the Roman imperial period.³⁴

Unusual Sculptures

First among such carvings come the funerary helmets of Corinthian form, carved in limestone and beyond any doubt to be dated in the fifth century B.C. Examples have been found on Mount Mithridates in Kerch and on the Taman peninsula near Phanagoria.³⁵ In spirit they recall the faceless grave markers of a century or so later from Cyrene or the Corinthian helmet pulled down over its wearer's face from Golgoi on Cyprus, a creation of about 525 to 520 B.C.³⁶ The seated sphinx from Olbia, a somewhat awkward figure in marble like that from Proconnesus, may belong in the fourth century B.C. or possibly in the era of revivalistic furniture, the age of Augustus and later. This sphinx (or conceivably a griffin) was perhaps funerary in use, although the royal palace at Olbia had a long tradition of having such decorative sculptures in its principal rooms.³⁷ The large round altar or base for a multi-figured group, from the foot of Mount Mithridates at Kerch-Panticapaeum, has been dated in the fourth century B.C., but it also may have been Neo-Attic work. The procession of Horae or maidens resembling Muses without attributes was carved in an indifferent Greek style, reflective of good models but by no means local work of the vigorously 'rustic' type.³⁸ The prototype resembled the round altar from the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia at Delphi, with girls attaching fillets to a garland. Work of about 50 B.C., the Delphic altar might better be termed a parallel rather than a prototype.³⁹

³⁴ So the small statue in Leningrad, from Panticapaeum: WALDHauer, II, pp.35-36, No.139, fig.36 (here Fig.13); it is like the figure in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, from the Gymnasium at Salamis: *AJA* 79 [1975], p.325, pl.51, fig.2. An example in marble, three times the size of the figure from Panticapaeum, is in Leningrad from the Black Sea area, but the precise provenance is unknown to me: WALDHauer, I, pp.48-49, No.32, pl.XIX.

³⁵ Kerch, Historico-Archaeological Museum, inv. No.K-3577: SOKOLOV, pp.36-37, No.15.

³⁶ Aniconic heads from Cyrene: *AJA* 63 [1959], p.336, in The Manchester University Museum. Cypriote head in its helmet: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. No.74.51.2810: L. P. DI CESNOLA: *Descriptive Atlas of Cypriote Antiquities*, I, Boston [1885], No.688; J. L. MYRES: *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, p.203, No.1285.

³⁷ Odessa Museum, inv. II b/281, in fine-grained white marble of the type from north-west Asia Minor: E. OKSMANN, *AA* [1928] I, cols.87-88, figs.6-8; KOBYLINA, pl.VI.

³⁸ Leningrad, Hermitage, inv. No.749 in the Panticapaeum collection: KOBYLINA, p.21, pl.IV; SOKOLOV, p.39, No.18. The sketchy or 'rustic' quality of late Hellenistic to Graeco-Roman designs after good models, perhaps in this case taken from the minor arts by a local Greek sculptor with blocks of imported marble, is visible in the relief of two Tritons and a dolphin, brought to London from Kerch during the Crimean War: see A. H. SMITH: *A Catalogue of Sculpture*, III, p.272, No.2219.

³⁹ Y. BÉQUIGNON: *Grèce*, Les Guides Bleus, Librairie Hachette, Paris [1932], p.251: found in the Tholos; CH. PICARD and P. DE LA COSTE-MESSELIÈRE: *Sculptures grecques de Delphes (Fouilles de Delphes, IV)*, Paris [1927], p.42, pl. LXXVII - Photo Alinari 24731. The figures on the round sculpture, altar or base, from Panticapaeum seem to be timid, stiff recollections of the Muses from the Praxitelean basis at Mantinea: M. BIEBER: *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York [1961], pp.21-22 and bibliography; for the relationship to reliefs of the Muses going back to the fourth century B.C., see under *Kunstwerke der Antike*, Auktion 34, Basle, 6th May 1967, pp.100-01, No.191, pl.66.

²⁹ As might be expected, Panticapaeum has produced at least one good Pan, a Graeco-Roman figure in Thasian marble after a familiar Hellenistic model; when complete, the small statue was about two feet tall (high). Torso (head and neck were made separately) and legs to the knees were found on Mount Mithridates; the figure is in Leningrad, Hermitage: WALDHauer, I, p.43, No.26, pl.XVI (Fig.12). Identification and associations of a second Pan are questionable, although suited to the character of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman sculpture in northern Aegean island marble from the Cimmerian Bosphorus: WALDHauer, I, p.50, No.35, pl.XIX.

³⁰ Although of limestone rather than marble, the reliefs of Herakles reclining at a banquet, skyphos in hand, follow well-known Hellenistic models and are of excellent quality. Two examples come from Saki and the Chaika sanatorium near Eupatoria: SOKOLOV, pp.134-35, No.142; K. S. GORBUNOVA, *JHS, Archaeological Reports for 1971-72*, p.52, fig.10. With these belongs, in style and spirit, the largish terra-cotta Sleeping Eros, dated in the first centuries of the Christian era and also found near Eupatoria (Kerkinitides): SOKOLOV, p.135, No.143; the figure was made locally after an imported model.

³¹ In Moscow, Historical Museum, inv. No.99533: SOKOLOV, pp.98-99, Nos.95, 96; KOBYLINA, pp.24-25, pl.XV; K. S. GORBUNOVA, *loc. cit.*, pp.56-57, fig.18.

³² No.3635: G. S. MERKER: *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Vol.XL), Göteborg [1973], pp.26-27, No.12, pls.4-5, figs.9-12. The Rhodian Crouching Aphrodite is pp.25-26, No.2, pls.1-2, figs.2-5.

³³ See *AJA* 79 [1975], pp.323-32, pls.51-55, especially pp.325-28.

The votive 'statue' in the form of Herakles's club, set on a bomos or moulded base, was a popular sculptural form at Chersonesus, one adapted by the Byzantine Christians for use as candelabrum-supports in the basilica and other churches.⁴⁰ The original carving was carried out in the second century of the Empire and is paralleled by similar partly-decorative monuments along the main streets of the Roman upper city (leading to the Odeion) at Ephesus.⁴¹ The marble came from north-west Asia Minor. The herms and elaborately-carved bases at Ephesus also relate stylistically and iconographically to the terminal figure of Herakles with the cornucopiae, from the cellar of a house on Mount Mithridates (Fig.14).⁴² The type also recalls theatre and garden *tempietto* decorations from Bithynia to Cyprus. A similar figure, unpublished so far as I can ascertain, was found and placed beside the orchestra of the theatre at Soli on Cyprus by Michael Ioannou, foreman of the excavations at Toumba tou Skourou, not long before the events of August 1974.

The sundial from Myrmekion near Panticapaeum is the most pan-Roman of the unusual sculptures from the Black Sea region, being a simple version of a carved and engraved block of marble produced for villas and town-squares from Ephesus to the environs of Rome.⁴³ It is in the form of about the fourth part of a hollow sphere, supported on two large feline feet. The concave surface is graduated into twelve-hour spaces, and there are remains of the attachment of the gnomon.

Two unusual sculptures, high reliefs almost forming funerary statues, come from the cemeteries of Panticapaeum. They are carved in limestone, and their qualities of workmanship are excellent, although each betrays characteristics of a local if not quite rustic style. The first has been dated in the first century A.D., while the second appears to have been fashioned in its final form up to 100 years later, that is probably in the second century of the Empire. The upper part or terminal element of a large stele found on the slope of Mount Mithridates takes the form of a weedy-haired, flat-faced Scylla springing from acanthus stems, the ends of which curl around into volutes grasped by her hands; these curled stems seem once to have been topped by what might appear to have been *keto*i or the heads of sea-dogs just above her thumbs.⁴⁴ The inspiration for this ensemble comes from north-west Asia Minor; it is paralleled by the large architectural element, seemingly a roof-decoration or upper element in the form of a pilaster, set up nowadays in front of

the temple of Zeus at Aizanoi in Phrygia, a building constructed under the Emperor Hadrian.⁴⁵

The second out-of-the-ordinary monument is the tombstone of Eratō, daughter of Sosigenes. Found at Kerch before 1853, the half-figure bust of a veiled matron, right hand grasping the edge of her himation and face turned slightly upwards in a blank although anxious look, was carved from part of the architrave of a Doric temple or stoa. The block was re-used on its left end, and a triglyph is visible where the plump lady's lower limbs would or could have appeared.⁴⁶ Here, as elsewhere along the northern coasts of the Black Sea, Greek sculptors and their imitators wasted little of glyptic value. Another such example of re-used sculpture in limestone is one of the two side-supports or legs of a table from the temple at Kytāea or Cytaea, south-west of Panticapaeum. The work has been dated in the third century A.D., and it certainly represents the period when the rustic linear, almond-eyed style has taken over decorative and funerary sculpture in local materials in the Crimea and the area to the north-east. A frieze of horses (and riders?) was started on the side of the support, behind the 'sphinx', suggesting that this block was to have begun life as a large tombstone of standard Cimmerian Bosphorus type with panels of banqueters and of horsemen.⁴⁷ The entire table can be classed among the unusual sculptures considered in these paragraphs.

Finally, a word should be said about the best of the half-dozen funerary lions from Panticapaeum. This is a large marble beast, dated in the standard publications in the first to second centuries A.D. but perhaps as early as 200 B.C.⁴⁸ He places his right forepaw on a bovine head, in the approved fashion made popular in Attic cemeteries around 340 to 325 B.C. Indeed, the beast in Leningrad, found late in the last century 'in a pit next to the fill of a barrow', continues (in more frozen fashion and with more surface decoration rather than sculptural definition) the traditions of the large lions in Attica at the end of the great century of such adjuncts to grave-stelai and marble funerary vases. The surviving pair of large lions from Tampourias, about 320 B.C., now set up in the garden of the Piraeus Museum, can be taken as the best Attic examples of the monumental beasts which gave inspiration to the sculptor of the animal from Panticapaeum.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ E. AKURGAL: *Ancient Civilisations and Ruins of Turkey*, p.236, pl.12: identified as 'the middle akroterion'.

⁴⁶ Leningrad, Hermitage, inv. No.1619 in the Panticapaeum collection: SOKOLOV, p.120, No.126; G. VON KIERSERITZKY and C. WATZINGER: *Griechische Grabreliefs aus Südrussland*, p.137, pl.55.

⁴⁷ Kerch, Historico-Archaeological Museum, inv. No.K-3205: SOKOLOV, pp.154-55, Nos.168-70.

⁴⁸ Leningrad, Hermitage, inv. No. Panticapaeum 1894.9: SOKOLOV, p.131, No.138; KOPYLINA, pl.XXIII. Compare the later, cruder lion in limestone, also Panticapaeum: SOKOLOV, p.114, No.118. The saga of a lion and lioness from Phanagoria, taken by the Genoese to Kaffa-Theodosia, and thence by the Russians to the Museum at Kerch (via a shipwreck on a sandbank entering the Bay of Kerch), is recounted by DUNCAN MCPHERSON in *Antiquities of Kertch*, pp.51-52 (Nos.46, 47 on p.51, removed to the British Museum in the autumn of spring of 1855 and 1856, through the offices *inter alia* of Major Westmacott of the Turkish Infantry, the sculptor Sir Richard's son).

⁴⁹ See *AJA* 76 [1972], p.55, pl.14, fig.12.

⁴⁰ Sevastopol, Chersonesus Historico-Archaeological Museum, inv. No.4591: SOKOLOV, p.136, No.144.

⁴¹ See, for example, G. E. BEAN: *Aegean Turkey, An Archaeological Guide*, London [1966], pp.174-79, pl.37: a gateway enriched by terminal figures in high relief on moulded bases.

⁴² Leningrad, Hermitage: WALDHauer, I, p.49, No.33, pl.XIX.

⁴³ Kerch, Historico-Archaeological Museum, inv. No.K-3564: SOKOLOV, p.95, No.92. Compare A. H. SMITH: *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities British Museum*, III, London [1904], p.413, No.2545, fig.68. A simpler sundial was excavated at Isthmia in 1970; it is without figural sculpture and also has twelve zones or divisions: P. CLEMENT, *Deltion* 26 [1971], *Chronica*, Athens [1974], p.106, fig.5, pl.83b.

⁴⁴ Kerch, Historico-Archaeological Museum, inv. No.K-3574: SOKOLOV, pp.128-29, No.135.

While such large lions were no longer sculpted for funerary areas in Attica in the Hellenistic age, central Greece with its battlefield monuments as well as tombs, the Aegean islands, Cyprus, and above all Asia Minor kept the traditions of such decorative art active. The lion from Panticapaeum provides ample evidence that the Cimmerian Bosphorus could enjoy masterpieces in this category of monumental Hellenistic sculpture.

Conclusions

A review of Greek and Roman sculpture from the northern coasts of the Black Sea should stress what there surely was not, as well as what has survived. Chief items in the former category are big, long friezes from Hellenistic temples and complex groups of statuary such as were originated at Pergamon and perpetuated in the nymphaea of Graeco-Roman cities in Asia Minor, Ephesus, Miletus and Perge for example. While there was some architectural sculpture, there was nothing produced on the lavish scales found in Asia Minor, North Africa, or imperial Rome. Cost of importing marbles must have accounted for this, city governments and local kingdoms being unwilling to make such investments and private persons preferring funerary monuments in the tradition of the royal mounds and underground chambers. For these reasons, therefore, there were no resident schools of Greek craftsmen to train local carvers in such major forms of sculptural expression.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ A 'corpus' of statues and reliefs in marble, and the better work in limestone, not to mention the master bronzes and terra-cottas, reveals the following totals for survival, excluding the routine stelai or tombstones which have been documented in the books and articles mentioned previously. These totals are arranged by major Greek city:

Tyras: cuirassed noble of the height of the Hadrianic period: SOKOLOV p.158, No.173.

(Vicinity of Eupatoria): four, the three reclining figures (Herakles and Eros) and the bronze Amazon on horseback: KOBYLINA, pl.XIII.

Chersonesus: fourteen, including one Archaic youth and five sections of Antonine or Severan sarcophagi.

Nymphaeum: rock-cut head of a Silenus: KOBYLINA, p.28, pl.XXV.

Charax (a Roman fortress on Cape Ai-Todor in the southern Crimea): Latin tombstone of Lucius Furius Seuthes, c.A.D. 200: SOKOLOV, pp.156-57, No.172.

Theodosia: two, feet of an Archaic kouros and a classic 'Tanagra'-type figurine.

Dia-Tiritaca: small statue of Dionysos, in the Pergamene tradition: SOKOLOV, pp.80-81, No.70.

Panticapaeum: forty-four statues and reliefs of various types, mostly Graeco-Roman.

Myrmekion: three, including the sundial and the Attic sarcophagus with scenes of Achilles on Skyros.

Cytaea: the table with sphinx-supports, one re-carved from a block for a stele.

Tanais: relief of Tryphon, second century A.D.

Hermonassa: two, including the marble, gilded and painted, temple-form sarcophagus. Also a votive-relief to a partially-reversed Myronian Herakles.

Kepi or Cepi: two, including the Aphrodite of Rhodian type.

Phanagoria: eight, ranging from delicate Archaic work to the rustic funerary figures.

Gorgippia: two, an Attic funerary-banquet relief (350 B.C.) and the statue of Neokles.

Dioskourias: stele of Attic type (related to the example on Rhodes), late fifth to early fourth century B.C.

Sculptures most like those of the Aegean world were the occasional grave stelai in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the Hellenistic funerary monuments of Thracian type, the big Roman portrait-statues, the Asia Minor sarcophagi of the century from 150 to 250, and the small votive statues, to Herakles, to Zeus, to Sarapis, to Aphrodite, and a number of other, predictable beings. The sculptures showing unusual iconographic and stylistic qualities were most often carved in local stones. They varied in size from the quaintly cuirassed Antonine nobleman found at Tyras to the rustic busts of Chersonesus and the most unusual stelai of the Hellenistic and Roman periods from Panticapaeum and Phanagoria.

The northern Black Sea cities as a whole cannot compete with single urban centres such as Ephesus or Aphrodisias or, of course, Athens and Rome in numbers and richness of statues and reliefs in marble, but the total of what must have been set up in all materials and what has survived from Tyras to Dioskourias provides an unusual insight into the breadth and diversity of sculpture in the outer reaches of Greek and Roman Antiquity.⁵¹

⁵¹ The problem of ancient marbles imported in modern times (by princely collectors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) neglected, damaged or lost, and then ascribed on rediscovery to native provenances arises in Russia as it does in the British Isles. Sometimes, the mere presence of a sculpture in Russia leads to suggested associations with the Black Sea region, as the heavily-restored, Graeco-Roman Eros on a dolphin in the Hermitage (N. GLUECK: *Deities and Dolphins*, New York [1965], p.535, pl.19; S. REINACH: *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, III, Paris [1904], p.136, No.1), which actually came to Catherine the Great from Italy by way of the Lyde Browne collection at Wimbledon (Surrey) in England (WALDHAUER, II, pp.65-66, No.190, pl.XLVIII; A. MICHAELIS: *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge [1882], pp.88-90). The Odessa (Russia) Museum, founded in 1825, has long contained a group of East Greek to Greek imperial sculptures acquired in Smyrna in the days when the minorities controlled the trade from the Black Sea to Egypt. Unlike the handsome group of Egyptian antiquities in the same Museum (or the replica of the Laocoon out front), the Ionian marbles could have been easily confused with those from the Crimea region had they not been published in exemplary fashion (Z. OKSMANN, *AA* [1928] I, cols.88-94, figs.9, 11, 12; also S. REINACH: *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains*, III, Paris [1912], p.478, No.2, after a photograph). A large torso of an Athena of the Pheidias or post-Pheidias type in the middle of the main gallery of the Odessa Museum, a figure in Greek marble with restorations evidently removed, gives every indication of having come out of one of the Czarist town-houses in Odessa or one of the palaces along the coast. In a somewhat different but related vein, a very Roman bust of Zeus, with eagle as support at its base, came to the Hermitage from Sevastopol and might, therefore, have been found at the rich site of Chersonesus close by, but the bust gives a very strong feeling of having been brought to the great Russian naval base from Italy in the late eighteenth or nineteenth centuries (WALDHAUER, I, pp.58-59, No.41, pl.XXIII). The concept of the god derives from the Hellenistic model for the Zeus of Otricoli and has counterparts from Pompeii to Troy (see M. BIEBER: *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, p.180, figs.771-78), but a bust of such imperial form as that from Sevastopol stemmed most likely from Rome or perhaps from Ephesus, where recent finds (the Trajanic historical frieze in ivory) show the depth of official art in the provincial administrative centres.



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To the memory of Jean Charbonneaux

Ideal "Portraiture" at the Outset of the Hellenistic Age

Cornelius Vermeule

Much has been written in general histories, handbooks, and special studies on the development of Hellenistic portraiture. Although the faces of men from Alexander the Great to the first Ptolemies have become well known, as well as the faces of the famous, deified early Ptolemaic queens, the idealized quasi-divine female portraits of the fourth c. B.C. to early Hellenistic Greek East need to be studied in greater depth. Two fragments of larger monuments, vastly different at first glance, form the basis of a short discussion on this theme. The first, carved out of Cypriote limestone around 325 B.C., has for a number of years ornamented the J. Paul Getty Museum (Figs. 1, 2). The second head, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was fashioned out of a dark, almost black, stone peculiar to Egypt. Its date is slightly more difficult to ascertain. At first, I had been inclined to place this veiled lady near the end of the Hellenistic period when the Romans were in Egypt and the strong revival of Attic classicism heralded the coming of the Augustan age and the Roman Empire. On further consideration, however, I favor a much earlier date—the first half of the third c. B.C. at the latest—based on the manifest relationship with Athenian grave stelai of about 320 B.C.

The two presentations of the divine or ideal female countenance provide an excellent comparison from two areas closely linked after 310 B.C. with the destinies of the Macedonian Ptolemies of Egypt. Furthermore, the

materials identify them firmly with their locales. The description of the two heads which follow shows that both relate to the same sources in monumental Attic (funerary) sculpture and therefore that both heads carry the early Hellenistic Greek ideal into the older worlds of Cyprus and Egypt.

WOMAN OR A GODDESS WEARING A DIADEM AND PENDANT EARRINGS: FROM A STATUE, VOTIVE OR FUNERARY, LATTER PART OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Her wavy hair falls in thick strands behind her ears. What remains is much weathered: the nose, lips, and chin have suffered, but not excessively so. The head came from a private collection sold at Sotheby's late in 1968.¹ The provenience is unknown, although the head is of the same type as a draped statue of a lady with attributes perhaps of Aphrodite, which ought to have been found near Salamis on the eastern coast of Cyprus, not too far from Amathos near Limassol along the island's southern coast, or in the hills southeast of Nicosia, at Idalion or Golgoi (Fig. 3). The Cesnola collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, includes a famous statue, either a votary or a representation of Aphrodite with Eros perched on her chest near the left shoulder, from the ruins of the temple of Golgoi, which gives an excellent idea of what the complete statue would have looked like.² A smaller statue of the same type and from the same atelier (belonging legally,

1. Accession no. 68AA20. Height: 0.362m. (14 1/4in.). White limestone. Sold at Sotheby's, London, 26 November 1968, no. 162. J. Paul Getty Museum, Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture, no. 50. (*Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum, The Larger Statuary, Wall Paintings and Mosaics*, Malibu, 1973, p. 24).

2. Compare L.P. di Cesnola, *Descriptive Atlas of Cypriote Antiquities*, I, Part 2, Boston 1885, no. 659; and, especially, no. 695, pl. CVII, the Aphrodite with Eros from Golgoi; also no. 1145, another head. The

Aphrodite with Eros is New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 74.51.2464: *Treasured Masterpieces of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Tokyo 1972, no. 37, with color plate. The goddess or votary, the crowned, veiled head of a lady from the L. P. di Cesnola collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (18)72.328, is M. B. Comstock, C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone, The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 1976, p. 278, no. 447.



Figure 1. Divine Lady from Cyprus. Malibu.



Figure 2. Profile of Figure 1.

since the tragic events of August 1974, to the Hadjiprodromo collection in Famagusta, Cyprus) can be connected with the Cesnola "Aphrodite."

The relationship, already intimated, to Attic grave stelai and votive statues in the Attic tradition of 350 to 325 B.C. dates the head in the Getty Museum towards the end of the fourth century B.C. The way in which the strands of hair rise to a divided peak over the forehead finds good imported parallels on Cyprus in the marble head of a goddess from the Palaestra of the Gymnasium at Salamis and the head of the small marble statue of Artemis found at Larnaka (Kition) and now in Vienna.³ The idealized, early Hellenistic head of a veiled lady with a fillet in her

hair, dated to approximately 280 B.C. and one of the noblest specimens of carving in Cypriote limestone to have survived to our times, forms the perfect transition from the Getty head, through the mainstreams of Aegean or western Asiatic Hellenistic sculpture, to the head from Egypt to be considered presently.⁴ The veiled lady, in a fine-grade Cypriote limestone, was excavated in a sanctuary at Arsos, just to the northeast of Golgoi (modern Athienou) and now stands in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (Fig. 4).

3. P. Dikaios, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, Third Edition, Nicosia 1961, pp. 94, 102, pl. 21, no. 2 (the lady from Arsos). Compare also, Sotheby Sale, 19 October 1964, p. 53, no. 161. Arsos head: Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, I, Cambridge 1949, p. 220, pl. X; C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Cyprus, Art from Classical through Late Antique Times*, Boston 1976, p. 53, fig. 14.

4. V. Karageorghis, C. Vermeule, *Sculptures from Salamis*, I, Nicosia 1964, pp. 8-11, under no. 2, plates VIII, IX. Artemis of Larnaka: O. Vessberg, A. Westholm, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, IV, Part 3, *The*

Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus, Stockholm 1956, p. 89, pl. X; C. Seltman, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates II, Cambridge 1928, p. 100, a. The pertinent Praxitelean workshop for the ultimate of this shape of head and hair style is discussed in *Bulletin, John Herron Art Institute*, XLVIII, No. 3, December 1961, pp. 39-46, in connection with the small marble Kore from the von Matsch collection, once also in Vienna and presumably from the Greek (Aegean) islands.

5. The opportunity to study and publish the head first occurred when it was in a European private collection. I am most grateful to the



Figure 3. Divine Lady from Cyprus, Idalion or Golgoi. Boston.

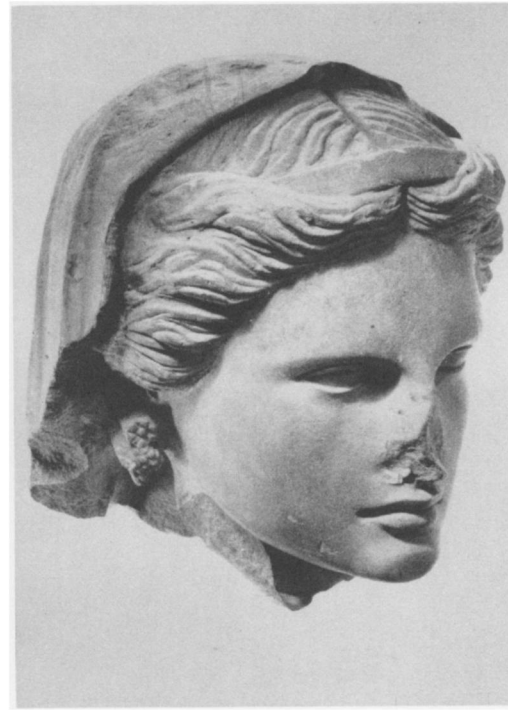


Figure 4. Lady from the Sanctuary at Arsos. Nicosia.

VEILED LADY OF IDEAL COUNTENANCE: SECTION FROM A COMMEMORATIVE ENSEMBLE OR LARGE STELE OF THE EARLY TO MIDDLE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

This striking sculpture must be the remains of a large sepulchral or commemorative stele representing a woman, perhaps even a Ptolemaic royal personage, conceived in the style of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. (Figs. 5, 6). The carving has been carried out in a dark stone (schist or marble). The head, found in the Fayoum, is said on excellent authority to have come years ago from Egypt. Although the cutting below the base of the neck has been somewhat damaged, it appears to have been fashioned for insertion in a larger, draped figure, perhaps

of another material such as white marble. Otherwise, it could have been set in a commemorative aedicula or funerary niche.⁵

The fourth century B.C. model for the veil, hair, and profile of the lady, in slightly-tilted, "emotional" reverse, can be seen in the stele of Eukoline in the National Museum at Athens.⁶ The head, facing in the same direction on an Attic relief of the period around 325 B.C., can be illustrated from the stele of Damasistrate, wife of Polykleides, in the same museum.⁷ The general Hellenistic style can be seen in two pieces in the Louvre: a tombstone of Menephila, daughter of Artemidoros, from Ephesos, and a veiled statue of a woman in the so-called "Pudicitia"

then owner and his associates for permission to pursue these researches and for certain essential information. H.: 0.445m. (17 1/2 in.). The stone is probably a very slightly darker shade of the same "gray" granite used for the "beautifully proportioned" (and finished) statue of the Middle Kingdom Lady Sennuwy, wife of the Egyptian governor of Kerma, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: W. Stevenson Smith, *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Boston 1960, pp. 87, 92, fig. 54. The "black lady" is now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accession no. 1973.600. J.H. and E.A. Payne Fund:

Sculpture in Stone, p. 69, no. 109.

6. Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, IV, 2, Paris 1963, pp. 1365-1367, figs. 525 (the whole stele), 526 (detail of the veiled lady standing and bidding an emotional farewell, at the right).

7. Ch. Picard, *op.cit.*, IV, 2, p. 1365, fig. 524 (the majestic seated, veiled lady, the position of whose veil and the angle of whose head and neck correspond exactly with those of the dark lady from Egypt).

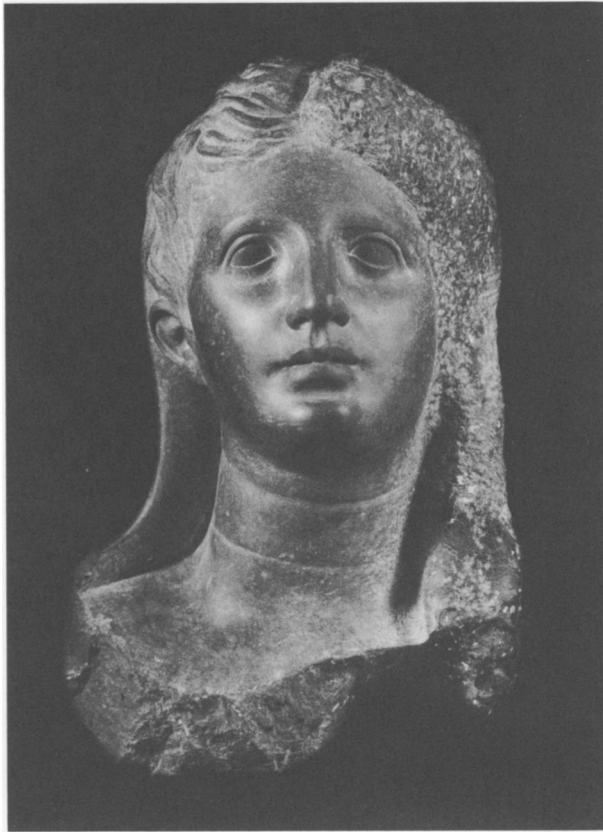


Figure 5. Lady in dark marble, from Egypt. Boston.



Figure 6. Profile of Figure 5.

pose. Both sculptures typify Hellenistic art at its height, as it developed from late Classical sources in Attica and western Asia Minor.⁸ An Attic grave monument, c. 330 B.C., most closely approaches the fourth century B.C. sources and Graeco-Roman parallels. The head and shoulders of the standing woman (now in the Museum of Fine

Arts, Boston) were reused and reworked in Roman times for functional or aesthetic purposes.⁹ Indeed, this type of noble, veiled matron in relief so high as to be statuary became a canon in the sepulchral art of Attica before 317 B.C. and in the Aegean or Asia Minor thereafter.¹⁰

The comparable sculptural experience for the dark lady

8. M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1956, figs. 523, 525; 1961 edition, p. 132.

9. M. Comstock, C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, 470 B.C.-A.D. 500, Boston 1972, no. 4: it is in direct accord with the theme of this article that this section of an Attic stele has been used as an introduction to Greek portraiture through two editions of this picture-book. Also: L.D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Cambridge (Mass.) 1925, p. 94, no. 42, *Sculpture in Stone*, pp. 48-49, no. 70.

10. Compare also, the magnificent head of about 320 B.C., from a large stele in the Attic tradition, from Tarentum and in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, Missouri: R.E. Taggart, *Handbook*, 1973, p. 36; and the veiled head from a monumental grave relief of the same date, in coarse Pentelic or island marble, at the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University (accession no. 1941.2). In addition, there is the veiled head of a lady from Chalkis, in Cincinnati, Ohio; the ensemble was carved in Pentelic marble, has been dated around 300 B.C., and evidently came from a funerary statue. See *Sculpture Collection of the Cincinnati Art Museum*, 1970, pp. 42-43; accession no. 1945.66.

11. See G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Oxford 1954, pp. 98-99, no. 189, pl. CXXXII, d, e. The related "diorite" bust of Augustus, published as a Caius Caesar but explained iconographically by its Julio-Claudian date, is L.D. Caskey, *op.cit.*, pp. 196-198, no. 113, *Sculpture in Stone*, p. 207, no. 328.

12. See *American Journal of Archaeology* 60, 1956, pp. 330-331, pl. 108, figs. 18, 19, and the remarks on other early imperial portraits in dark marble or basalt. The diademed Arsinoë II in crystalline island marble, also brought from Egypt to the same collection (fig. 17), shows what a Greek from the islands (Chios?) would have carved when a Graeco-Egyptian (that is probably a Hellenized native Egyptian) was fashioning, in his traditional techniques of punching and finishing, the black and beautiful head in Boston. The same imported Hellenic authorship, in the best sculptors' white marble, holds true of the very ideal likeness of Berenike, wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes, long in the British Museum from the W.R. Hamilton collection and now in private possession in New England, an exceptionally beautiful, once-veiled head of about 240 B.C.: *American Journal of Archaeology*, *loc.cit.*, p. 334, *Harvard Magazine*, July-August 1977, pp. 34-35, color pl. The

from Egypt among ideal male presentations is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It is a black basalt (diabase) fragment of a statue, over lifesized and perhaps a Roman copy of a Hellenistic ruler portrait or a Roman general presented in Hellenistic guise.¹¹ This fragment leads stylistically to the black schist bust of Augustus Caesar (ruled 27 B.C. to A.D. 14) from Italy in the Museum of Fine Arts, perhaps work of the early Julio-Claudian period or even as late as the Emperor Caligula, great-grandson of Augustus who ruled A.D. 37 to 41. The Mark Anthony (also a great-grandfather of Caligula) from Kingston Lacy, in similar material, connects these portraits directly with late Hellenistic Egypt, since this head (or bust) was also found there, testifying to Roman imperial and imperial admiration for noble, idealized portraiture in Egyptian materials.¹²

From the same Graeco-Egyptian-Cypriote artistic milieu, as late as the Hadrianic period of the Roman Empire, comes the statue (in "grey marble") of a lady found in the Gymnasium at Salamis and related to types of Persephone.¹³ The face, neck, hands, and feet were evidently fashioned in white marble; the back was worked in the same rather flat fashion in which the off sides of the bust from the stele or very high relief of the dark lady from Egypt were finished.

Connections with Graeco-Roman Egypt for this type of late Hellenistic sculpture, in colored stones, can be further evidenced from the cipollino crocodile, found alongside the pool (the "Nile") of the Canopus of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.¹⁴ The reclining river god in grey marble, suggested as the local river Pedieos and a

pendant to the Oceanus (the Mediterranean), both from the Gymnasium and its baths at Salamis on Cyprus, shows how decorative sculpture in these materials could be fashioned in areas of the Greek East closely allied with Egypt. Like the veiled lady in dark and white marble from Salamis, these river gods were probably carved in the late first or early second century of the Roman Empire.¹⁵ Inclusion of the grey marble Sarapis with Cerberus in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (England) from the Gymnasium complex at Salamis with these statues further emphasizes their Egyptian historical and Graeco-Egyptian cult connections, as Jiří Frel has pointed out.¹⁶

The problems of color combinations in marble and various other stones, so well brought out in the sculptures at Salamis, is one which greatly influenced Greek sculpture and sculptors of the late Hellenistic and imperial periods. The centaurs in the Museo Capitolino in Rome and even the recent, excavated finds in southwest Asia Minor confirm that this taste, these experiments, came to be as much a part of the so-called school of Aphrodisias as they were of Ptolemaic and imperial Egypt. Usually, as at Salamis, draped statues were in dark stone and the extremities were carved in white marble, but here, in the "bust" of the stele or commemorative monument from the Fayoum, we have a possible instance of a veiled head carved in dark stone, while most of the body may have been of another material, in turn perhaps colored with gilding or paint. A fragment of a statue from Italy, in the Museum of Fine Arts, possibly a satyr or a centaur, even mixes the colors in

pointed, "ski-slope" nose of Arsinoe II can also be suggested in the profile view of the dark stone head published here. This face is just as possibly an idealization of a Ptolemaic queen as the royal Cypriote head at Malibu, the alert quasi-likeness also illustrated in these pages, could represent a regal lady from the house of Salaminian Nikokreon (331 to 310 B.C.) or one of his Cypriote contemporaries, such as King Pumiathon of Kition (361 to 312 B.C.). The Ptolemies of Egypt, it is remembered, terminated both dynasties by causing the deaths of these kings. The sculptural techniques and near-idealizations of these Hellenistic "portraits" became a standard expression of the Greater Greek world for four centuries after the first Ptolemies. To the period from 100 to 50 B.C., for example, belongs the head of an idealized man, who could be from the same form of monument as this stele, or commemorative ensemble. The man's face has some proto-naturalistic wrinkles, and the bust was worked for insertion in a draped figure. The head is in the British Museum (no. 1965: A.H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, III, London 1904, p. 180, no. 1965, pl. XX). The dark lady in Boston has horizontal grooves for wrinkles on her neck; these are a tradition of much older Egyptian sculpture handed on through the Hellenistic Ptolemies into the veristic art of the later Roman Republic and the

Greek or Roman imperial period.

13. V. Karageorghis, C. Vermeule, *Sculptures from Salamis*, I, pp. 24–25, no. 15, pl. XXII.

14. W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, Fourth Edition, IV, Tübingen 1972, pp. 159–160, no. 3196 (Tivoli, Villa Hadriana, Museo). See also, generally, for the mixture of Graeco-Roman copies in various marbles and stones from this area: S. Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana*, Rome 1961, pp. 100–133.

15. V. Karageorghis, C. Vermeule, *Sculptures from Salamis*, I, pp. 33, no. 27, 33–34, no. 28, pl. XXXI, figs. 1 and 2. No. 27 is carved of "white marble with large crystals", while no. 28 is the river god carved in "grey marble."

16. See L. Budde, R. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, Cambridge 1964, pp. 31–32, no. 56, pl. 18. Professor Frel also connected the Salamis Sarapis with the statue of Isis or a priestess of Isis, body and drapery of grey marble, found in the Gymnasium: *Sculptures from Salamis*, I, pp. 26–27, no. 17, pl. XXIII, figs. 3 and 4.

one sculptured block, having part in marble that is nearly black and part in the same stone which is creamy white.¹⁷

CONCLUSIONS: IDEAL WOMANHOOD OR PORTRAITURE?

It is perhaps best to conclude that the head from Cyprus in Malibu and the head from Egypt in Boston are portraits in the sense that they represent people who lived, died, and probably patronized famous shrines or sanctuaries. By extension, the same might be said of any female in an Attic grave stele, but there is more individuality, more personality here than can be seen in the faces on most such stelai. When identifiable people emerge in the early Hellenistic sculpture of Cyprus and Egypt, notably the Queens Arsinoe and Berenike, their likenesses are based on idealizations no less removed from reality or naturalism than the Cypriote and Egyptian ladies compared here. Both the head in the Getty

Museum and the head in Boston are sculpturally more a part of Cyprus and Egypt than they are of the Aegean or the Asiatic Greek worlds. This is self-evident in the Cypriote head; the preference for punching or hammering rather than the chiselling and planing techniques which belong to the traditional arts of Egypt. Therefore, the dark lady, so strongly cast in a classic Greek mould, is as Egyptian as her counterparts are Cypriote.¹⁸

The two heads are as human, as humanistic, as they are ideal, placing them just as much in the world of Greece as many sculptures in Pentelic or island marble from the Hellenic heartland. That they represent ladies who moved in a Hellenized world gives them every reason to be classed as Greek portraits in stone, however far they first may seem to be from the naturalistic, veristic canons of portraiture in Egypt of the much more ancient kingdoms or in the eminent pan-Mediterranean world of late Republican and Imperial Rome.¹⁹

*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Boston College*

17. This fragment was acquired in America's centennial year, as a gift from the early art critic Charles C. Perkins (1823–1886), who collected in Rome with Thomas Crawford the sculptor in the 1840's. See *Sculpture in Stone*, p. 141, no. 222. A number of finds in and around the imperial city of Rome give ample evidence that such stelai or statues in dark stones were brought to the aeternal city to adorn the polychromatic architecture of the imperial period. U. Aldroandi, reporting on the excavations of 1554 in the Baths of Caracalla, mentions a draped statue of a woman in black marble: H. von Hülsen, *Römische Funde*, Berlin-Frankfurt 1960, pp. 46–47; C. Vermeule, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste*, Ann Arbor 1977, p. 113, nos. 24, 25.

18. The arts of two vital parts of the Ptolemaic kingdom, the large eastern Mediterranean island and the Graeco-Egyptian cities along the Nile, fused under Alexandrine Hellenistic influences in the later Ptolemaic and Greek imperial periods. It was then and thus that dark marble statues in the Hellenistic idiom came to find their places in the sculptural decoration of the Flavian to Hadrianic Gymnasium at Salamis, or ultimately in the palaces and bathing establishments of imperial Rome. Graeco-Egyptian votaries and mythological sculptures (statues and reliefs) in Cypriote limestone were produced at Soloi in northwest Cyprus as late as the Constantinian era, the first quarter of the fourth

century A.D. The famous standing statue known as the "Lady from Soloi," of the Tetrarch period and in the Cyprus Museum, combines the art of the Cypriote head in the Getty Museum with the idealized "portraiture" of the dark lady in Boston, and also with the iconography of sculpture in Ptolemaic Alexandria or Greek imperial Cyrene. Cypriote love of decorative detail, seen in the jewelry worn by the divine lady at Malibu, and the Late Antique preoccupation with random symbolism from the Isiac Graeco-Egyptian past all combined to give the "Lady from Soloi" her unusual costume of headcloth, "cuirass," and skirt enriched with embroidered "panels": P. Dikaïos, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, p. 127; A. Westholm, *The Temples of Soli, Studies on Cypriote Art during Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Stockholm 1936, pp. 100–101, no. 319, pls. XXI, XXII.

19. Bernard Ashmole, Mary Comstock, Burton Fredericksen, Jiří Frel, Vassos Karageorghis, Emily Vermeule, Florence Wolsky, and William Young have helped me with the ideas and information presented here. I should like to offer this paper as a tribute to the memory of Jean Charbonneaux, who knew so much and wrote so eloquently about Greek portraiture and the Hellenic ideal out of which this art was created.



The Search for Alexander

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ARCHAEOLOGY NEWS

The Search for Alexander by Cornelius C. Vermeule, III

A major international exhibition focusing on the young Macedonian king who conquered the ancient world from the Danube to the Ganges is always timely. Each generation has been able to find a sense of history and romance in the artifacts from the time of Philip II (reigned 359-336 B.C.), his son Alexander (336-323 B.C.), and their successors Seleucus (323-281 B.C.) and Ptolemy (323-282 B.C.). The 1980's seem the perfect time to open *The Search for Alexander* in Thessalonike and send it traveling throughout the United States because so much interest has been generated since 1977 by the now world-famous discovery of a richly furnished royal Macedonian tomb at Vergina in northern Greece. Even though Manolis Andronikos, Professor of Archaeology at the University of Thessalonike and excavator of the tomb, suggests that it may belong to Philip II and his young wife Cleopatra, he has repeatedly maintained that both the archaeological and the historical context of his discoveries will be under investigation for some time (ARCHAEOLOGY 31 [1978]: 33-41).

Phyllis Williams Lehmann, Professor Emeritus of Smith College, proposes another identification for the owners of the main royal tomb—Philip III Arrhidaeus, the epileptic older half-brother and successor of Alexander the Great, and his wife Eurydice (*American Journal of Archaeology* [October 1980]: 527-31). Both were buried in 316 B.C. by Cassander (316-297 B.C.), the succeeding king of Macedonia. Lehmann bases her argument on the construction of the tomb and the style of the painting on the entrance façade. Another consideration, she maintains, is the presence of the royal diadem which was adopted by the Macedonians only after Alexander's conquests in the East. Finally, the Amazonian or Scythian armor found with the female burial at Vergina is appropriate for Eurydice who, according to ancient sources, had been trained in the martial arts and was in charge of the royal army. The portal painting further supports this later dating since Alexander seems to dominate the hunting scene, a composition which has been identified with Cassander's court artist Philoxenos of Eretria.

The groundwork for the exhibition was prepared in 1978 by the comprehensive show and catalogue, *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia*, undertaken for the Archaeolo-

CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE, III, a visiting professor at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, participated in the selection of objects for *The Search for Alexander* and acted as consultant to the exhibition.



(Left) Alabaster head of Alexander the Great, originally part of a statuette whose draped clothing was made of another material. This baroque rendition of Alexander, perhaps in the guise of the Greek sun god Helios, was fashioned in Egypt at the end of the Hellenistic age. (Right) Bronze statuette of Alexander alighting or hunting, a masterful representation of the youthful conqueror, made during Alexander's later years or in the generation after his death.

gical Museum of Thessalonike by Greece's Ministry of Culture and Science. This award-winning exhibit featured gold and silver works of art from all of northern Greece, and served as Greece's answer to the exhibitions of Thracian gold from Bulgaria and Scythian gold from Russia, both of which toured the United States in recent years. Taking *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia* as the basis for selection, *The Search for Alexander* emerges as a multi-media

endeavor. Time-Life Incorporated is preparing books, catalogues and films to complement an international assemblage of art which deals with the royal Macedonian family, its times, successors and the survival of Alexander's legend in later ages. The exhibition will open at the National Gallery in Washington DC on November 16, 1980, where it will remain until April 5, 1981. It will then travel to The Art Institute of Chicago (May 14 - September 7, 1981); The Mu-



The gilded silver quiver from the antechamber of the royal tomb at Vergina, a piece of military equipment commonly used by Scythian, Thracian and mythological Amazonian warriors. Its decorative reliefs represent the heroic deeds of Achilles on Skyros in the upper panel and his son Neoptolemos at the Fall of Troy in the lower register. Achilles stands in armor on the rectangular handle. Length, 46.5 centimeters. (Inset) Miniature armor head of Herakles from Derveni, perhaps an idealization of Phillip II. Height, 4 centimeters.

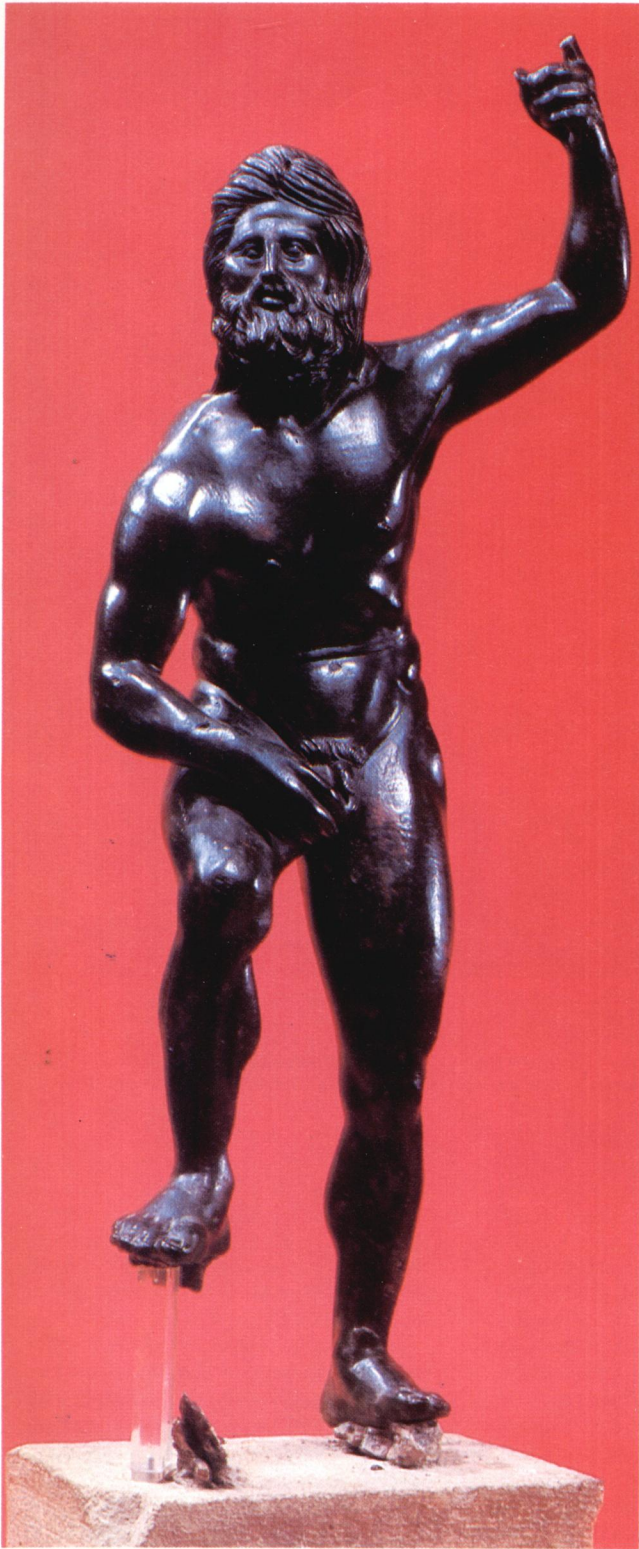
seum of Fine Arts in Boston (October 23, 1981 - January 10, 1982); and The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco (February 19 - May 16, 1982).

In the past, every exhibition centering around Alexander the Great, whether consisting mainly of fourth-century B.C. jewelry or Hellenistic art in general, has lacked the feeling of personal association. Now, regardless of the Vergina tomb's date or the precise identities of the royal couple buried there, many of the objects—the gold-plated silver diadem, "the king's crown"; the gold larnax or funerary container with its gold wreath of oak leaves and acorns inside; the smaller gold larnax and diadem from the antechamber; the quiver of gilded silver with embossed scenes possibly related to Achilles and the fall of Troy; and the miniature heads in ivory, including Philip II and Alexander—must have formed part of the treasure which the Macedonian rulers and their many family connections counted as their "crown jewels." In this light, a number of the precious items from the Vergina tomb could be identified as heirlooms.

In addition to the material from the Vergina tomb, a centerpiece of any exhibition originating in Thessalonike must be the Derveni krater. This large bronze vessel, 91 centimeters in height and weighing 40 kilograms, was found by accident nearly 20 years ago in a burial about 10 miles north of the city. The polished bronze piece with some silver and copper inlaid details is not only arresting because of its size, but is particularly dramatic because of the figures rendered in relief on the body and neck and those sitting like Italian Renaissance sculptures on the shoulder. The corkscrew curls sticking out where the handles pass below the krater's rich rim add to its bizarre luxuriousness. All of the figures on the Derveni krater are associated in some way with Dionysos, the Greek god of wine, whose cult was very active in northern Greece. Taken in isolation, the ornamental figures on the shoulder hardly seem to be parts of a vessel fashioned sometime between the death of Philip and the end of the fourth century. Equally at home on either side of a late eighteenth-century French clock, they

would surely have been condemned as forgeries had they appeared as single pieces on the world's art markets.

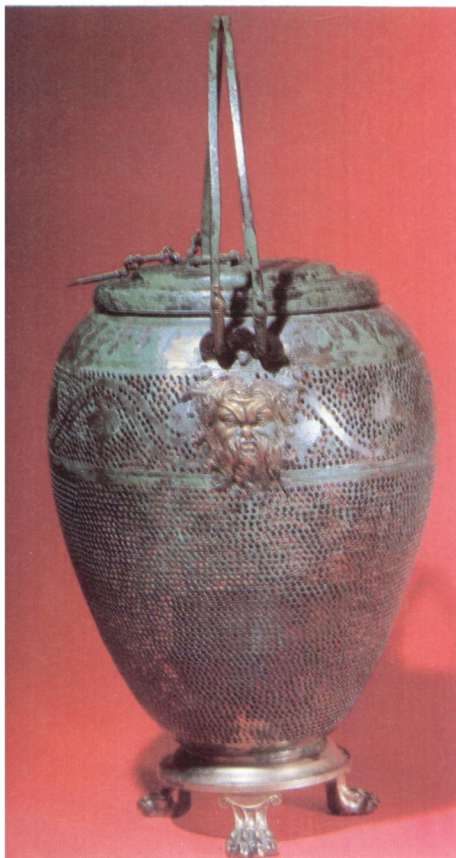
The iconography of the Derveni krater has recently been analyzed brilliantly by Beryl Barr-Sharrar of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. She focused on one particular scene, the hunter who dances in isolation and, enigmatically, wears only one boot, and suggested that this figure could simultaneously represent an initiate into Dionysos' rituals and Pentheus, the god's famous victim who was supposedly ravaged by the participants of a Dionysiac rite. Perhaps this figure is an allegory of King Philip, who was lame, and symbolically shoeless, and who loved his wine. It would not be a portrait but an allusion, perhaps posthumous, to a life ended abruptly just like that of Pentheus, for Philip himself was assassinated in 336 B.C. at the age of 46. The murder occurred during the celebration of a state wedding between his daughter Cleopatra and Alexandros, the king of neighboring Molossia. When Philip stood unprotected in the entrance of the



Bronze statuette of Poseidon from Pella. Height, 51 centimeters.



*(Top) The Derveni krater, a spectacular example of Greek metalwork of the fourth century B.C. Height, 91 centimeters;
(Bottom) Detail from the side of the vase showing a shoeless figure which may represent Pentheus or an initiate to Dionysos.*



Bronze lantern with overlaid silver decoration from the royal tomb at Vergina. A clay lamp is preserved inside the bottom of the vessel. Height, 29 centimeters.



Mid-second-century terracotta figurine from Veroia. A female, perhaps a muse, holds a Silen mask and a bowl of fruit, while leaning on a pillar on which an Eros is perched. Height, 45 centimeters.

arena, Pausanias, one of his own bodyguards, attacked and killed him. A masterpiece of metalwork such as the Derveni krater must have been known to members of the royal household of Macedonia. Its mythological connotations, perhaps referring to Philip himself, could well have pleased some of the sophisticated people, like Aristotle, in the Macedonian court of Alexander the Great.

Another treasure from the Derveni cemetery is a gold head of Herakles, measuring only four centimeters in height, which was meant to be used as a pendant for an earring or necklace. The hero, clad in a lion's skin, has the full beard and drooping moustache of maturity. While the Derveni krater electrifies the viewer with its richness of figures, floral patterns and architectural moldings, the Derveni Herakles has an Olympian dignity and dominating look of inner strength. Again, this is not portraiture but mythology—the Herakles head could very well be an idealization of Philip II near the end of his career or an apotheosis after his violent death.

A special feature of *The Search for Alexander* is a collection of likenesses of Alexander on all scales and in a host of media, from the little ivory head of the royal tomb at Vergina to the over-life size bronzes commissioned in the early third century after Christ for the cities of Asia Minor which were founded by Alexander's successors. The life size head of Alexander in crystalline white marble from Yannitsa near Pella may not be the foremost of all the survivors in quality of carving or preservation, but it has the romantic freshness of Alexander's greatest years before he took to excessive drinking and quarreling near the end of his days. This idealized portrait, taken as the symbol for the exhibit, also has the virtue of having been set up close to the Macedonian city which was the capital during Alexander's lifetime and from which he launched his farflung conquests. Dated by most specialists to the late Hellenistic period, this bust could have gazed upon some of the later Macedonian kings, such as Philip V (238-179 B.C.), who was defeated decisively by the Romans in Thessaly in 179 B.C. and who died trying to restore his kingdom's power in the Balkans; or Perseus (170-168 B.C.), who was crushed by the Romans at Pydna and lived to see Macedonia become a province of the Italian Republic. The sunken eyes, open mouth, richly disordered locks, and turn of the head of this Alexander portrait follow two fourth-century sculptural traditions—the mid-century athletic statues of the sculptor Skopas, and the exaggerated later court portraits of the much-favored court sculptor Lysippos. The emotionalism of Skopas, typified by figures with sunken eyes and straining faces, and the restlessness of Lysippos, whose sculptures had elongated bodies with limbs akimbo, were qualities which biographers saw in the character and deeds of Alexander.

A bronze statuette of Poseidon, measuring 51 centimeters in height, was found in

one of the houses of Pella and is also typical of what Alexander's successors in his homeland cherished. The figure is a Hellenistic version of a large statue which Lysippos probably created as a cult image for Poseidon's shrine at Isthmia near Corinth in central Greece. Lysippos worked in bronze and doubtless made several versions of the god of the sea holding his trident, with a symbolic wave in his other hand or at his feet to represent ports along the northern coast of the Aegean and cities overseas, both vital to communication between the land of Alexander's origins, and the areas which he conquered and where he established new kingdoms. This vigorous, full-bearded, muscular figure provided the Macedonians with the perfect image of a god of action who could bless their own enterprises in the waters of the eastern Mediterranean.

Mention of the "stars of the show," from Vergina, Derveni and, in the contexts of Alexander's legacy, Pella, should be accompanied by tribute to the exquisite terracotta figurines from a rock-cut tomb at Veroia, another important Macedonian city which has survived to modern times. The group consisting of a female with Eros on her shoulder next to a small girl, shows that Alexander's successors could appreciate rococo delicacy in clay as well as the glitter of precious metals and the awesome qualities of handsome arms and armor. Just as the Macedonians could attract the aged poet Euripides and near-native son Aristotle to their royal courts, so they enlisted great artists, especially metalworkers, from all over the Greek world.

The fortunes of time and nearly seven decades of careful excavation have spared the treasures which are to travel across the United States from the lands where they were first and still are appreciated. Supporting works of art from many European and American public and private collections also give spectacular dimensions to *The Search for Alexander*. There are the medallions and coins which extend from Philip's lifetime to the Christian period (A.D. 350-400) of the Roman Empire when pagan supporters of chariot races put Alexander's image on contorniates or commemorative propagandistic tokens. The large gold medallions of Philip, Alexander and his mother Olympias are reminders that during A.D. 212 to 235, Rome had an infamous emperor, Caracalla, who admired Alexander extravagantly and another, named Alexander, who sought to emulate the great Macedonian by waging war against the Persians. And in modern times, from 1917 to 1920, Greece had another popular young king named Alexander. His untimely death led to the withdrawal of allied support from the Greek occupation of western Asia Minor, which resulted in Turkish ascendancy and the mass migrations of Greeks and Armenians from their traditional homelands. As Winston Churchill so aptly remarked, a second unexpected "Alexandrian" death again changed the course of history in the Aegean world.



Masterpieces of Greek Vase Painting, about 1900 B.C.-340 B.C.

Author(s): Cornelius C. Vermeule

Source: *MFA Bulletin*, 1980, Vol. 78 (1980), pp. 22-37

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Masterpieces of Greek Vase Painting, about 1900 B.C.–340 B.C.

To the memory of Grace Dane

CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE

1. See Archaeological Institute of America, *Report of the Executive Committee, 1880–1881*, p. 32. Henry P. Kidder (1823–1886) also collected and donated other works of art. Head of the investment firm of Kidder, Peabody and Co., in 1870 he was one of the twelve incorporating trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts; see W. M. Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1970), vol. 1, p. 11.

The famous Late Minoan IB (Abbott) jug with painted pattern of argonauts and irregular rockwork, once in the New York Historical Society and now in the Brooklyn Museum, was acquired by Dr. H. Abbott in Egypt presumably after 1843 and before 1852. Technical evidence confirms that this handsome vase was found not on Crete but in a tomb in Lower Egypt; see R. S. Merrillees and J. Winter, "Bronze Age Trade between the Aegean and Egypt," in *Miscellanea Wilbouriana*, vol. 1 (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1972), 101–106, figs. 1–4. Other Minoan vases brought to western Europe before the middle of the nineteenth century appear to have been found in Egypt rather than on Crete. The methods of tracing and recording Greek vases from old collections in the United States and Europe have been set forth admirably by Dietrich von Bothmer, "Greek Vases Lost and Found," in G. E. Mylonas, ed., *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, vol. 2 (Saint Louis: Washington University, 1953), pp. 135–138, pls. 47–52.

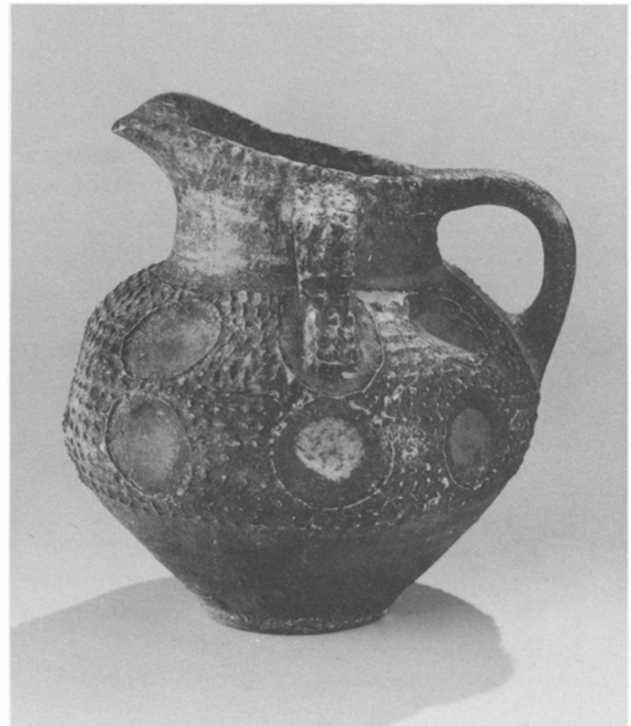
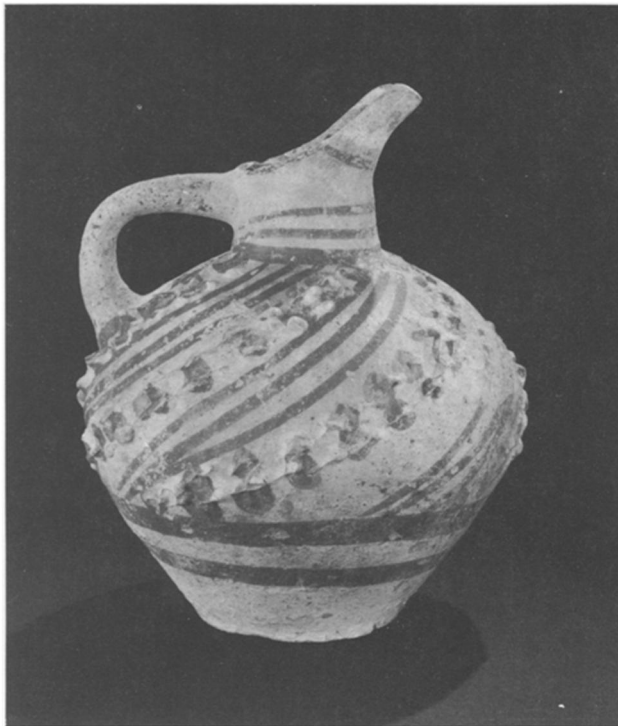
Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Izard (Alice Delancey) of Charleston, South Carolina, and New York were painted by John Singleton Copley in Rome in 1775 with a red-figured krater probably by the Niobid Painter (see below, no. 14) in the background. It is not clear whether they owned this vase and, if so, when the krater came to America. The painting went to the sitters' grandson in Charleston; see *American Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1969), vol. 1, p. 80, no. 298; vol. 2, p. 61, fig. 77. The first serious collector of Greek vases with mythological scenes in the United States was perhaps Thomas Gold Appleton (1812–1884), whose gifts of black-figured amphorae to the Museum of Fine Arts were made in the national centennial year; Museum of Fine Arts,

The painted vases discussed here span the millennium and a half from Early Minoan II (around 1900 B.C.) to the time of Philip of Macedon (340 B.C.). The unifying theme is quality. Each vase has been selected to stand out against the background of a great, comprehensive collection as a self-contained masterpiece and also able to relate to the dozen other painted vases added during the 1970s to the Department of Classical Art of the Museum of Fine Arts. The one possible exception is the East Greek plate with a high foot, the traditional "fruit stand" (no. 6), of about 600 B.C., which came with the Aeolic dinos and appears to have served as its lid in a cremation burial. Though simple and beautiful in form and decoration, this fruit stand is outshone by the Rhodian examples long on display in the museum's East Greek gallery.

The two Minoan relief vases appear always to have been together, but their individual merits rather than their archaeological homogeneity determined their acquisition by the Museum of Fine Arts. Boston private collections of Minoan art go back to the Turkish occupation of Crete, to 1880 (and thus a decade before Arthur Evans's digging), when William J. Stillman, an American diplomat and amateur archaeologist, received a permit from the governor, Photiades Pasha, to explore, survey, and collect on the island, especially at Knossos and Gortyna. Many of the objects brought back to Boston were given to the Museum of Fine Arts by the expedition's sponsor, Henry P. Kidder, through a committee of the Archaeological Institute of America.¹ Few now realize that as a result of this earliest expedition, examples of Minoan ceramics were to be seen in Boston nearly two decades before Queen Victoria's death.

The emphasis of this article is on the East Greek and early Attic red-figured vases. In all senses, this is most appropriate, a building of strength on strength, since these aspects of ancient painting have always been strongest in Boston, from the most active days of the collector-connoisseur Edward Perry Warren at the turn of the nineteenth century. The East Greek vases, unusual in shape, are expressions of regional painting; areas such as Aeolis, north of Smyrna, and Caria to the southeast are represented here, whereas Ionia, Chios, or Rhodes dominated the earlier schools collected. Mythology and athletics have long been the subjects of Attic red-figured vases in the museum's collection and are emphasized here. The cup by Onesimos, "the Panaitios Painter" (no. 11), is as complete a statement of Greek athletic art early in the fifth century B.C. as a Hellenist could ever imagine. The pelike with the Theban sphinx (no. 12) suggests a great era of Attic literature, the tragedies and their presentation in the Greek theater. Finally, the large calyx-krater by the Niobid Painter (no. 14), combines double friezes of mythology and domestic scenes in the very decades (460–440 B.C.) when Athens was reaching the height of economic and, as a consequence, artistic prosperity.

The one South Italian, properly Lucanian, vase included in these pages (no. 15) is early, belonging to the end of the fifth century B.C., and also sufficiently like Attic red-figure to find a congenial place with even earlier vase painting of the late Archaic, Transitional, and High Classical periods of Greek art. Furthermore, the *shape* of the vase from South Italy, a "Nestoris" with complex handles, a local contribution to regional Greek art, is sufficiently unusual in such a well-preserved example to merit description and illustration at this time.²



Boston, *Back Bay Boston: The City as a Work of Art* (Boston, 1969), p. 92. Some forty of Appleton's Greek and South Italian vases, catalogued and exhibited in 1872, were "found by Alessandro Castellani in Etruscan and Campanian tombs"; W. M. Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, vol. 1, p. 20.

2. The staff, past and present, of the Department of Classical Art, Museum of Fine Arts, has helped considerably with this article, notably Mary Comstock, Penelope Truitt, Elaine Banks, Marion True, Kristin Anderson, and Emily Vermeule. Dietrich von Bothmer, Herbert Cahn, Robert Hecht, Joan Mertens, Martin Robertson, and Dale Trendall are among those who have also contributed scholarly knowledge and determinations (including attributions) for these vases. All the vases discussed here are also mentioned (some with illustrations, some with bibliography), in the museum's annual report appropriate to the year of their addition to the Department of Classical Art. A number of the descriptions and references in the report incorporate research prepared by various members of the department when the vases were acquired. The most recent comprehensive article about Greek vases of all periods in Boston is C. C. Vermeule, "Recent Museum Acquisitions," *Burlington Magazine* 115 (February 1973), 114–122. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Fascicule 1, U.S.A., Fascicule 14 (Boston, 1973), describes and illustrates all the black-figured amphorae in the collection. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Fascicule 2, U.S.A., Fascicule 19 (Boston, 1979), comprises the Attic black-figured pelike, kraters, dinoi, hydriai, and kylikes.

3. R. Higgins, *Minoan and Mycenaean Art* (New York: Praeger, 1967), p. 29, fig. 16.

4. See J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete* (London: Methuen, 1939), p. xii, pl. XVIII, 2c in contrast with 2b and d.

5. P. Demargne, *The Birth of Greek Art* (New York: Golden Press, 1964), pp. 96f., fig. 123.

6. Higgins, *Minoan and Mycenaean Art*, p. 29.

1, 2

Pair of pitchers with barbotine relief

Minoan, about 1850 B.C., height (with spout) 0.187 m., 0.176 m.

J. H. and E. A. Payne Fund. 1971.631, 632

The first of these unusual products of the period classified as Middle Minoan I (B) features rust-red stripes on buff clay, with double rows of barbotine relief on the body of the vase and inside the spout. The second pitcher has side handles of the strap type and is more complex (and certainly "pricklier") in its total appearance. The colors are black mat with red overpaint, and barbotine relief decorates the upper portion of the body, the side handles, and the upper part of the neck. An unusual feature of the pitcher consists of two rows of circular indentations, in pairs around the bulge of the body, in the barbotine, and beneath the strap-handles.

These vases became popular, within a limited context, in southern Crete at the time when the palaces at Knossos, Mallia, and, especially (slightly later in date), at Phaistos were being built in their earliest form. The potter's wheel had come to Crete, and the Minoans were progressing toward their most elaborate early Middle Minoan vases, imitating metalwork and often using the ceramic surface as a vehicle for sculptural enrichment. The Kamares Ware krater with flowers in relief from Phaistos, in the Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, is the most frequently illustrated example of this type of vase.³ A pitcher very close to the Boston example with circular indentations was found at Koumasa, near the south-central coast of Crete, with other barbotine vessels, some heavier and cruder than either of the two illustrated here and, indeed, than the general average.⁴ One of the best of these barbotine vases comes from the First Palace at Phaistos and has been dated around 1800 B.C. The colors are blue and creamy white, with reddish orange stripes; the barbotine relief forms borders along the lip, around the belly of the vase, and vertically between the shoulder area encompassed by the handles.⁵

The Kamares Ware krater or pedestal bowl from Phaistos has been termed, because of its applied three-dimensional ornament, "perhaps the most vulgar object of Minoan workmanship so far known."⁶ The barbotine pitchers are tame by comparison, but they are unusual enough to testify to that combination of predictable organization and free, bold imagination which has made Minoan art such a delight to the modern viewer.

3

Ritual jug with serpents

Late Mycenaean, about 1200 B.C., height 0.16 m.

Helen and Alice Colburn Fund. 1971.1

This small, intact vessel is one of a group of hardly more than a half-dozen known, of the period of the Trojan War. To my knowledge, there are no others in public or private collections of the Western Hemisphere. The jug is elaborately decorated in chocolate-brown paint on a cream ground with dense patterns of spirals, filled arcs, and bordered lines, typical of Mycenaean painting just after 1200 B.C. There is a side handle and a spout in front, shaped like a little cup with two handles, which functions as a strainer. In this last respect the vase resembles the East Greek sieve jug discussed later in this essay (no. 8). Two spotted snakes wind around the shoulders and lean their heads over the rim of the cup to drink.

Snake vases of this type are the last expressions of an old Cretan tradition of feeding and housing the sacred serpents of palace and shrine, which were symbolic chthonic protectors of kings and deities. A survival of these beliefs was embodied in the sacred serpent housed with the patron goddess Athena in the Parthenon at Athens. Although most snakes drink milk, the use of a strainer on these jugs suggests that for cult purposes the liquid contents had free-floating particles, perhaps warm honey or beer.

The other recorded examples of snake jugs come from the islands of Naxos, Kos, and Rhodes, making them very much a Cycladic or Aegean-island expression of religious belief. However, one such vase, a kernos with snakes moving around the ring, up the spout, was excavated at Mycenae itself.⁷ Curiously enough, the snake jug illustrated here is said to have been brought from Troy. Most scholars believe that Troy already lay in ruins by 1200 B.C., burned and destroyed by a marauding Greek army. According to legend, among the Greeks who stayed in Asia Minor after the Trojan War were a surprising number of priests and prophets. Perhaps this vivid little combination of ceramics and sculpture was part of the equipment of a shrine established under Mount Ida by one of the Greeks remaining after the Trojan War or the relic of a voyage to the Troad by eastern islanders curious to see the ruins of an old and famous city.

7. Naxos: *Ergon*, 1959, fig. 136; Kos: *Annuario*, n.s. 27–28 (1965–1966) fig. 195a–e (T. 39, no. 151); fig. 259 a,b, 257 (T. 52, no. 205); Rhodes, Ialysos: *Annuario* 6–7 (1923–1924), fig. 59 (T. 20, no. 4), fig. 44 (T. 17); Mycenae: National Museum, Athens, no. 5427. Compare also the kalathos bowl with figurines of mourning women on the rim, a late Mycenaean vase from Perati in Attica; E. Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 405, pl. XLII, F.

8. Fogg Art Museum, *Ancient Art in American Private Collections* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 33; no. 250 A.

9. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 73–74, section 15, pl. 14, a (the Lion Painter); pl. 8, f (the Hirschfeld Painter); pl. 12, g (the Pitcher Workshops); *Kerameikos skyphos*: p. 86.

10. See A. Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases [in the] Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), pp. 82f., no. 275, pl. XXIV.

11. Münzen und Medaillen, Basel, *Kunstwerke der Antike*, Auktion 26, 5 October 1963, pp. 25f., no. 51, pl. 14.

4

Pictorial skyphos

Attic Geometric, about 725 B.C., height 0.09 m.

Gift of Mrs. Ashton Sanborn in memory of Ashton Sanborn. 1971.19

This classic Geometric low bowl has been painted on each side with a long-horned gazelle and a swastika between “metopes” of patterned ornament, chevrons, dots in circles and parallel rows. The handles are thin and wide, curving somewhat in a reflex fashion to form thumb-shaped “ears” at their ends. The black paint contrasts well with the warm buff-brown of the vase’s surface, and the fact that the lower part of the bowl, including the foot, is painted in one broad, black band gives the design a stable, well-conceived architectural basis and a unity.⁸

According to the classifications set out by J. N. Coldstream in his exhaustive *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London: Methuen, 1968), the style and details of this skyphos relate to the so-called Hirschfeld Painter and his workshop, in Late Geometric Ib. These characteristics then lead through Late Geometric IIa, the Pitcher Workshops, to the period of the Lion Painter, in whose school this skyphos was first classified. The delicate formalism of the borders, of the “metopes” especially, seems to place

the vase more in Ib to IIa, than in IIb, where one finds the culmination of the Lion Painter's activities. An Attic Late Geometric IIa skyphos with reflex handles, found in the Kerameikos of Athens (no. 818), seems to offer the best parallel for shape.⁹

The simpler, somewhat earlier decorative surfaces used for this precise form of "low bowl" can be illustrated by another skyphos in the museum's collection (92.2600), purchased in Athens by Edward Robinson, who later became director of the museum.¹⁰ The sides between the handles are painted with large meanders, and other, secondary patterns, mostly stripes, fill the areas above and below. Midway between these two bowls stands a very low-profiled skyphos with large swastikas and rosette patterns in the "metope" panels; it has been published as "ripe Geometric" and dated about 750 B.C.¹¹ Another such skyphos in the Museum of Fine Arts (1978.637), the gift of Mrs. Leo H. Dworsky, has a lower, straighter profile than the last-mentioned example and features one, broad rectangular panel between the handles, with a series of linked, crosshatched diamonds, the pattern repeated on each side. By comparison with all these, the vase illustrated here, once the possession of the scholar-connoisseur Lacey D. Caskey, stands forth as a masterpiece of simple pictorialism rather than merely of shape and geometry.





5

Dinos, with processions of animals

East Greek (Aeolic), about 675–650 B.C., height 0.245 m.

J. H. and E. A. Payne Fund. 1971.205

The exceptional size and bulbous shape of this dinos make it one of the most impressive ritual or crematory bowls of its class to survive from antiquity, even though the small semicircular, straplike handles are missing, and sections of the vase have been restored in plaster. The clay appears as a bricklike yellow, and the extensive repertory of designs has been applied in a series of black, reddish brown, and orange-to-yellow paints. On the shoulder march two processions of spotted deer, in profile, from left to right. These vigorous animals are surrounded by a variety of painted filling ornaments, and each panel ends with the crosshatched, vertical friar and dark, monochromed rectangles of the handle zones. A guilloche pattern enriches the rim, and a strong key design, running all around the bowl, separates the panels with the spotted deer from an extremely monumental, free-form lotus pattern. This decoration is presented as a broad frieze filling much of the vase's lower curve, leading to the almost egg-shaped bottom.¹²

This expressive class of East Greek, pre-Achaic painting has been termed Aeolic because its center is supposed to have been in Aeolis, northwest and north of Smyrna, archaeologically around Larisa in the Hermos River valley and at coastal sites leading to Pitane near Pergamon in Mysia. Such vases were exported widely in antiquity. The collection of East Greek wares in Boston, acquired as a result of the Egypt Exploration Society's excavations at Naukratis in the early 1880s, gives ample evidence of a commerce extending from the Black Sea to Africa. Indeed, a recent study of so-called Aeolic art of this late Orientalizing period gives a list of fifteen such dinoi, mostly from Naukratis; included in the list is a fragment with portions of two ibexes and geometric filling patterns in the Egypt Exploration Fund collection of the Museum of Fine Arts (86.527).¹³

The style of the dinos illustrated here, particularly as regards the processions of spotted deer, belongs to the cruder, more vigorous examples that feature among their designs both animals in decorative motifs and heads in windows. An askos in the British Museum, also from Naukratis, has much of the same forceful feeling, expressed in an assembly of patterns adroitly refined in the painted decoration of East Greek, probably Carian, sieve jug considered later in this essay, at the end of pre-Attic pottery (no. 8).



6

Painted "fruit dish"

East Greek, about 650 B.C., height 0.095 m.

J. H. and E. A. Payne Fund. 1971.206

The modern, conventional name for this pleasing East Greek ceramic composition stems from its similarity to creations in Georgian and Victorian silver. These, in turn, took their inspiration from the first early Greek, Corinthian, and Italo-Corinthian vases found in South Italian and Etruscan tombs. A shallow plate on a pedestal foot has been painted in orange on the buff clay. Concentric circles around a solid center characterize the inside, while the underside has been enriched with bands, a border of dots between, and, above all, a series of shepherd's-crook, *lituus*-shaped group of four bands, leading to more concentric circles near the foot. Part of the rim and base have been restored.¹⁴

This dish's possible use in antiquity has been mentioned. Inverted, and doubtless held in place with thongs or some form of glue, the fruit stand was evidently pressed



into service, in a cremation burial, as the lid of the Aeolic dinos just discussed (no. 5). Though less specific, less regional than the dinos in its simple decorative scheme, this forthright exercise in practical pottery appears to have been made in one of the cities along the Ionian coast, presumably a settlement around the gulf of Smyrna.

Sherds from vessels like this, in the same decorative scheme, have been found at Old Smyrna, quantities having been unearthed by students under my direction in the 1950s. A fragment of a so-called low bowl of this type (not to be confused with the same term when used for Attic Geometric pottery, such as, for example, no. 4) in the Museum of Fine Arts since the late 1880s, was excavated in the temple of Hera at Naukratis. A section of the rim and the three concentric circles toward the center of the plate have been preserved. In its original condition, this fruit stand, with yellow-painted bands on a white surface, would have made a perfect companion at a symposium for the example illustrated here.¹⁵

7

Trefoil oinochoe

East Greek, about 575 B.C., height 0.115 m.

Otis Norcross Fund. 1971.207



This small vase provides a splendid representation of one of the lesser known varieties of East Greek pottery, a trefoil oinochoe of unusual shape and excellent preservation. Two registers of fat-bodied birds, perhaps partridges, form the main decoration, offset by borders of geometric, protoarchitectural patterns. The outer rim shows a reversal of the color scheme, with painting in a cream slip on the brown undercoat, a characteristic of the Aeolic vase painting just discussed (no. 5). The birds, carefully drawn in full silhouette with inner markings in reverse, are, in particular, a common motif of the Fikellura style, the last pure East Greek expression of vase painting surviving to the end of the sixth century.

Pottery from the Greek colonies of Ionia and Aeolis represents a more subtle variety of styles than that of either the mainland or southern Italy and Sicily. The Orientalizing vases of the seventh century from Rhodes (the "wild goat" style) are best known; later examples from the coastal cities are much rarer. Size, details of form, shape, quality of painting, and, perhaps above all, excellence of preservation make this oinochoe especially distinctive, a rarity in an early Archaic category of Ionian or Aeolic pottery. An extra dimension of expression has been imparted to shape and decoration: two "eyes" have been painted just below the pouring spout of the lip. Another striking feature is the upright lotus bud and two branches painted below the base of the handle.

The birds seen so prominently on this oinochoe survive on an East Greek situla fragment in the British Museum, dated 550–525 B.C. The inner details, such as feathers, are more sophisticated, less bold and "slapdash" in design. A fragment from Naukratis, the shoulder of an amphora, also in the British Museum, has fatter, presumably later partridges and has been dated in the early third quarter of the sixth century. On the fragments of the Mykonos group amphora, perhaps about 530 B.C., in the British Museum, these birds, which are combined with decorative "sworls," are developed to a high degree of East Greek refinement.¹⁶

12. Art Museum of South Texas, *Greek Vases* (Corpus Christi, 1976), p. 14, fig. 13.

13. E. Walter-Karydi, "Äolische Kunst," in *Studien zur Griechischen Vasenmalerei, Antike Kunst*, suppl. 7 (Bern, 1970), pp. 3f. See also A. Fairbanks, *Greek and Etruscan Vases*, pp. 100ff., especially no. 321.1, pl. 34.

14. Art Museum of South Texas, *Greek Vases*, p. 13, fig. 12.

15. Fairbanks, *Greek and Etruscan Vases*, p. 100, no. 305.1, pl. 32.

16. British Museum, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Fascicule 8, Great Britain, Fascicule 13 (London, 1954), situla fragment: pp. 35f., pl. 8, figs. 5–6; also pl. 8, fig. 7; Mykonos group: p. 11, pl. 10, no. 2.



8

Sieve jug

East Greek, about 600 B.C., height 0.14 m.

Harriet Otis Craft Fund. 1972.997

Deceptively simple in form, this peculiar little vase has a slightly depressed, spherical body, placed on a high, conical foot, with the front indicated by an open, flaring spout. This opening is separated from the interior of the vessel by a perforated strainer in the body wall. At almost a right angle to this on the right side of the vase, a bipartite handle arches from the shoulder, high over the body, to attach itself again in the very center of the top.¹⁷

Except for the underside of the foot, the entire vessel is covered with a fine buff slip. The surface is enhanced with linear decorations done in brownish black paint, which misfired to reddish brown in some places. A series of bands in various widths encircle the foot and distinguish it from the body, which has three zones of decoration. Widely spaced rays spread out over the lower part of the swelling globe, separated by two fine lines from the guilloche pattern surrounding the center. Again, two lines separate this design from the neatly executed pattern of alternately dark and light tongues, which fans out around the dark circle marking the upper base of the striped handle and is broken only by the solid dark area beneath the handle. This decoration and the shape of the foot confirm the East Greek source for this piece and indicate a date in the late seventh or early sixth century B.C. Similar sieve jugs, not in the precise decorative style of this vase, have been excavated at Gordion in Asia Minor.

The shape of the spout and the placement of the handle in relation to it plainly indicate that this was a drinking vessel, perhaps for coarse wine, beer, or even a form of buttermilk. There is complexity in the way the vase was filled. Aside from the strainer in the spout, the only opening is a small hole through the center of the conical foot, the point extending far up inside the vase. Thus, the vase was filled by placing it on its side in the liquid; when held upright, the vessel retained its contents because the level was never as high as the top of the interior cone. That such gadgetry fascinated the Greeks and their neighbors in the East can be seen in three other "trick" vases in the Museum of Fine Arts collection, two kylikes and one amphora. Early Greek trick vases, however, are relatively rare, one of the best being an Attic or East Greek Geometric-style multiple skyphos in an American private collection.¹⁸ This vase thus joins a choice, small group, those which attempt to fool by their function.

The guilloche pattern, in simpler form, is present on the upper part of an Orientalizing jug in Izmir from Old Smyrna, dated 625–600 B.C. This design also appears on the neck of an amphora or oinochoe from the same site, a vase probably made on Chios. The motif survives a century later on the sides of the top rims of Clazomenian sarcophagi.¹⁹ In all these examples, the guilloche pattern can be taken as a hallmark of East Greek painting in the late Orientalizing to Archaic periods. The basic decorative enrichment also occurs, in various combinations, on a variety of East Greek (presumably Chiote) wares excavated at Naukratis in Egypt. The sherds from Naukratis provide, to be sure, random selections, but the total of their motifs, added to an unusual shape and curious function, has produced the vase illustrated here and the other East Greek painted vases that have been considered. Besides parallels for the tongue patterns, the guilloche, the encircling bands, and the rays leading to these bands in the pottery from Naukratis, cruder versions of the designs have been adduced from the "Aeolic" art of the Hermos valley, although this region has yielded sherds of equally elegant quality.²⁰

17. Marion True prepared the basic notes on this vase.

18. See J. V. Noble, "Some Trick Vases," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 112 (1968), 371–378.

19. E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander* (Berlin: Gruyter, 1961), pp. 178–180, fig. 125; J. M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East* (New York: Praeger, 1963), p. 256, fig. 16; p. 258, fig. 32.

20. See Fairbanks, *Greek and Etruscan Vases*, p. 113, no. 324.8, pl. 35 (tongue patterns); p. 102, no. 307.2, pl. 30 (guilloche); p. 98, no. 302.2, pl. 32 (encircling bands); p. 117, no. 329.3, pl. 36 (rays leading to bands).



9

Black-figured pitcher

Attic, about 580–570 B.C., height 0.19 m.

Helen and Alice Colburn Fund. 1973.9

The variation of the oinochoe or wine pitcher, called an olpe by archaeologists, was probably used as a pouring jug, even a well dipper. The painting of this prized olpe exhibits considerable influence from contemporary Corinthian ware. A figured panel runs around the belly; two panthers stand with their bodies in profile, facing the center, their heads toward the viewer. Such compositions are characteristic of the Corinthian “heraldic animals”-style popular among Attic vase painters in the first half of the sixth century B.C. Between the panthers, the Corinthian helmet is in profile, facing left. Along the edges of the helmet are touches of white, a Corinthian mannerism indicating the holes in the helmet’s edge, where an inner lining was attached. In the space around the animals are Corinthian rosettes, clustered less densely than on vases from Corinth. The painting is enlivened with touches of red (on the faces, necks, chests, flanks, and bellies of the felines and on the rosettes) and other touches of white (on the tops of the panthers’ heads, around their eyes, on their claws, on the helmet’s crest, and on the rosettes).²¹

Similar Corinthian compositions can be seen on other vases in the Museum of Fine Arts from this period. A Euboean amphora (13.75) shares the olpe’s heraldic panthers, the motif between them being a double palmette. Heraldic sphinxes and other monsters decorate an Attic hydria (76.34); heraldic lions appear on an Attic tripod kothon (98.915), also on an Attic skyphos (97.366). These same creatures fill ceramic frieze compositions, as on a Chalcidian krater (01.8040) and an Attic lebes (34.212), both about 575–550 B.C. All are comparable to well-known Corinthian heraldic and frieze designs: for instance, a skyphos (03.809) and a pyxis (24.499). The famous Attic dinos with Perseus and the Gorgons by the Gorgon Painter, dated about 590 B.C., in the Louvre has animals similar to the Boston olpe on the bottom of its bowl and the lower part of its stand.²²

These early Archaic Attic vases document the shift away from Corinthian sources in the markets of the ancient world, a competition in which the Gorgon Painter played a successful part. It is tempting to identify this olpe with the followers of the Gorgon Painter, but comparison with the top of the foot of the stand for the dinos signed by Sophilos, about 580 B.C., in the British Museum indicates the scope of attributive possibilities.²³ The animals of the Boston olpe seem too free, too imaginative for Sophilos, who retains the formalism of the best Corinthian animal friezes, as on occasion does the circle of Lydos as late as 555 B.C., notably on the lekanis lid in the Ludwig collection.²⁴ This formalism is also present in many of the unclassified vases in the wider and sometimes later circle of the Gorgon Painter, as the “Deianeira-form” lekythos, which was in the Basel market in 1963.²⁵

21. The first part of this description is based on a report, prepared by Elaine Banks, to the Committee on the Collections of the museum’s trustees; see also E. M. Banks, “Attic Black-Figured Olpe,” *Boston Museum Bulletin* 70, nos. 361–362 (1972), 105, illus.

22. P. E. Arias, *A History of 1,000 Years of Greek Vase Painting* (New York: Abrams, 1962), pl. 35, dated 600–590 B.C. The oinochoe-olpe by the Gorgon Painter in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City (Missouri), with a siren in full profile on the right side, seems to present a more careful and elegant standard of painting; R. E. Taggart, *Handbook* (1973), p. 33 (inv. no. 59–22). The same potter could have fashioned this large pitcher and the one in Boston.

23. R. A. Higgins, in Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and the British School at Athens, *Archaeological Reports for 1971–72* (London, 1972), p. 62, fig. 8; British Museum, no. 1971.11–1.1. On Sophilos and his animals see the appreciation by Dietrich von Bothmer of a monumental krater in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, *Notable Acquisitions, 1975–1979*, pp. 13–14 (no. 1977.11.2).

24. R. Lullies, *Griechische Kunstwerke: Sammlung Ludwig, Kassel* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1968), pp. 35f., no. 15.

25. Münzen und Medaillen, Basel, *Kunstwerke der Antike*, Auktion 26, 5 October 1963, p. 40, no. 83, pl. 25.

Red-figured column-krater by Myson

Attic, about 480 B.C., height 0.38 m.

Lent by Moses Alpers (one half) and gift of the late Dr. M. H. Shulman (one half). 108.63 and 1973.572



This krater is considered here, perhaps slightly ahead of its chronological position in the development of Attic vase painting, because the scenes are more documents of monumental painting than of ceramic decoration (even at its best) and because the treatment of the two framed pictures foreshadows developments in the last two centuries of vase painting as practiced in ancient Athens.²⁶ Large and in excellent condition, with only minor abrasions and flaking, this vase has been attributed by an American scholar to the painter and potter Myson, an artist whose signature in both capacities has been found on a fragment of a column-krater from the Athenian Acropolis itself.²⁷

The subjects on the two sides are direct and obvious, following the traditions of megalographic composition on the surfaces of Attic red-figured vases, which becomes one of the major elements of Greek art in the fifth century B.C. Two youths, both wearing flat caps tied under their chins (represented in applied or added red), are guiding sturdy horses toward some Athenian festival or athletic contest. One youth wears an embroidered chiton with pleated skirt and holds a staff, while the second youth is naked and holds the horse's reins and a pair of staffs in his hand.

On the second side, three wreathed youths revel at a banquet or weave their way home from a party. Their wreaths have been executed in a similar added red. Two of the youths hold large vessels for wine or water or both; the young man seen from the back at the extreme right also possesses a short or foreshortened staff. The first composition has the restrained elegance and solidity of early High Classical Greek painting or sculpture in relief, recalling aspects of the late Archaic friezes of the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi and almost a forerunner of the Panathenaic procession in the frieze of the Parthenon. The second composition radiates a considerable degree of what can be termed uncouth exuberance, as if Myson let his brushes descend to a sloppy expressionism in order to achieve an effect of bold patterns. Other, greater masters of the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C., including the celebrated Euphronios, created beautiful, precise, balanced set pieces for the principal sides of their vases and then let the second side dissolve into draftsmanship bordering almost on indifference.

Myson has been termed the father of the "mannerists" in Greek, that is, Attic red-figured vase painting. His most famous vase, the amphora in the Louvre showing Croesus, sixth-century King of Lydia, seated on his funeral pyre, ranks with the best painting and calligraphy near the outset of red-figured vases. Seeing the Louvre amphora, it is hard to realize that Myson is noted chiefly as a painter of column-kraters similar to the vase discussed here. The celebrated Pan Painter (whose greatest vase, long a showpiece in the Museum of Fine Arts, is the bell krater with Artemis witnessing the death of Aktaion and Pan pursuing a goatherd) continued aspects of Myson's style. For this reason and also because the aesthetic format of a major and a minor side passed over into vase painting of the fourth century B.C. in the Italian peninsula, the column-krater considered here is a noteworthy addition to the repertory of Attic red-figure at the time of the Persian Wars.

26. "Some Recent Accessions," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 61, no. 325 (1963), 112–113. M. Moore, "The Cottenham Relief," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 2 (1975), p. 48, no. 48.

27. See J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), vol. 1, pp. 237–242; vol. 2, p. 1638 (the Boston vase is no. 23 bis); idem, *Paralipomena* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 349, no. 23 bis. See also Arias, *History of Greek Vase Painting*, pp. 318, 332, pls. 130, 131 (the early, still Archaic amphora in the Louvre with King Croesus on the pyre and Theseus carrying off Antiope, dated about 500 B.C.).



11

Red-figure kylix by Onesimos

Attic, about 490 B.C., diam. 0.242 m.

Arthur Tracy Cabot Fund. 1972.44

The interior of this type C cup features an aristocratic youth about to let loose a hare, an elegant exercise designed to fill the precise, architectural frame of the tondo.²⁸ The young man wears a himation draped around his shoulders; in the field his staff provides a counterdiagonal to his foreshortened body.

The scenes on the exterior of the kylix relate to the pancration (a Greek athletic contest involving boxing and wrestling), especially that on the first side. Two youths are wrestling between trainers, the one on the left being seated frontally, next to a prize cauldron on a column. A boy, a "second" or a spectator, stands on the right. On the complementary side, two youths are boxing, he on the left turning his head toward the viewer. A trainer leans forward with staff and staves at the left, and on the right another boy observes the action, standing in a pose suggesting he is measuring off the field. This boy is a partial mirror reversal of the boy at the right of the contest on the first side. Each appears to be stretching a long cord with two weights on the end below the lowered hand. If not a marker of some sort, this could be a thong for wrapping around a boxer's fist.²⁹ All around are attributes of sport: mattocks for digging up the athletic ground, a discus bag knotted as if on the gymnasium wall, a pair of jumping-weights, fillets, and possibly a strigil. The inscription "Ho pais kalos" ("The boy is beautiful") appears within the tondo; on one side we read "Panaitios kalos," and "Lukos kalos" has been written on the second, the last "kalos" being on the discus bag.

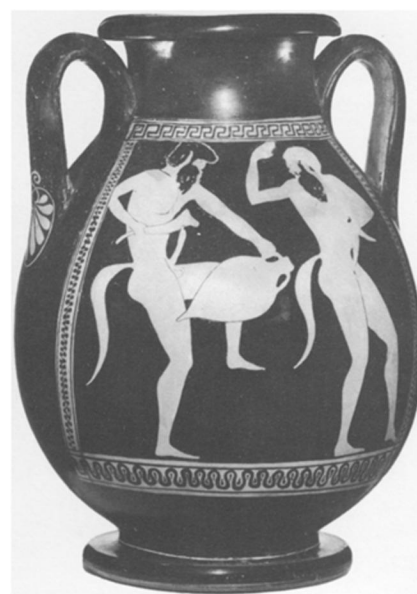
The kalos name Panaitios is that by which the artist Onesimos, or one aspect of him, was formerly known, generally speaking in his early phase. In Sir John Beazley's extensive lists, combining the works of the former Panaitios Painter and Onesimos, this sturdy cup with a metallic luster from the Athos Moretti collection comes well along in the artist's early development, among the many cups that Onesimos painted with athletic and hunting scenes. The organization of the contestants or spectators and the poses of some of the figures parallel those of the type B kylix by Onesimos in the Frederick Watkins collection at the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University,³⁰ and its counterpart from the Schweizer collection in Switzerland, with armed warriors exercising. A number of other cups of the period illustrate variations and elaborations of these vigorous athletic scenes, notably a kylix by the Triptolemos Painter, a follower of Onesimos who likewise worked about 490 B.C.³¹ Boxers, javelin-throwers, and two dedicated trainers, each shown twice, fill the interior and exterior of this masterpiece, most comparable to the vase in the Museum of Fine Arts.

28. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, vol. 1, p. 322, no. 37; C. Vermeule, in *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Annual Report, 1971-72*, pp. 42-44, illus.; P. M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 128, n. 192. The cup has been mended, with slight restoration.

29. Cf. H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 24, pl. 17, a kylix in the British Museum with a similar scene of boxing. The open palm and wrist to the forearm were similarly bound; see D. Buitron, *Attic Vase Painting in New England Collections* (Cambridge, Mass: Fogg Art Museum, 1972), pp. 78f., no. 36, the interior of a kylix by the Epidromos Painter at Dartmouth College, which was listed in *Münzen und Medaillen*, Basel, *Kunstwerke der Antike*, Auktion 18, 29 November 1958, pp. 37f., no. 111, pl. 32. Two boxers are also wrapping their hands in this fashion on the first side of the kylix by the Triptolemos Painter mentioned below in no. 11 and n. 31.

30. See A. H. Ashmead and K. M. Phillips, in *Fogg Art Museum, The Frederick M. Watkins Collection* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), pp. 58-61, no. 22.

31. *Münzen und Medaillen*, Basel, *Kunstwerke der Antike*, Auktion 22, 13 May 1961, pp. 86f., no. 161, pl. 53, and extensive references from the literature on Greek athletics.



12

Red-figured pelike by the Syleus Painter

Attic, about 470 B.C., height 0.42 m.

Helen and Alice Colburn Fund. 1971.343

The two Theban youths, arrayed in ample cloaks, sit on folding stools, at each side of an Ionic column on which the sphinx is shown as half-standing, half-sitting, with wings outspread and tail curling up in the manner conventional to sculpture. The column and capital have been given broad, heavy proportions, as if to suggest a stele and its finial. The second side of this unusually large pelike, which has been heavily restored, features two prancing ithyphallic satyrs, each holding a drinking-horn. The satyr on the left, or to the rear, also clasps a pointed amphora. They have been attending a Dionysiac revel. The designs and borders of the rectangular panels are relieved by stylized palmettes under each handle.³²

One of the chief interests of this vase, with its elongated, mannered balance of Theban youths, lies in the relationship of the sphinx on her column-stele to Attic grave monuments of the late Archaic period. The sphinx on the capital of the brother and sister stele in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Attic carving of about 535 B.C., offers an excellent comparison in this range of free-standing, painted marble sculpture.³³ A pelike by Hermonax, about 450 B.C., in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, includes the same balance of Thebans but adds two more, standing in the background, and has the sphinx in a full, alert sitting posture. Boston's frequently illustrated Nolan-shaped amphora of Oedipus and the sphinx by the Achilles Painter (06.2447) dates from the decade 450–440 B.C., when scenes painted on vases were becoming freer, more three-dimensional, in relation to other monumental forms of painting.³⁴ Thus, in Attic vase painting the subject of the Theban sphinx reaches its true popularity and breadth of expression in red-figure, from 470 to 430 B.C. This is, more than coincidentally, the period of the great tragedies.

The artist identified as the Syleus Painter is a late Archaic pot painter, according to the late Sir John Beazley's classifications. Beazley listed fourteen pelikai, later adding two more to his definitive catalogue, as well as other large pelikai with secondary decoration from the same workshop. The master and his atelier featured a diversity of mythological scenes, usually in simple two- or three-figure groups.³⁵ Side A of the pelike known as Musée du Louvre, Paris, no. G 228, is somewhat unusual for the painter's choices of composition in showing a Gigantomachy, the scene of divine combat between Olympians and giants at the outset of the Olympian world. Side B of the Louvre vase was compared by Beazley with the main mythological composition of the Boston pelike. The painter's name stems from the scene of Herakles and Syleus "the robber" on a stamnos in Copenhagen.

32. C. Vermeule, in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Annual Report, 1971–72*, pp. 43–44, illus.; P. P. Betancourt, *The Aeolic Style in Architecture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 106, n. 19, and p. 148.

33. See G. M. A. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica* (London: Phaidon, 1961), pp. 27–29, no. 37, figs. 96–109.

34. See U. Hausmann, "Oedipus und die Sphinx," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 9 (1972), 14–16, figs. 5–8.

35. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, vol. 1, pp. 250, 254; vol. 2, p. 1639.



13

Red-figured column-krater by the Aegisthus Painter

Attic, about 470 B.C., height 0.37 m.

Edward J. and Mary S. Holmes Fund. 1970.567

Aged Pelias, the uncle of Jason, is being led by one of his daughters to a large cooking-pot to see the miraculous rejuvenation of an old ram through the secret recipe and cooking of Medea. Medea has convinced the daughters of her husband's uncle that she can restore the youth of their aged father in the same manner. In actuality, she will omit the special herbs from the brew and kill Pelias, thereby avenging the usurpation of the kingdom of Iolkos, to which Jason was rightful heir. The two crucial parts of the story are represented here, consolidated into one scene. Medea, standing on the right, reveals the efficacy of her magic; the daughter of King Pelias is amazed and assured. As a result, Pelias is being brought to the cauldron.

The second side of this krater presents two naked youths greeting each other during an evening of revels. He on the left holds out a cloak over his left arm and carries a wineskin in the lowered right hand. The traditional word "kalos" (beautiful) graces the cauldron on the obverse and runs across the wineskin on the reverse.³⁶

A black-figured amphora of the wider Antimenes group, about 520–510 B.C., formerly in the Cranbrook Collections, presents another version of the scene, a composition with Medea on the left of the cauldron and the daughters on the right. Pelias has been omitted. This composition is less monumental, more precious, if only because the lady principals are holding the long, trailing vines common to the decoration of late sixth-century B.C. amphorae and cups. Medea's rejuvenated ram emerges as a standard type of figure in the late Archaic period, whether being boiled, merely standing, or in motion.³⁷

The Aegisthus Painter's style seems to have been derived from the later development of the Copenhagen Painter. He is termed an "Early Classic Painter of Large Pots," while the Copenhagen Painter has been identified as "an academic artist akin to the later phase of Douris." One of the Copenhagen Painter's hydriai, in the British Museum, shows "Medea rejuvenating Jason." A stamnos in Munich features, as side A, "Pelias and his daughters"; the composition is similar to the vase illustrated here.³⁸

36. C. Vermeule, in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Annual Report*, 1970–71, p. 36, illus.

37. See Sotheby, Parke-Bernet, *The Cranbrook Collections*, 2–5 May 1972, p. 123, lot 320. For another representation of the ram, see D. Buitron, *Attic Vase Painting*, p. 24, no. 6.

38. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, vol. 1, pp. 256–258, especially nos. 26 (hydria), 8 (stamnos).



14
Red-figured calyx-krater by the Niobid Painter
 Attic, about 460–450 B.C., height 0.48 m., diam. (mouth) 0.50 m.
 Mary S. and Edward J. Holmes Fund. 1972.850

In the upper register Peleus abducts Thetis in the presence of Cheiron, the Nereids, and Nereus. Aged Nereus forms the static point of the action, on the side directly opposite the scene of the abduction. Cheiron, as future teacher of Achilles (the child of the union), stands majestically at the right, in between the panicking Nereids, sisters of Thetis, one waving a dolphin. "In due time he [Cheiron] won in wedlock for Peleus the bright-bosomed daughter of Nereus" (Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 3.53ff.).

The lower register, interrupted by flaring handles, has been divided more rigidly. The scene of a wind-god pursuing a maiden forms one area circumscribed by floral motifs and symbolic architecture, the domestic activities creating their own internal mood. Both compositions may be continuations of an overall main theme, preparations for marriage. Zephyros pursuing Phoibe may be the immediate interpretation for the second amorous encounter. The scenes inside the women's quarters, appropriate to any myths of courtship, became canonical genre displays on later Attic pyxides (women's toilet boxes). Here they may be an addition to the mythological registers to make the entire krater a ceremonial wedding present, the ancient Athenian equivalent of the Fabergé Easter eggs popular at the courts of the Russian Tsars.³⁹

The Niobid Painter's activity ranges from about 465 to 450 B.C., his name being derived from one of the subjects on his celebrated calyx-krater in the Louvre. His two-register calyx-kraters are scarcer than his monumental, free-form surfaces, but they were popular enough to inspire imitators, as the calyx-krater in the Ludwig collection, from a Lucerne sale, bears witness. The Ludwig krater, which has been dated 450–440 B.C., has a Gigantomachy based on that of a calyx-krater by the Niobid Painter in Ferrara (no. T. 313), from Spina, in the Po valley. The difference in "quality" between the calligraphy of the Ludwig krater (the heads of the figures especially) and that of the Niobid Painter himself is clear from comparison. The follower features larger noses, longer necks, and occasional distortions of bodily proportions.⁴⁰

The borders of intricate palmette design on the vase illustrated here are typical of the Niobid Painter, as are the stocky figures with their awkward theatrical gestures. Within the rather static narrative style, the painter has taken care to vary the details of drapery and to add anatomical markings, shading, and other minor elements in dilute glaze. For these characteristics, as well as choice and presentation of subjects, this calyx-krater can be termed a classic example of Greek vase painting of the mid-fifth century B.C. Attic vase painting was passing its zenith at a time when the sculptures of the Parthenon were scarcely being planned.

The subject of a kalpis (hydria) by the Niobid Painter in the Bowdoin College of Art has been given as Boreas carrying off Oreithyia. One of Oreithyia's playmates runs toward the scene with a small dolphin in hand, as does a Nereid on the Boston krater. Erechtheus, Oreithyia's old father, stands in the canonical position at the left.⁴¹

The same general scene (Boreas and Oreithyia), with the bearded elder (identified as Erechtheus or Kekrops) standing between the maidens and the abduction, is the subject of another splendid kalpis-hydria by the Niobid Painter. The dolphin as an attribute in the hand has been omitted.⁴² These two hydriai belong to the Niobid Painter's middle phase or period; a third such vase is in the Museum of Antiquities at Basel.⁴³ Many of this painter's vases have been found in the Po valley (Spina) or throughout southern Italy, but others come from Greece in fairly modern times, notably Athens. The Black Sea region (Olbia), Palestine (Samaria), and Cyrenaica in North Africa are among the provenances that also mark the diffuse popularity of this artist in antiquity. Since it may become fashionable to read Athenian history and politics into the compositions of the Niobid Painter,⁴⁴ Boston's krater might have been painted with reference to the contemporary maritime adventures of Athens, notably Kimon's expeditions to Asia Minor, Cyprus, and the East. An amorous triumph at sea (Nereids) and on earth (a wind-god) could allude to Kimon's double defeat of the Persians on land and sea at the mouth of the Eurymedon near Aspendos (Pamphylia) in 468 B.C.⁴⁵ The decades of the Niobid Painter's activities were filled with tales and memories of such Athenian victories and defeats. His followers also painted and his customers appear to have cherished these large, topical vases crowded with mythological figures.

Bronze hydriai with representations of the abduction of Oreithyia by Boreas, Hellenistic works found at Mesembria (Nesebär) in Thrace, give further indication that vases with this class of subject were painted or fashioned for export to markets in the northeast and East Greek worlds.⁴⁶ Aside from any Athenian political allusions (more of moment perhaps to those who visited the Niobid Painter's workshop), winged divinities in pursuit of maidens were popular subjects among barbarian peoples, especially those whose cultures had been influenced by the arts of Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia.

39. "Two Museums Acquire New Vases," *Archaeology* 26 (April 1973), 145, illus.; S. Drysdale, in *Christian Science Monitor*, 2 December 1972, pp. 1, 3, illus.; R. Taylor, in *Boston Globe*, 21 November 1972, p. 41, illus.; C. Vermeule, in *National Antiques Review*, June 1973, p. 5 and cover; idem, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Annual Report*, 1972–73, pp. 38–39, 41, illus.; U. Kron, *Die Zehn Attischen Phylenheroen, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, suppl. 5 (Berlin: Mann, 1976), p. 258.

40. Lullies, *Griechische Kunstwerke*, pp. 111–114, no. 46; *Ars Antiqua*, Lucerne, Auction 3, 1961, pp. 47–48, no. 109. See generally, Arias, *History of Greek Vase Painting*, pp. 354–357, pls. 173–181.

41. See Buitron, *Attic Vase Painting*, pp. 118f., no. 64.

42. See K. Schauenburg, in *Ars Antiqua*, Lucerne, Auktion 2, *Antike Kunstwerke*, 14 May 1960, pp. 58–59, no. 161, pl. 65, and detailed references for the myth on other Attic vases of this period.

43. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, vol. 1, p. 606, nos. 67–69.

44. See E. B. Harrison, "Preparations for Marathon: The Niobid Painter and Herodotus," *Art Bulletin* 54 (1972), 390–402.

45. George F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), p. 121.

46. See I. Venedikov, in *Bulletin du Musée de Burgas* (Bulgaria) 2 (1965), 49–62, figs. 1–11.

Red-figured Nestoris by the Amykos Painter

Lucanian, about 410 B.C., height, max., 0.285 m., to rim, 0.23 m.

Frederick Brown Fund. 1971.49

A woman offers a sword to an Oscan warrior seated on a rock, and on the reverse an entreating satyr pursues a maenad. The two figured panels, each with a pair of protagonists, are bold and simple, a resonant contrast with the complex outline produced by the handles.⁴⁷ The Amykos Painter takes his name from the scene on the shoulder of a hydria in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, one of over 160 vases ascribed by A. D. Trendall to this Lucanian painter of the latter fifth century B.C. Professor Trendall has also observed, in connection with the Amykos Painter, that the Nestoris is the most interesting new shape in later Greek vase painting, since it is of local Messapian origin.⁴⁸

The obverse of this vase is paralleled in a general way on an elaborate Type I Nestoris with two rows of figures, in the Louvre, and the best comparison for the reverse is seen on a bell-krater in the museum in Bari. Since warriors in local costume appear on these vases, it has been suggested that they were made for non-Greeks and thus for regional export. The Boston Nestoris does not have discs on the handles, and the choice of secondary, border, or enframing patterns seems less detailed, later, and more refreshingly pedestrian than those shown on the related vases in the Louvre, the British Museum, and Berlin.

The Lucanian Nestoris can be taken as a fitting conclusion, in the last decade of the Peloponnesian Wars, to nearly a millennium and a half of painting, spanning the Mediterranean world from the Minoans of Crete to the Messapians of southern Italy.

Pelike of the so-called Kerch style

Attic, about 340 B.C., height (max.) 0.327 m., diam. (mouth) 0.205 m.

Francis Welch Fund. 1973.293

One Athenian painted vase of the fourth century B.C. has been included, as a form of epilogue. This large pelike is an excellent demonstration of where a grand tradition in ancient art ended in the last decades of its productive importance. On the major side of the vase griffins attack warriors (seemingly Amazons) in Eastern dress. It is a powerful composition in effective polychromy, with added white for the bodies of the griffins pouncing on their armed adversaries, one mounted and the companion on foot. The second side, showing youths in conversation, is a distinct anticlimax, both in subject and quality of drawing. This habit of painting the reverse in an inferior way, an old tradition in red-figure and especially common to the fourth century B.C., was transmitted to the Greek schools of southern Italy. There many major vases came to express an unhappy contrast between an interesting, well-painted "Side A" and a dull, sloppily executed "Side B." It was from this point that the art of Greek vase painting began to pass away, doubtless leaving few regrets among the ancients.

Attic vases of the fourth century painted in this vigorous combination of dramatic colors and broad, harsh lines are identified with Kerch (ancient Pantikapaion), in the Crimea, because many such vases of several solid shapes were exported across the Black Sea and placed in tombs there. Kerch vases have been found in Athens itself, throughout Greece proper, in Asia Minor, and around the eastern to southern shores of the Mediterranean, areas that have also yielded vases by the Niobid Painter.⁴⁹ Scenes of griffins in combat with the mythical peoples beyond the ends of the Black

47. A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, suppl. 2 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1973), pp. 145, 156, pl. XXX, no. 1 (Institute of Classical Studies), p. 276; K. Schauenburg, "Bendis in Unteritalien," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 89 (1974), 155–156, 159, figs. 28–30; A. D. Trendall, *Early South Italian Vase-Painting* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1974), pp. 6ff., p. 34, no. 236; M. Schmidt, A. D. Trendall, and A. Cambitoglou, *Eine Gruppe Apulischer Grabvasen in Basel* (Basel: Archäologischer Verlag, 1976), p. 110, n. 409.

48. See A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 29ff., 35, no. 129, pl. 11, no. 5 (Bari); p. 44, no. 215, pl. 17, no. 1 (Louvre), no. 2 (British Museum), no. 3 (Berlin).

49. On Attic vases of the so-called Kerch style, see R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960), pp. 185–189; G. M. A. Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases: A Survey* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), pp. 159–162; Arias, *History of Greek Vase Painting*, pp. 381–384, and bibliog.;

Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, vol. 2, pp. 1462–1471, Group G (for Griffin), especially nos. 42–74, the “Orientals” sometimes characterized as Amazons. The Boston example is in excellent condition, with some discoloration produced by the patina on the red clay surfaces and most of the added white remaining.

50. On the theme of combat between “Orientals” and griffins in imperial art, especially on the breast-plates of cuirassed statues, and the question of whether in Julio-Claudian through Hadrianic times the griffins’ adversaries were female Arimaspes rather than Amazons, see G. M. A. Hanfmann and C. C. Vermeule, “A New Trajan,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 61 (1957), 234–236.

Sea, Amazons or more often their male counterparts (Arimaspes), were popular with painters fashioning these vases for export. Evidently such subjects were prized among the Greek and barbarian recipients of these creations in the frontier regions of the Hellenic world.

By the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.), Athens could no longer satisfy her last overseas markets even for the bizarre ceramics of the “Kerch” style, and the newly rich of the Hellenistic world came to prefer sculpture in precious metals or their imitations in gilded terracotta pottery. In Roman imperial iconography, the composition on the principal side of this pelike reemerged through Hellenistic metalwork to symbolize the dominance of the Roman emperor (represented in Apollo’s griffin of the sun) over peoples on the eastern extremes of the empire, notably the Armenians, the Parthians, and ultimately the neo-Persians or Sassanians.⁵⁰



Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Holy Land

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indicates that Piero di Giovanni absorbed impressions in Cologne that were decisive for his future development, before he had the opportunity in Florence to execute works of greater scope.

According to the documents of 1387-90¹³ Piero di Giovanni carved fifteen statuettes (Figs.3, 6, 8) after designs by different painters – Lorenzo di Bicci, Agnolo Gaddi, Spinello Aretino and perhaps others – and fifteen statuettes were ‘decorated’ in 1389-90 by Lorenzo di Bicci, Agnolo Gaddi, Jacopo de Cione and Lapo di Bonaccorso: this probably meant simply gilding the borders with relief ornamentation and perhaps also the hair. Thus the documents inform us twice over that in 1387-90 not sixteen but only fifteen statuettes were carved for the portal niches. This evidence agrees with the state of the holdings in the Museo dell’Opera del Duomo, inasmuch as the apostle cycle from the main doorway comprises fifteen statuettes by Piero di Giovanni Tedesco and another which differs from them in size and style. The figure of St Batholomew, on the other hand, fits perfectly well into the cycle of 1387-90, the reason being, in my opinion, that it is one of the statuettes for which Francesco Sellaio was paid in 1365. It would thus seem that for some reason or other this figure was taken over from the cycle of 1362-77 to that of 1387-90. In view of the evidence provided by the documents and by the museum holdings there could be no reason whatever to conjecture that Piero di Giovanni Tedesco might have sculpted not fifteen but all sixteen statuettes for the main portal of the Duomo in Florence.

The question whether Piero di Giovanni was not commissioned to execute the whole cycle is raised by the Ferrara figure of an apostle or evangelist (Figs.2, 4, 5, 7).

This figure is to be regarded as his on stylistic grounds, as is shown by comparison with his statuettes of apostles (Figs.3, 6, 8), and it is also clear that these works must be contemporaneous. While the exact correspondences of authorship, date and iconography, do not in themselves prove that the Ferrara figure belongs to the door-frame cycle, there are further reasons which make this extremely probable. The sixteen figures are alike in being sculptured in the round but not completely finished at the back. The ornamentation of the braided hems of the garments is exactly similar. Above all, the dimensions of the figures are alike, and so are the form and size of the plinths. As the head of the Ferrara figure is not original, I have taken the height of the shoulders as a basis of comparison with the Florentine figures, whose height varies between 73 and 74 cm. Their average height at the shoulders is 63-64 cm, their width 26-28 cm and their measurement from front to back 20-22 cm; the Ferrara figure measures 64 by 28 by 22 cm. In every respect the latter fits the apostles cycle much better than the statuette of St Bartholomew sculpted for the previous cycle by Francesco Sellaio in 1365. This statuette was not placed with those by Piero di Giovanni in the fourteenth century, as I previously supposed, but only in 1938, when the figures of the cycle were brought together in the Museo dell’Opera del Duomo; and the figure which should have been placed with the others is the one now in Ferrara. If we consider that, on the one hand, the documents for 1387-90 show only a single gap between June and August 1389, and, on the other hand, only three evangelists appear in the cycle as it has been preserved, while the documents make no mention of St Matthew, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Ferrara figure which has come unexpectedly to light (Figs.2, 4, 5, 7) represents St Matthew and was carved in the summer of 1389 by Piero di Giovanni Tedesco for the main portal of the Duomo in Florence.

¹³ For references to these documents see my article ‘Tre cicli . . .’ (n.2 above).

CORNELIUS VERMEULE AND KRISTIN ANDERSON

Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Holy Land

Preamble

WHEN histories of Greek and Roman art are written, the sculpture studied most often comes mainly from Greece, Italy, and Asia Minor. Occasional pieces of quality, statues or reliefs, from southern France, North Africa, Egypt, Syria, and Thrace have been included, especially when sculpture alone forms the subject of the monograph. In recent years, with more excavation and new nationalistic pride, attention has focused on areas not surveyed heretofore as geographical units. Romania, the Black Sea region of Russia, the various ancient provinces of North Africa, and the Iberian peninsula come to mind.¹ It seems worthwhile, here, to consider the Greek

and Roman sculpture from the Holy Land.²

For convenience as well as cohesion, the Holy Land is taken to mean the borders of the modern state of Israel (Fig.A). No modern nation can exist in an art-historical

¹ This study is designed as a continuation of ‘Greek and Roman Sculpture from the Northern Coasts of the Black Sea (chiefly Russia)’, *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, CXIX, No. 897 [December 1977], pp.809-18.

² L. Y. RAHMANI and P. LARSEN: *The Museums of Israel*, Jerusalem [1976], illustrates some of the sculptures discussed here. Others, together with their circumstances of discovery or present surroundings, appear in M. AVI-YONAH: *The Holy Land*, London and New York [1972], and in A. NEGEV (ed.): *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land*, London and Jerusalem [1972]. A number of the older finds appeared in *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, and those of the past three decades can be found in *The Israel Exploration Journal*. The Hebrew and, now, the English editions of M. AVI-YONAH and E. STERN (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land*, I-IV, Jerusalem, London, and Englewood Cliffs (New Jersey) [1975-78] were also of great assistance. A monograph, *Jewish Relationships with the Art of Ancient Greece and Rome*, is forthcoming (1981) and will contain some of these and related sculptures from all over the Mediterranean. We wish to thank M. Comstock

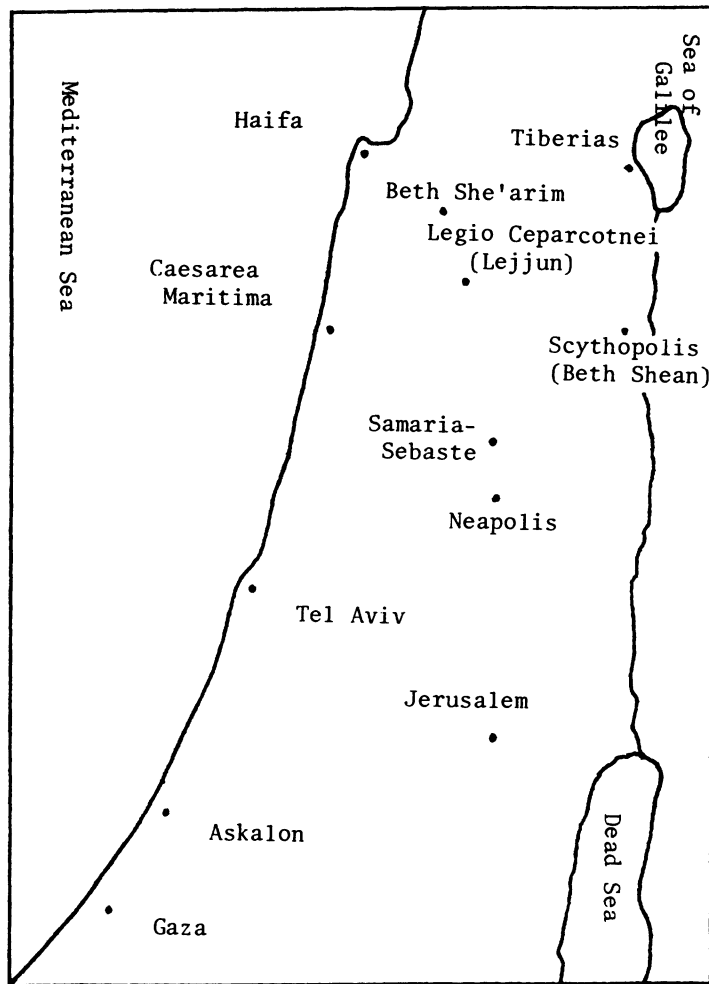


Fig. A. Map of the Holy Land in Antiquity.

vacuum, and, therefore, evidence from related territories, such as Amman-Philadelphia in Jordan, must be adduced. These are the cities having a political or commercial unity with the Holy Land in ancient times. Sculpture is taken to mean, primarily, larger-than-miniature carving in marble from the Greek world and Asia Minor or the exceptional bronzes of size beyond what is normally termed a statuette. Needless to say, the museums of Israel have long exhibited and continue to acquire, chiefly as gifts from collectors in Europe or America, masterpieces bought in Basel, Paris, London, or New York. Such antiquities, unless of Palestinian provenance, fall outside the scope of this survey.

Hellenistic Sculpture

As is also true on the island of Cyprus, save for works in local stone or architectural carvings, there are relatively few heads or statues in marble which appear to belong to the period before Augustus consolidated the Holy Land as a part or client-kingdom of the Roman Empire. There is always the danger of classing any well-carved, freely-fashioned ideal head or any pretty, small statue in excellent Greek marble as Hellenistic rather than Graeco-Roman. Still, enough is now known of Hellenistic chronology in the workshops of the Greek islands to allow classification of certain sculptures in the last century, at least, of the Hellenistic kingdoms. In the Holy Land, these sculptures would post-date the revolt of the Maccabees. Whether such marbles found their way to

Palestine in these contemporary generations or as collectors' items during the centuries of Roman rule is impossible to say. All ideal, especially mythological, sculptures in the Holy Land can be explained most easily by the supposition that they were commissioned for or belonged to Greek residents, but there is considerable archaeological evidence, the mythological sarcophagi from Beth She'arim for instance, that such works of art also played a part in the lives of the Jewish population. The marble statuettes of sandal-binding or crouching Aphrodites were clearly kept by admirers of pure form on a small scale.

The most important Hellenistic sculpture in the Holy Land is the head from a slightly over-lifesized (or large-lifesized) statue found at Beth Shean (Scythopolis) and dated by H. B. Walters of the British Museum in the third century B.C. (Figs.13 and 14). This date is perfectly plausible, but a dating down to the time of Mark Anthony would be equally acceptable. The subject is probably a youthful divinity or personification who has taken on the appearance of Alexander the Great. *Dionysus* was the suggestion at the time of excavation by a University of Pennsylvania Museum expedition, but later critics have suggested the Macedonian conqueror himself.³ The closest representation of Alexander the Great, now in Copenhagen, comes from Alexandria itself and was carved in a style associated with Rhodes, Crete, and Macedonian North Africa (Alexandria to Cyrene) in the third century B.C. and later, after the creation of the *Helios* known as the Colossus of Rhodes.⁴ It is possible, adducing other parallels, including the so-called *Alexander* from Italica in Seville, that the image from Scythopolis was a *Dionysus-Alexander*, a fusion of the god and the prince who each progressed in triumph from Asia Minor through Syria and ultimately to India.⁵

Graeco-Roman Sculpture: The Roman Imperial Period, Copies and Creations, Mythological in Subject

The Graeco-Roman copies from the Holy Land are very much like those which have been excavated on Cyprus. They have been found, for the most part, in major urban centres, in public buildings and open spaces such as market-places, theatres, council-halls or temples. The statues excavated at Caesarea Maritima, although fewer in number, give every evidence of being like those recovered from the civic complexes at Cypriote Salamis.⁶ There are heroic figures like *Zeus* or the *Demos of the City* (Fig.16); there are statues of *Asklepios* or a prominent

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³ A. ROWE: *The Topography and History of Beth-Shean*, Philadelphia [1930], pp.44-45, pl.55; N. AVI-YONAH: *The Holy Land*, p.40.

⁴ F. POULSEN: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, Copenhagen [1951], p.313, No.441, pl.XXXII; compared with a *Poseidon* of similar origins: p.336, No.470a, Tillæg pl.VIII.

⁵ A GARCÍA Y BELLIDO: *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal*, Madrid [1949], I, pp.8-9, No.1: II, pl.1.

⁶ V. KARAGEORGHIS and C. VERMEULE: *Sculptures from Salamis*, I, Nicosia [1964]; II [1966]; L. BUDDE and R. NICHOLLS: *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge*, Cambridge [1964], pp.28, No.52, 31, No.56 (Sarapis), and p.62, No.98.



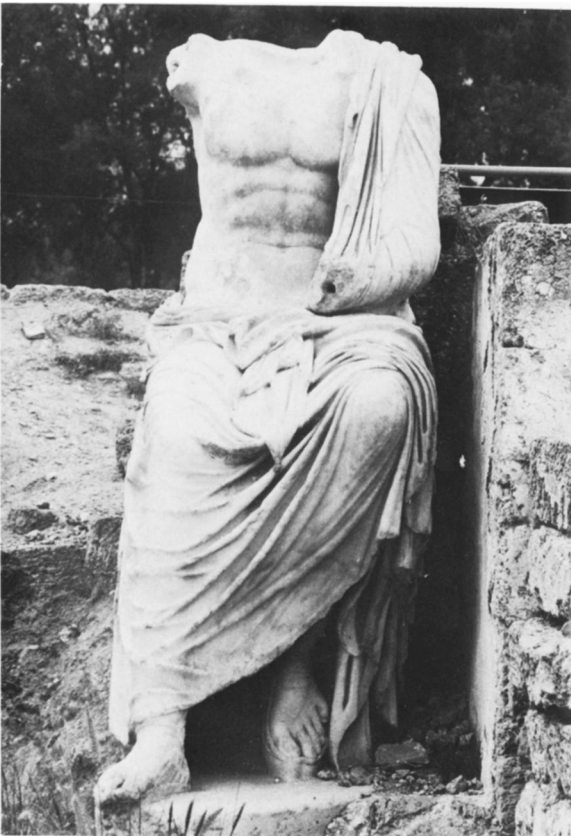
13. *Dionysus (Alexander the Great)* from Scythopolis. Marble, height 42 cm. (Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem).



14. Another view of Fig.13.



15. *Asclepius*. Marble, height 73 cm. (Caesarea Maritima).



16. *Zeus or the Demos*. Marble, over-lifesize. (Caesarea Maritima).



17. *Hermes*. Marble, height with plinth 85 cm. From Askalon. (Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem).



18. Another view of Fig.17.

physician as the god of healing (Fig.15); and there are the unusual classical divinities, the Ephesian Artemis at Caesarea and the Graeco-Egyptian gods and goddesses (or women as goddesses) from Salamis on Cyprus. Both cities had numerous statues of draped females, priestesses of cults perhaps, benefactresses, or wives of men of power and means. Both cities exhibited statues of the Roman emperors (and, presumably, their consorts) in various guises. In the Holy Land, the patterns which applied to Caesarea Maritima also held true for other major cities, such as Askalon, Gaza, Neapolis, Samaria-Sebaste, or Scythopolis, as they did in relation to Cypriote Salamis for Curium and Paphos.

Here, as suggested in connection with sculptures of the Hellenistic age, it cannot be assumed that all Graeco-Roman marbles were imported for or commissioned by Greek settlers or Roman magistrates, military commanders, and merchants. Most of the marbles may have graced public and pagan areas of Graeco-Roman Hellenised cities, or at least the comparable buildings in the urban foundations of Herod the Great and his Romanophile dynasty, but the nature of many statues indicates that they could have been placed in areas frequented by Jews or even donated or owned by Jews with classical tastes and educations.

The most 'Roman' of the Graeco-Roman copies of mythological sculptures in the Holy Land is the *Hermes* or *Mercury* of the Julio-Claudian period carved of fine-grained, shiny marble probably from Attica and nearly complete; the statue is said to have been found at Askalon (Figs.17 and 18). In addition to all his regular attributes, winged cap and sandals, caduceus against the left arm, the god holds a purse in his lowered right hand.⁷ This suggests the under-lifesized figure stood in some public place or in a merchant's counting house, where the divinity's rôle as patron of commerce could have been noticed. While most such statues from cities like Askalon, Caesarea, or Sebaste were planned, and probably executed in the work-shops of Asia Minor, all good parallels for Hermes-Mercury come from Italy, and ultimately, to be sure, from Greece.⁸ The body derives from youthful creations in the tradition of Polykleitos, such as his statue of Pan, and a figure such as the statue from Askalon was, on occasion, turned into a portrait of Augustus.⁹ This gives a general dating and perhaps a reason for the presence of the Hermes-Mercury on the shores at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. The small statue may have been the possession of a Roman administrator or merchant residing at Askalon, or it could have been brought to the Holy Land by one of those Herodians living or working in Rome under Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, or Claudius.

⁷ The heavy, rectangular plinth is of a type associated with decorative statues, small in scale like this *Hermes*, from Alexandria in the early imperial period.

⁸ As Vatican Museums, Belvedere, No.34: W. AMELUNG: *Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, II, Berlin [1908], pl.8.

⁹ Bodily pose of the Polykleitan Pan: J. P. J. BRANTS: *Description of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the Museum of Archaeology of Leiden*, Part I, *Statues*, The Hague [1927], p.1, No.1, pl.I. For a statue of Augustus as *Hermes* at Castle Howard, see A. MICHAELIS: *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge [1882], p.327, No.14; G. B. WAYWELL: *Classical Sculpture in English Country Houses, A Hand-Guide*, XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, London [1978], p.30, No.85 (the head is modern; from the Mattei collection in Rome). Ancient gems confirm the use of such statues in the iconography of the first emperor.

The over-lifesized *Zeus*, in white marble from Western Asia Minor (Fig.16), appears to have been first set up in the temple to the cult of Hadrian at Caesarea Maritima. A Late Antique magistrate, Flavius Strategius, re-used this statue and the seated figure in porphyry, which must have been Hadrian (Fig.22), on a *piazza* within the reduced confines of the city.¹⁰ The *Zeus* may have been turned into a portrait statue, say under the Tetrarchs or Constantine, but the presence of sandals indicate origin as the Father of the Olympians, or possibly as a quasi-divine personification of the Demos or People of Caesarea. Similar statues were used for this purpose in Asia Minor.¹¹ The right foot of an even-larger statue of this type was found at Askalon.¹² Less certain as to use, god or portrait, is the male statue with drapery arranged in the manner of a frequently-found type of Asklepios (Fig.15).¹³ The original goes back to Athens at the end of the fifth century B.C., but the statue still on the site at Caesarea was carved in marble and in a style used by city-decorators in Asia Minor during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.¹⁴

There is no question as to the immediate or ultimate sculptural provenance of the bust of *Pan* set in a *tondo* with a rolled-fillet moulding and found at Bir es Summeil, having come from Graeco-Roman Askalon (Figs.19 and 20). The ensemble belongs to the so-called 'School of Aphrodisias', was carved out of marble from the Maeander valley in southwestern Asia Minor, and can be dated about 220 to 225 A.D., the period of Askalon's greatest prosperity under Roman rule.¹⁵ With drilled-out hair, pointed ears, piercing eyes, a droopy moustache, and scruffy beard, *Pan* in his goatskin tunic is the very epitome of the lusty woodland god of herds, music, caves, and, ultimately, emotions inspiring irrational fears. The *tondo* may have been one of a series used to decorate a fountain, the god's open mouth serving as the waterspout. Not only do iconography, details of carving marble, and general style (deep bust and drilled-out pupils of the eyes) suggest a connection with Aphrodisias in Caria, but, in addition, that city was famous for such high-relief busts or head in architectural settings. The portico there dedicated to the second emperor, Tiberius (14 to 37 A.D.), had a series of such heads, of famous people mixed with gods, personifications, and ideal figures such as Polykleitan athletes. Later in the city's history there were such *tondi* of city-divinities, the playwright Menan-

¹⁰ M. AVI-YONAH: *The Holy Land*, pp.269, 106, Fig.; R. PAYNE: *Lost Treasures of the Mediterranean World*, New York [1962], pp.197-98, plate.

¹¹ Demos of Ephesus, from the scene-building of the theatre and to be dated in the early Antonine period, about 150 A.D.: G. MENDEL: *Musées Impériaux Ottomans, Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, III, Constantinople [1914], pp.583-84, No.1372.

¹² Jerusalem, Palestine Archaeological Museum. Height 39cm, Length 92cm. Carved in white-grey marble from western Asia Minor.

¹³ Crystalline white marble, seemingly from the Greek islands.

¹⁴ See, with relation to the Phidian prototype known as the Dresden *Zeus*: G. M. A. HANFMANN and N. H. RAMAGE: *Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds through 1975*, Cambridge, Mass. [1978], p.112, under the small, Hadrianic figure, No.125. Various Graeco-Roman copies: M. BIEBER: *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art*, New York [1977], p.120, pl.86, Figs.523-26; IDEM: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 101 [1957], pp.77-78, Fig.13 (Cassel; and about twenty-five marble copies).

¹⁵ White-grey marble from western Asia Minor. J. H. ILIFFE: 'A Bust of Pan,' *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, III [1934], pp.165-66, pl.LXVI. The second head of Pan in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (No.32.309: ILIFFE, *op. cit.*, p.165, pl.LXVII, Figs.1-2) may have come from a pendant *tondo*.

der, and of princes as late as the family of Constantine the Great.¹⁶ The *Pan* now in Jerusalem is evidence that such Aphrodisian decorative carvings were popular all over the eastern Mediterranean.

The major importers of sculpture, at Caesarea, Askalon, Neapolis, Sebaste, and Scythopolis, must have been visited by salesmen with home offices in western Asia Minor or as far east as Syrian Antioch. If the commissions were big enough, sculptors and their blocks of marble could have come to work locally. When random works of art were ordered, they were shipped in a finished or near-finished state from the artistic centres in Asia Minor.

Greek and Roman Portraits: Heads, Draped and Heroic Bodies, Cuirassed Statues of the Roman Imperial Period

The Greek and Roman portraits from the Holy Land are, in a word, spotty as regards type or chronology and, in at least two of the best instances, bizarre in nature. One bust of the Epicurean philosopher *Hermarchos*, found at Samaria-Sebaste (Fig.21), is a good example of a marble copy probably made in western Asia Minor after an original created in Attica fairly early in the third century B.C.¹⁷ A head of the late Hellenistic or early imperial period from Tiberias was fashioned in the over-charged, emotional style of portraits of rulers in the early first century B.C. tradition of Mithradates VI, Eupator of Pontus and western Asia Minor.¹⁸ One of the Herodian princes of the Augustan or Julio-Claudian period may have been intended.

Among the number of headless statues found at Caesarea Maritima, Askalon, and elsewhere, the draped females were certainly once portraits, although the subjects may have been much idealised. Less secure in this respect are the heroic statues of men, or male divinities. Since semi-nude bodies of athletic type were used to represent Roman rulers, their relatives, and client-princes or private people of status (as on Delos), some such statues must have been portraits. The impressive seated ruler or magistrate in porphyry, re-used in a Late Antique *piazza* at Caesarea Maritima, may have been the Emperor Hadrian in the garb of a Consul dispensing justice (Fig.22).¹⁹ The three cuirassed statues in marble, and other fragments of such statues, certainly represented emperors or men in positions of command. The cuirassed statue from the Severan civic centre at Askalon, a marble discovered by Lady Hester Stanhope and destroyed on her orders in April 1815, was of a standard type used along the coast of Asia Minor, especially in Pamphylia, to represent Septimius Severus.²⁰

There is no chronological coverage from late Hellenistic to Byzantine times in the portraiture from the Holy Land. The two bizarre items are the tiny *Head of Trajan* in rock crystal from Caesarea Maritima and the remains of the cuirassed *Hadrian* in bronze from Scythopolis, a full-scale statue with a most unusual scene of combat on the breastplate. With Hadrian came a *Head of a Boy* (?), which may have been part of the emperor's statue (a captive at his side or beneath his foot) or the remains of a separate figure from the commemorative, triumphal (?) area where Hadrian once stood. The rock crystal *Trajan* may be posthumous; how long after 117 it was fashioned is hard to say, but Trajan was honoured by all newly-acclaimed emperors and by the Roman Senate at least until the time of Constantine the Great.²¹ The bronze statue of *Hadrian in armour* was set up most likely in 134 to 135 when that emperor paid his second visit to Judaea, following the Bar Kochba war.²² These seem to comprise the only portraits of known or datable persons, certainly of Roman emperors, in the round and on scales from miniature to monumental surviving from the Holy Land.

The most important anonymous portraits in marble are of women. The late Hadrianic *Woman* from the Jordan Valley (Figs.23 and 24) is a dry, precise portrait reflecting the courtly styles of Hadrian's wife Sabina or, at the end of the 130s, the young princess Faustina, daughter of Antoninus Pius and future consort of Marcus Aurelius.²³ The second marble of note is the bust of a middle-aged woman of about 245 A.D. from Askalon (Fig.25). She is a grim and slightly frightened lady, a tribute to Roman verism otherwise characterised by excellent preservation of the draped bust, the nameplate, and the turned pedestal on which the ensemble stands.²⁴ Finally, there is the battered but arresting head of an aging woman of about 284 or 315 to 320 A.D., also said to have been found at Askalon.²⁵ Her hair is caught up in

²¹ Jerusalem, Palestine Archaeological Museum. Height 3.5cm. J. H. ILIFFE: 'A Portrait of Vitellius (?) in Rock Crystal,' *The Quarterly of The Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, I [1932], pp.153-54, pl.LVIII.

²² Jerusalem, Department of Antiquities and Museums. G. FOERSTER: *Quadroniot*, 30-31 [1975], pp.37-40; M. GRANT: *History of Rome*, New York [1978], p.300, plate; *The New York Times* [5th August 1975], pp.1, 12; H. SHANKS and Y. YADIN: *Judaism in Stone, The Archaeology of Ancient Synagogues*, London, New York, and Washington [1979], pp.11, 49, illus. In *Greece and Italy in the Classical World, Acts of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, London [1979], p.272, G. Foerster suggests the scene on the breastplate is the victory of Aeneas over Turnus, described by Virgil (*Aeneid* xii), an allusion to the Roman Victory over the Jews in 135.

²³ The marble appears to be from western Asia Minor, but it may be from Greece. Eyes, eyelids, and lips were defined in colour. L. Y. RAHMANI and P. LARSEN: *The Museums of Israel*, p.61, No.51. Heads of this general type, with and without incised pupils, are collected by F. POULSEN, *op. cit.* pp.474-75, under No.680b, TILLAGE pl.XI; an older woman, from Tarragona: A GARCÍA Y BEL-LIDO, *op. cit.*, I, pp.74-75, No.59; II, pl.54. The half-circle for the iris was first carved in 130 to 140: see K. FITTSCHEN: *Katalog der Antiken Skulpturen in Schloss Erblich*, Berlin [1977], pp.79-80, under No.29, pls.32, 33.

²⁴ The marble is smooth and slightly translucent; probably it is the best grade from western Asia Minor. J. H. ILIFFE: 'Third-Century Portrait Busts,' *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, II [1933], pp.11-13, pl.III. Compare two females in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, the first younger, the latter being characterised as 'an elderly, nervous lady with an unpleasant facial expression, rather coarse mouth and enmity in the sideways glance below the knitted brows': F. POULSEN, *op. cit.* pp.525-27, Nos.757, 758, pl.LXIII. This type of lady appears in Greek imperial funerary monuments, as the bust of Elpidike in Berlin: G. M. A. HANFMANN and N. H. RAMAGE, *op. cit.*, p.168, No.255, Fig.441.

²⁵ Jerusalem, Palestine Archaeological Museum, No.31.324. Height (maximum): 255cm. The marble seems to be like that of the previous bust, although perhaps not of such good quality. J. H. ILIFFE, *op. cit.*, p.14, pl.IV. The complete

¹⁶ Portico of Tiberius, related, and later sculptures from Aphrodisias: S. MITCHELL and A. W. MCNICOLL: 'Archaeology in Western and Southern Asia Minor, 1971-78,' *Archaeological Reports for 1978-79*, London [1979], pp.75-78; C. VERMEULE: *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, Cambridge, Mass. [1968], p.520 and references.

¹⁷ The marble is probably from western Asia Minor. G. M. A. RICHTER: *The Portraits of the Greeks*, II, London [1965], p.205, No.19 (information from Professor H. Jucker, who planned a full publication).

¹⁸ Illustrated (as 'Tiberius') in *From the Land of the Bible*, brochure from an exhibition of antiquities from Israel. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [8th May 1953].

¹⁹ M. AVI-YONAH: *The Holy Land*, pp.269, 107, Fig.; R. PAYNE, *loc. cit.* (note 10); C. VERMEULE, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, p.503.

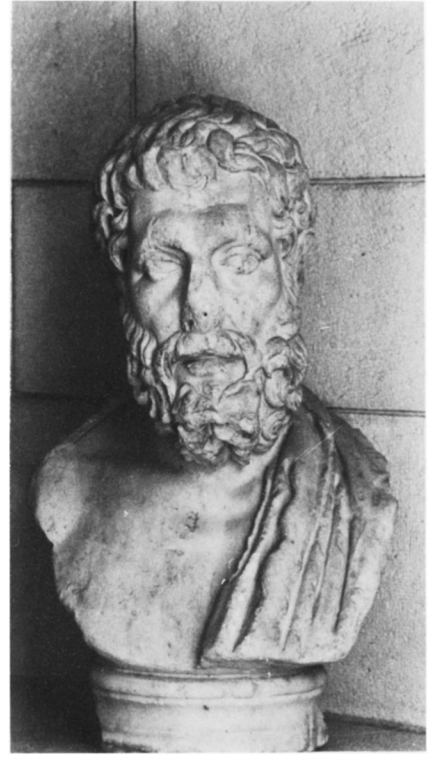
²⁰ See BERYTUS: *Archaeological Studies* XV [1964], p.108, No.286A; D. K. HILL: *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, 14, No.2 [1961], pp.1-2, and further bibliography.



19. *Pan*. Marble, height 43 cm, diameter of medallion 42 cm. From Askalon. (Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem).



20. Another view of Fig.19.



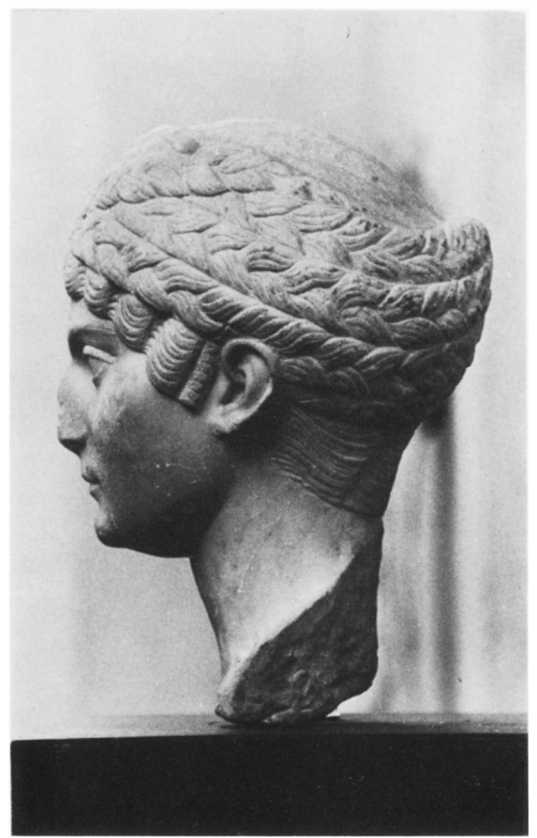
21. *Hermarchos*. Marble, height 58 cm. From Samaria-Sebaste. (Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem).



22. *Hadrian*. Porphyry. Over-lifesize. (Caesarea Maritima).



23. *Late Hadrianic Woman*. Marble, height 32 cm. From the Jordan valley. (Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem).



24. Another view of Fig.23.



25. *Woman*. c. 245 A.D. Marble, height 75 cm. From Askalon. (Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem).



26. Another view of Fig.25.



27. *Altar in the name of Legio XII Fulminata*. Limestone. Height 146 cm, width 62 cm. (Palestine Archaeological Museum).



28. *Altar from Legio (Maximianopolis)*. Marble, height 105 cm. (Palestine Archaeological Museum).



29. Another view of Fig.28.



30. Another view of Fig.27.

a series of braids or plaits from the back of the neck to the area above the forehead, in a fashion recalling coin-portraits of empresses of the Tetrarchic and early Constantinian periods.

Roman Imperial Reliefs, Bases, Altars, and Architectural Sculpture

Roman imperial sculptures in relief from the Holy Land were never numerous. Those surviving were mostly commissioned by or for the legionary or administrative establishment and are very official, very pan-Mediterranean in nature. The circular *Altar of Legio VI Ferrata* (Figs.28 and 29) of the time of Elagabalus (218 to 222) from Legio-Ceparcotnei, later renamed Maximianopolis, featured two trophy-bearing *Victoriae* on orbs and an eagle on a thunderbolt, which were as accomplished in iconography and details of carving as on triumphal reliefs from the heart of Rome.²⁶ Another such *Altar*, in the name of *Legio XII Fulminata* (Figs.27 and 30), contained figures in scalloped niches, an eagle, *Victoriae*, a *Tyche*, and other divinities.²⁷ The style recalls altars and bases from Asia Minor in the period from 150 to 250 A.D., but the level of craftsmanship is as excellent in its way as that of the altar from the military base on the site still called Lejjun by the Arabs of Palestine.

The Severan Bouleuterion at Askalon is the source of the most splendid Roman imperial architectural sculpture to be found east of Ephesus and Corinth. The three large, rectangular pillars with frontal figures of *Victoria on an orb supported by Atlas* (Figs.31, 32 and 33) (one pillar is fairly complete; two are fragmentary) are as exciting in composition and excellent in handling of details as the *Amazon* and related pillars from theatres and gates at Ephesus or the *Captives* from the façade of the same name at Corinth.²⁸ The face of Atlas goes back to the Samian

Herakles of Myron, and his body, from shoulders through muscular rib-cage to thighs, recalls the giants of the Pergamene *Altar of Zeus the Saviour* in the second century B.C. In general, the art of the pillars at Askalon joins with that of Roman Ephesus and Roman Corinth in mixing the triumphal iconography of imperial Rome with the sculptural grandeur and technical accomplishment of Hellenistic Greece and Asia Minor.

Sarcophagi

The marble sarcophagi of the second and third centuries of the Christian era from the Holy Land are all of great quality and above-average iconographic interest (Figs.37 and 38). They were imported either from Attica or the coastal cities of Asia Minor, that is from the quarries of the Propontis to the workshops of Cilicia. It has already been noted that the mythological sarcophagi from the catacombs at Beth She'arim were used by leading Jews of the Antonine or Severan periods and later.²⁹ Therefore, it is wrong to assume that all such sarcophagi from the cemeteries of Caesarea Maritima, Askalon, or Neapolis in Samaria (the Dionysiac 'season' sarcophagus from Turmuzaya or Thurmus-Aya) were used to bury Greeks or Romans.³⁰

The Attic sarcophagi include several examples featuring the Amazonomachy, others with scenes of combat between Greeks and barbarians, presumably Trojans (Fig.37), another with various mythological scenes (Achilles on Skyros, Leda and the Swan, Meleager's Hunt), and an example where the scene of Leda's encounter is mixed with seasonal *Erotes* and major Dionysiac figures in the vineyard.³¹ The sarcophagi from Asia Minor belong mainly to the third century A.D., while the Attic examples begin farther back, in the second. The sarcophagi with large garlands supported by *Victoriae* (*Nikai*) or *Erotes* and framing busts of the gods or Dionysiac masks are of a type found from Ionia to Cilicia. The most exciting Asia Minor sarcophagus in the Holy Land is at Askalon and is an early version of the Sidamara type, with the *Rape of Persephone* as the princi-

bust must have been like the three with 'The Cleveland Marbles', from Pisidian Antioch-Philomelium in Pisidia, dated in the reign of Carinus, 283 to 285: E. KITZINGER: *Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Roma*, 21st-27th September 1975, I, Rome [1978], pp.654-56, Figs.3-6. Although the face of the head from Askalon is damaged, the larger size of the eyes suggest a later date; some ladies of the imperial court, such as Helena, mother of Constantinus Magnus, lived from the capture of Valerian (260) to the last decade of Constantine's reign (325 to 337) or the years when Constantinople had become the 'New Rome'. Conservative hair-styles changed little in these seventy odd years.

²⁶ The material is marble. L. Y. RAHMANI and P. LARSEN, *The Museums of Israel*, p.60, Fig.49; A. NEGEV (ed.), *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land*, pp.187-88; M. AVI-YONAH, *The Quarterly of The Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, XII [1946], pp.89-91, No.6, pl.XXVI. 6 (the basic epigraphic and historical publication). A dedication to the memory of Flavius Potens, commandant of the Legio VI Ferrata, has been dated not earlier than the reign of Gallienus (260) and shows a headless, half-figure bust of the deceased, presented frontally and somewhat schematically in cloak on the left shoulder and tunic or cuirass beneath. See B. LIFSHTIZ, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, II, Principat, 8, Berlin [1977], p.502, pl.1, Fig.2, and older references.

²⁷ Jerusalem, Palestine Archaeological Museum, No.76.984. Limestone. Iulius Magnus was the legionary mentioned. The figure against one of the scalloped niches may be an enthroned Dea Roma. Compare C. VERMEULE: *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, Mass. [1974], p.134, pl.II, No.9. This or a similar monument was found at Caesarea.

²⁸ M. AVI-YONAH (ed.): *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land*, I [1975], pp.126-28, 2 illus.; S. REINACH: *Répertoire de la statuaire*, II, Paris [1897], p.389, No.4. Captives at Corinth: C. VERMEULE: *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, pp.83-88, Figs.27-30. Pillars at Ephesus: G. E. BEAN: *Aegean Turkey, An Archaeological Guide*, London [1966], pp.170-79, pl.37. (Pl.36 shows an Ephesian *Artemis*, photographed at Ephesus, which relates to the example from Caesarea Maritima, below note 42).

²⁹ Attic sarcophagus with various mythological scenes (Achilles on Skyros, Leda and the Swan, Meleager's Hunt), Jerusalem, Palestine Archaeological Museum, No.41.525; N. AVIGAD: *Beth She'arim, Report on the Excavations during 1953-58*, III, *Catacombs 12-23*, New Brunswick, N.J. [1976], pp.169, 221; G. KOCH: *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, XII, Sec. 6, *Meleager*, Berlin [1975], p.150, No.200; IDEM: *Archäologischer Anzeiger* [1975], pp.548-50, No.200. Fig.31. Sarcophagi in the Haifa Museum fall in the category (mentioned here in the Preamble) confusing to archaeology in the Holy Land: Inv. No.2148, said to be from Askalon, with children, was at Spink and Son, London, in 1951 and comes from a British country house, Margam Park or Lowther Castle; Inv. No.2062, said to be from Caesarea, is a modern forgery; see G. KOCH, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* [1977], p.390, note 102.

³⁰ This large sarcophagus, with a lid showing a reclining couple on top, was found early in October 1912, at a place, obviously a tomb or ruined basilica with (at a later date) Christian and Muslim contexts, 37 km north of Jerusalem, in the vicinity of Nablus. The sarcophagus is in Jerusalem, Palestine Archaeological Museum, S.235. The median date assigned by scholars is about 240. See N. AVIGAD, *op. cit.*, pp.169, 221; F. MATZ: *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, IV, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage*, Sec.4, Berlin [1975], pp.444-45, No.249, pl.262 and Fig.113, with older bibliography.

³¹ Attic sarcophagus with Amazonomachy, from near Caesarea: M. AVI-YONAH, *The Holy Land*, p.109; A. GIULIANO: *Il Commercio dei sarcophagi attici*, Rome [1962], p.53, No.309 II, 1. C. There were a number of Attic sarcophagi, mostly with Amazonomachies, in the catacombs (chiefly number 20) at Beth She'arim: see N. AVIGAD, *op. cit.*, pp.166-71.

pal scene on the front of the chest (Fig.38).³² Both the Attic and the Asia Minor sarcophagi of all types included the figures of the deceased reclining on couches on the lids.

The local, limestone sarcophagi found in Israel, notably in the catacombs at Beth She'arim, are invariably modelled after the examples imported from Asia Minor. The lead coffins of Syria and Phœnicia also provided prototypes for the decorative patterns. The motifs most admired for the local projects were the garlands suspended from colonnettes or torches, rosettes in the areas above the chains of vegetation or fruits, and, less frequently, masks of geographical divinities (like Oceanus) on the ends. The skills involved were those of local architectural carvers. The lack of more figural sculpture on these coffins was no reflection of *caveats* regarding graven images but a demonstration of the fact that only sculptors from Rome, Athens or the great centres of Asia Minor could carve figures and friezes in the manner of the masters from Pheidias and the Parthenon to the Hellenistic temples at Pergamon, Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, or Aphrodisias in Caria. The lids of these local coffins were usually architectural, like the sarcophagi from Asia Minor. Occasionally, figures were shown reclining, more in repose than at repasts. Here, the models seemed more influenced by the art of Syria and Asia Minor than that of Attica. In a word, the Athenian sarcophagi of the imperial age must have been the most luxurious funerary imports of the Holy Land. It is a tribute to the taste of pagans and Jews alike that they were used so widely.

Late Antique, Early Christian, Jewish, Ideal and Decorative Sculpture

Most of the sculpture in marble of Jewish or Christian character and import, from pre-Byzantine antiquity, is architectural in nature, such as the chancel screens and Menorah reliefs of the types, from several local sites, in the Municipal Museum at Tiberias.³³ The fragments of table-tops, of the class which translate designs from silverware into low relief in marble, include what seems to be a Biblical subject (the offering of Isaac) and a traditional, mythological decorative scene (a marine *thiasos*, with a *Nereid*). These sections from larger series of stories or motifs come from the major classical sites of the Holy Land, notably Tiberias, Scythopolis, and Askalon.³⁴

³² Asia Minor sarcophagus, from near Caesarea: L. Y. RAHMANI and P. LARSEN: *The Museums of Israel*, p.62, Fig.53. This and the Attic Amazonomachy (note 31) are from a tomb at Tel Barak and are both in Jerusalem, Palestine Archaeological Museum. A sarcophagus with bull's-head, heavy garlands, and large rosette-paterae in the areas above, a canonical coffin from northwest Asia Minor, is in the garden off the Courtyard and outside the Café of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. The *Nike* from the corner of a sarcophagus from Asia Minor, a fragment found in Catacomb 20 at Beth She'arim, shows that the ensemble came from the same workshop as the sarcophagus in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, brought from Tarsus: N. AVIGAD, *op. cit.*, pp.165, 172, note p.221, pl.LII, 1, and Fig.78. They both ought to have originated in the quarries of Proconnesus: A. M. MCCANN: *Roman Sarcophagi in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York [1978], pp.30-33, No. 2. Also G. KOCH: *Archäologischer Anzeiger* [1979], pp.233-38, on the *Persephone* sarcophagus at Askalon, dated 300.

³³ See G. FOERSTER, *The Israel Exploration Journal*, 24 [1974], p.196, pl.41, B, A. The chancel-screen is to be dated about 400. In such Judæo-Christian reliefs, the grid pattern tends to go out in the fifth century. John Herrmann tells of another excellent parallel, the unpublished chancel-screen in the basilica at Eleusis.

³⁴ See G. FOERSTER: *The Israel Exploration Journal*, 18 [1968], pp.244-46, pl.27B; *Fasti Archaeologici*, 23 [year 1968, published 1972], p.214, No.3354.

There is a freestanding *Menorah* of vigorous style to match the forceful *Griffin with the Wheel of Nemesis* in domestic stone, from Askalon and dated in the third century A.D.³⁵ Otherwise, the chief statues of non-pagan, non-mythological, and non-portrait nature are those of the *Good Shepherd* from Cæsarea Maritima and Gaza. The statue at Cæsarea is of an unusual type with a large, moulded plinth and body supported by a back-pillar, a replica of a figure also found near the Porta Ostiense and now in the Museo Capitolino, Rome. The date is about the year 300.³⁶

The *Good Shepherd* from Gaza (Fig.34) belongs to the fourth century. The fairly small, relatively flat statue was probably designed as a tombstone and was created in a somewhat rustic style related to sarcophagi from Asia Minor.³⁷ In short, the *Good Shepherds* in the lands around Christ's ministry are the most cosmopolitan statues of a Judæo-Christian nature to have survived beyond the end of the ancient world. Given the local penchant for use and re-use of sarcophagi in the Antonine and Severan periods, it is worth noting that there are no examples with Old or New Testament scenes from the lands of the Bible. Biblical sarcophagi belonged almost exclusively to the Latin West.

All the Greek and Roman sculpture in pan-Mediterranean styles and materials found in the Holy Land from Ottoman times to the present hardly equals what has been excavated at the seaport of Side in Pamphylia in the past three decades.³⁸ The Attic and Asia Minor sarcophagi are the most interesting works of art. The bronze *Hadrian in armour* from near Scythopolis is the most important artistic document of Roman *imperium*. The other portraits include unusual items, but the collection is not impressive. The Græco-Roman copies comprise some arresting figures, the seated divinities or rulers from Cæsarea and Gaza, but most of the remaining statues belong to the standard decorative repertoire of cosmopolitan cities in the Hellenistic and Greek imperial worlds.³⁹

The statue of *Demeter* from Samaria-Sebaste (Figs.35 and 36) is typical of Græco-Roman cult and decorative

³⁵ *The Griffin with the Wheel of Nemesis* was found at Erez, near Askalon. See M. AVI-YONAH, *The Holy Land*, pp.126-27, Fig. The seven-branched candle-stick illustrated above it is also in The Israel Museum and comes from Hammath-Tiberias. (For references to the subject, see G. FOERSTER, *The Israel Exploration Journal*, 24 [1974], pp.191-95, and notes.) Also H. SHANKS and Y. YADIN, *Judaism in Stone, The Archaeology of Ancient Synagogues*, pp.110-11, Fig.

³⁶ See E. KITZINGER, *op. cit.*, p.658, note 11 and bibliography. The statue was found in the débris of the possible Byzantine basilica. See also J. FINEGAN: *The Archaeology of the New Testament*, Princeton [1978], p.76, Fig.94.

³⁷ The statue was found at al-Minah, in the Gaza district. L. Y. RAHMANI and P. LARSEN: *The Museums of Israel*, p.61, Fig.52; A. NEGEV (ed.), *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land*, pp.122-23, full Fig.

³⁸ See J. INAN: *Roman Sculpture in Side*, Ankara [1975]. The 435 entries, statues, heads, bodies, and fragments, do not include the complete portrait-statues, the other portraits, the sarcophagi, and the architectural sculpture. The latest portraits and past bibliography are in J. INAN and E. ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM: *Römische und Frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei, Neue Funde*, Mainz [1979], I, pp.258-63, Nos.238-46; II, pls.169-75.

³⁹ Of the statues and reliefs in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, from the Holy Land in Ottoman times, the grandest is the colossal *Zeus*, once seated on a throne, found in September 1879, south-west of Gaza in the ruins of a building. Made of Greek island marble, the statue (as preserved) is 320cm in height, the head alone 50cm. The date was probably about the middle of the second century, the early Antonine period. See A. OVADIAH: in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* II, London [1976], p.417; G. MENDEL, *op. cit.*, II, pp.352-54, No.611; S. REINACH, *op. cit.*, p.14, No.6: 'La plus grande



31. *Victoria on Orb with Atlas*. Marble, height of Atlas on base 136 cm. (Severan Bouleuterion, Askalon).



32. *Victoria*, similar to Fig.31. Marble, height 224 cm.



33. Fragments of a *Victoria* similar to Fig.31. Marble, height 70 cm.



34. *Good Shepherd*. Marble, height 63 cm. From Gaza. (Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem).



35. *Demeter*. Marble, height 117 cm. From Sameria-Sebaste. (Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem).



36. Detail from Fig.35.



37. *Sarcophagus with Greeks, Trojans and an Amazon*. Marble, dimensions similar to Fig.38. Attic, from near Askalon. (Museum in the Civic Centre, Ashkelon-Afridar).



38. *Sarcophagus with the Rape of Persephone*. Marble, height 67 cm, length 222 cm. From near Askalon. (Museum in the Civic Centre, Ashkelon-Afridar).

statues.⁴⁰ It was carved in the Antonine to Severan periods somewhere in south-western Asia Minor, at Smyrna, Ephesus, or Aphrodisias, and relates to a group of *Tychai* found at Bubon in Lycia or Cremna in Pisidia and to the *City-Tyche with Pontus at her side* found under the old railway station at Tomi-Constantia in Romania.⁴¹ This and other such figures may have been used as urban symbols rather than objects of devotion in the Holy Land and, therefore, may have been more acceptable to the Jewish communities than Olympian divinities such as the Capitoline *Triad*, in their temples in Syria or Asia Minor. Such also may have been the case with the Ephesian *Artemis* found in the Roman theatre at Cæsarea Maritima.⁴² This statue was also probably an export from western Asia Minor, and its purpose may have been as a symbol of some city or town putting up a dedication at Cæsarea or of a section of Cæsarea itself. Statues in the image of the *Artemis* at Ephesus were used widely as the coinages of cities in the Greek imperial world.⁴³

So far, no replicas of famous Greek statues have been found in the Holy Land. Cities of Asia Minor from

Ephesus to Side have produced Flavian to Antonine and later copies of the masterpieces of athletic art in Pheidian Athens and of the figures made for the public buildings of Corinth or Argos or Olympia. Myron's *Discobolus*, the *Doryphoros* of Polykleitos, the *Eros* (Centocelle type) of Praxiteles, or the sandal-binding *Hermes* of Lysippus is likely to turn up in Asia Minor or even along the coast of Syria at cities from Antioch to Laodicea, but copies of the type, in such abundance at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, evidently were not ordered for the cities of the Bible. It is clear that these regions featured no villas of the sort found around Rome or estates like those of Herodes Atticus in Greece. All major statues were practical commissions by rulers, magistrates, field-commanders, or merchants, and the works of decorative art were small statues of *Aphrodite* of popular Hellenistic types or architectural carvings, like the *tondo*-bust of *Pan* (Figs. 19 and 20). There were no customers in the Holy Land for the Græco-Roman copies, of the types which form the stock-in-trade of modern histories of Greek sculpture and its aesthetic influences.

statue connue de Zeus'.

The *Apollo*, *Dionysus*, or *Hermes*, of good Hellenistic workmanship and seemingly part of a frieze in high relief, from the upper town to Samaria-Sebaste (reconstructed as the latter from 27 B.C.) is in Istanbul: G. A. REISNER: *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908-1910*, Cambridge, Mass. [1924], II, No. 4001, pl. 79, g; G. MENDEL, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 608-09, No. 1398. A splendid statue of Silenus in Istanbul comes from the basin of a nymphaeum or thermal bath at Mount Garizim, Neapolis-Nablus in Samaria; the god wears his *nebris* or animal's skin and leans on his wineskin, set on a heavy tree trunk: G. MENDEL, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 359-60, No. 617. Another find of importance from Mount Garizim is the tripod-base with various myths and divinities, also in Istanbul. The name of the dedicator, Marcus Aurelius Pyrrhos (who was an official by courtesy in Athens), suggests installation at a date after the *constitutio Antoniniana* of 215. Persephone, Herakles, Acheloo, Theseus, the Minotaur, Artemis, Apollo, and Leto appear in the six registers (two on each side): G. MENDEL, *op. cit.*, II, p. 385, No. 638.

⁴⁰ Found in a cistern in the stadium, the statue is in Jerusalem, Palestine Archaeological Museum, No. 32.2485. There are some remains of red colouring on her veil and torch. D. FLUSSER: 'The Great Goddess of Samaria', *The Israel Exploration Journal*, 25 [1975], pp. 13-20, pl. 2; S. LAKE, in J. W. CROWFOOT, G. M. CROWFOOT and K. M. KENYON: *Samaria-Sebaste*, III, *The Objects from Samaria*, London [1957], p. 73, pls. VIII, IX: the inscription, p. 37, No. 12, might suggest Kore was the principal urban divinity.

⁴¹ See under Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Sculpture in Stone*, Boston [1976], pp. 122-24, Nos. 189-91; also under *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum, The Larger Statuary, Wall Paintings and Mosaics*, Malibu, Calif. [1973], pp. 20-21, No. 3093, pl. XXI, Fig. 66.

⁴² Jerusalem, The Israel Museum. Height: 158.5 cm. (or 190 cm). White marble seemingly from western Asia Minor. L. Y. RAHMANI and P. LARSEN: *The Museums of Israel*, p. 56; M. AVI-YONAH, *The Holy Land*, pp. 108-09, pl. 56. Other sculptures from Caesarea Maritima and Scythopolis, recent finds considered of visual importance, are in The Israel Museum. They will be included in a future study, after all have been published by the authorities of the museum. They include a torso and upper legs, identified as Apollo or Dionysus (Caesarea), an over-lifesized *Hermes* or a *Meleager* with a sheep or dog at his side (Scythopolis), and a 'Maenad' in motion (Gift of Mrs Ohan, vicinity of Scythopolis). The head of *Athena* found two years ago at Scythopolis and taken to the Department of Antiquities and Museums, Jerusalem (*Jerusalem Post*, [Friday 6th January 1978], ill., probably dates in the Antonine period, about 150 to 160, and the complete statue was like the Hygieia from Side: see J. INAN, *Roman Sculpture in Side*, p. 98, No. 36, pl. XLVI; Side, No. 118, p. 179, pl. LXXXIV, is a small version of the type. The ultimate prototype was Athenian in the late (?) Pheidian period, as the *Athena Ince* in Liverpool: B. ASHMOLE: *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall*, Oxford [1929], pp. 6-7, No. 8, pl. 10.

⁴³ The Severan Man in the Hermitage, Leningrad, from just outside the ancient walls of Jerusalem has been identified by some as Hadrian. The marble head once belonged to a monument of a person of importance, since he wears a heavy laurel(?) crown with a cameo in the middle, above the forehead. He must have been a Roman official or a person holding priestly office, but where and in what capacity we know not. Neither do we know who honoured him in Jerusalem (Aelia Capitolina) or whether the head migrated to the Holy City in the Middle Ages or Ottoman period: A. VOSTCHININA: *Musée de l'Ermitage, Le portrait romain*, Leningrad [1974], pp. 159-60, No. 32, pls. L, LI.

Shorter Notices

A new medal by Pisanello

BY ULRICH MIDDELDORF

In memory of G. F. Hill

THESE lines are dedicated to the memory of the author of the *Corpus of Italian Medals before Cellini* (London, 1930) for three reasons. First, in gratitude for his impeccable publication which is the daily guide in our studies; then, in recollection of his kindness and helpfulness towards a young man, which have never been forgotten; and finally, because the discovery here published could never have been made but for the help of an ingenious theory of his.

A new medal by Pisanello is a real surprise. Who would nowadays hope to find one? The early sources mention twenty portraits by Pisanello that are now unknown.¹ Some of them were probably pictures; how many and which were medals is impossible to tell. The onesided medal of Giovanni Pietro d'Avenza here published (Fig. 39),² which was first shown in last year's exhibition at the British Museum and which is now on loan at the Fitzwilliam Museum, is not among them; but its existence has been predicted. And it was G. F. Hill who predicted it.

Let into the marble incrustation of one of the piers of the portico of the Cathedral of Lucca is a medallion of Giovanni Pietro d'Avenza (d. 1457), a memorial of one of Lucca's distinguished citizens (Fig. 41), which is known with an unwar-

¹ HILL: *Corpus*, p. 13. G. F. HILL: *Pisanello*, London [1905], pp. 181ff. G. A. DELL'ACQUA and R. CHIARELLI: *L'opera completa del Pisanello*, Milan [1972], pp. 107, 109.

² Onesided, bronze; 9.2 cm; brownish-grey patina; pierced at the top. Inscribed: around: *IOANNES PETRUS . LUCEN . DOCTUS . GRAECE . ET . LATINAE . INGENIO . MITI .*, and horizontally across the field: *PROBO . Q' .* It was briefly published by me in *Festschrift Wolfgang Braunsfels*, Tübingen [1977], pp. 182ff. On the personality represented see there note 2.



סופה של האמנות הקדומה במצרים — קשרים עם ארץ-ישראל / THE END OF ANCIENT
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THE END OF ANCIENT ART IN EGYPT: CONNECTIONS WITH THE HOLY LAND*

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

Boston College and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Alexander the Great arrived in Egypt not long before 330 BCE, prior to setting out towards Mesopotamia, to complete his conquest of the Persian Empire. His administration in Egypt, his visit to the oasis of Zeus Ammon in the Western Desert, and his ultimate burial in the new city of Alexandria, set in motion an extensive if not thorough Hellenization of Egypt. Alexander's Macedonian and Greek successors in Egypt, the dynasty of the Ptolemies and their associates (305–31 BCE), launched a cultural counter-offensive, reminding the Hellenic world that, as political successors to the pharaohs, they were also heirs to an art, an iconography already nearly three thousand years old. The results hastened an artistic fusion which had begun as early as 650 BCE, when the first Greek traders and mercenaries at Naukratis and farther up the Nile saw traditional Egyptian art and began creating *kouroi*, or nude statues of youths or of the god Apollo, in a Greek humanization of Egyptian canons.

This artistic fusion, under the Ptolemies, became more than just a dynastic whim conducted on a

high level; it touched the immigrant Greeks who absorbed their Egyptian cultural surroundings. The Greek experience reached out, in reverse, to native Egyptians eager to be in step with changing times, and the art of the Ptolemies came to embrace a wide spectrum from the official coinage (thoroughly Greek) to the architecture of the old religious centers (still predominantly Egyptian). It is the median of creativity on an Egyptian provincial (the Nomes or administrative districts) and folk-art level which holds elements of fascination, in our modern terms, in a world concerned with ethnic art and all aspects of primitivism.

The process of synthesis continued under the Roman Empire. Octavius Augustus (31–27 BCE to 14 CE) and his successors inherited the crown of the pharaohs as well as the *aegis* and diadem of the Macedonian Ptolemies, whose last representative was the politically astute but militarily powerless Queen Cleopatra. The impact of Roman imperial administration was greater in Egypt than in any other province of the Greek East, because the Nile was the breadbasket of Roma Aeterna. Other than the Alexandrian imperial coinage, which looked as much toward Rome as toward the Hellenistic past, the artistic influences of Rome in Egypt were not exceptionally greater than in any other Hellenic province, from Greece itself through Asia Minor to Syria. The passage of time, the influx of Roman administrators and merchants and, ultimately, the advent of Christianity did hasten the demise of purely Egyptian art. What came into being in its place during the later centuries of the Roman Empire was no less a part of Egypt — striving to be thoroughly creative and, thus, a thoroughly original art.¹ The decorative sculpture of the Holy Land, as represented in the later synagogues and first major churches, is often connected with Syria and the major cities of the Decapolis, but there is considerable evidence of an influence which derived from

* An invitation from the Israel Exploration Society for a contribution to a volume dedicated to the memory of Michael Avi-Yonah is heartening to one who, nearly 40 years ago, as a graduate student at University College, London, received much kindness, help and inspiration from him. My admiration for his work continues to the present, and finds expression in the dedication of a book: *Jewish Relations with the Art of Ancient Greece and Rome* ('Judaea Capta sed non Devicta') (Art of Antiquity IV/2), Boston 1981. The tribute to Professor Avi-Yonah in *Israel Exploration Journal* 24/1 (1974) reminds me that, 50 years ago, I witnessed a lively discussion between him and my late father (a member of Franklin D. Roosevelt's first government), with their mutual memories of Lemberg (Lwow) in Galicia, and the fact that they were born on the same day (albeit my father a decade earlier), 26 September, which they both recalled was the beginning of the Meuse-Argonne offensive, leading to the end of World War I.

Egypt, as well, reaching as far as the borders of Phoenicia.

The Latest Egyptian Sculpture: The Monuments

Ptolemaic (that is, Macedonian Greek) kings in the traditional guise and iconography of pharaohs found a perfect place in the Hellenic order of the Nile, where Alexandrian tombs could contain small limestone imitations of the sphinx at Gizeh (Ill. 1).² An elegant lady, Graeco-Egyptian or perhaps even a shopkeeper's wife from Italy, could be carved and painted in her funerary niche, with elaborate earrings below her hair, a Hawaiian wreath around her shoulders, and her favorite ointment jar in her hand. The little people of Graeco-Roman Egypt appear, in boldly carved limestone. A child from a family sepulchral complex provides a last remembrance of the children seated in mourning or meditation in the lower sections of Attic grave stelae in the 4th century BCE.

The common folk of Roman Egypt placed little rectangular stelae at the doors or in the walls of their tombs. These tombstones had the traditional motif of the funerary banquet in inset relief. Another form of sepulchral carving was the exotic or jungle animal — griffin, sphinx, lion or leopard — in a pose derived from the monumental sarcophagi of the Greek imperial East (Ill. 2).³ A divine head in a panel of foliage,⁴ or an animal galloping in a figured frieze,⁵ perpetuated traditions in the Coptic art of Byzantine times which could be traced back through the Holy Land, past the temples of Antonine Heliopolis (Baalbek) in Syria or the frieze of the gymnasium at Cypriote Salamis in the same period, and beyond the Hellenistic decorative carving at Didyma in western Asia Minor. (Ills. 3, 4, 5).⁶

The Art

In his celebrated guide to Alexandria, the novelist E.M. Forster long ago identified the sense of curious amazement that accompanies our visits to the painted tombs and museum-worthy remains of the Greek imperial Egyptians. Falcon-headed Haroeris in Roman armor salutes men and women in Greek chiton and himation. Jackal-headed Anubis, with the costume and attributes of Hermes-Mercury, leads Hellenophile souls to the Underworld. Canopic images, looking like enriched duckpins from a



1. Pair of funerary sphinxes. Limestone, Egypt, Roman Imperial period (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).



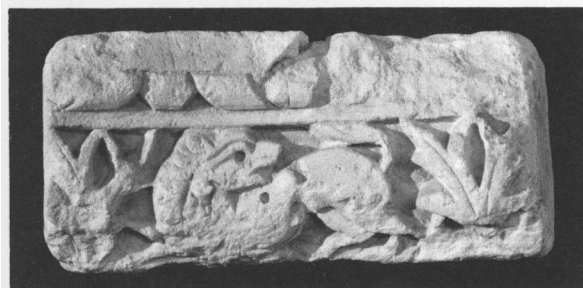
2. Architectural (funerary) relief of a leaping lion. Egypt. Late Graeco-Roman (so-called Coptic) period, 5th or 6th century CE (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).



3. Rectangular architectural panel: bust of a young man, perhaps Dionysos, framed by grapes or olives and leaves. Egypt, ca. 250 CE or later (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).



4. Statue of the Good Shepherd. Al-Minah (near Gaza), 4th century CE (Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum).



5. Section of curved frieze mouldings: waterleaf, fillet and feline in acanthus foliage. Behnessa-Oxyrhynchus, Egypt (Cambridge, Mass. Nuffer Foundation).

modern bowling alley, emerge from standard Asia Minor imperial architectural *tondi*, the medallions set in the pediments of tombs and temples. They also circulated in similar fashion on the reverses of Alexandrian imperial coins. The sphinxes, with their naturalistic faces, could echo the monumental verism of Middle Kingdom pharaoh-images, but the Graeco-Roman funerary carvers in limestone have warped the expressions of the unique human animals into something grotesque, more frightened than awesome. These later-day Egyptians, whether Greek or Copt, were fascinated with their Nilotic past, but they were equally determined to express

the timeless art of the pharaohs in a manner totally in harmony with the Late Hellenistic-Late Antique aesthetic frame of reference. (Ill. 1).

Pitty, crumbling limestone is inhibiting at best; and color must have been of paramount importance. The lady standing with her Hawaiian wreath and perfume jar demonstrates this combination of material and visual factors in a quasi-popular sculpture at Sheikh Abada — Antinoöpolis or Behnessa-Oxyrhynchus. The pharaohs of old could afford rich, rare granites, basalts, diorites and other hard, colored stones. The architectural sculptures which are not demonstrably Graeco-Egyptian, the heads and animals in foliage, or the little soldiers and civilians on tombstones, could not have been carved anywhere else than between the lush green Nile and the outer reaches of the African desert, or along the coast reaching past Gaza up towards Caesarea Maritima (Ills. 2, 3, 5).⁷ The sculptors of Graeco-Roman Cyprus or the northern parts of the Syro-Palestinian coast worked in similar, soft (white and brownish) limestones in the Late Antique, Early Christian periods, but so-called Late Roman and Coptic architectural sculpture came to have an iconographic and stylistic distinction of its own in Egypt and related parts of the Holy Land (Ill. 4).

This art is awkward, quaint, provincial in every sense of the word; but it is an art which belongs to and radiated from the most distinct, perhaps most distinguished province of the Roman Empire. Its end came effectively with the conquest of Christian and Pagan Egypt by Islam in the 7th century CE. Although Coptic, Christian Egypt continued until the 12th century, after the 9th century CE the art of Antiquity had given way to the decorative impulses of Islamic builders, and when the Arabs turned from conquest to creation, even these latest Egyptian sculptures — varied in quality, style and iconographic detail, but united in message — ceased to be produced, or were, at least, considerably altered in character. The road back to the Old Kingdom sphinx and pyramids at Gizeh was a long one, but these sculptures were some of the first milestones from the other terminus. In Jerusalem, the architectural carvings in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from 1099 to 1187 CE demonstrate that local motifs and styles, grounded in the traditions

discussed here, survived from the Muslim Conquest till the First Crusade.⁸

Late Roman, Christian and Medieval Sculpture: Materials, Techniques and Production

The type of marble used by Praxiteles, Skopas or Bryaxis — great masters of the 4th century BCE and Early Hellenistic period — was very rare in Egypt and the Holy Land. Under the Ptolemies, marbles of quality were imported into Alexandria for fashioning statues and reliefs. The Egyptian Hellenistic habit of finishing marble heads in stucco (hair and beard) pointed up both the rareness of the stone and the widespread readiness to use a secondary material — later popular throughout the Near East, where marble in general was scarce. In Graeco-Roman times the needs of Roman officials and wealthy private citizens, especially those craving elaborate sarcophagi, were met by wholesale imports of semi-finished sculptures and architectural blocks from western Asia Minor, Thrace, the islands in the sea of Marmara or the Peloponnesus. Such materials were costly and could not satisfy the demands of private citizens for elaborately carved tombs, or of emerging religious communities for complex, highly-enriched churches, courtyards (cloisters) and other, subsidiary buildings.

The sculpture of Egypt in the last phases of Antiquity thus became an art of soft stones, wood and stucco. This economic tendency — toward cheap, convenient materials — was accentuated in the later 3rd to 5th centuries CE, when barbarian invasions and civil wars within the Empire cut off or severely reduced the highly-organized lines of production and supply. These routes, described by ancient authors and documented by modern archaeological research, had brought sarcophagi from the quarries of Attica, the Propontis and Assos in the Troad to Alexandria and the Holy Land, or colored marble columns from the hills around Sparta to the Egyptian resort-city of Canopus, near the Red Sea. On at least two occasions in the early 4th century CE, Egypt had its own emperors, military men who tried to hold the rich imperial province and its approaches against all other claimants to the purple.

Such unpredictable shifts in emphasis on materials were bound to produce changes in types and styles of sculpture. What had to be carved laboriously in hard marble — friezes of scrolled foliage with cupids or running animals amid the leaves — was bound to change when carved in limestone or fashioned in painted stucco. As these arts became paramount in Egypt, the land of the Nile could turn to a former dependency for information about the limits and potentials of Classical decoration in limestone. The island of Cyprus had exploited these materials since the beginnings of Archaic Greek monumental sculpture, in the 7th century BCE, and artistic interconnections between Graeco-Roman Cyprus and Egypt, as provinces of the Roman Empire, were many and continuous, from Augustus to Theodosius the Great at the end of the 4th century CE and even later. Evidence from the Late Antique basilicas at Salamis, on the eastern coast of the island, shows that Cyprus was a way-station in which the habits and techniques of enriching stone architecture with stucco ornaments (pilasters, arches, vaults and friezes) could be exchanged between Syria and Mesopotamia to the East, the Holy Land to the southeast and Egypt to the South.

Thus, like its Egyptian and Macedonian Greek predecessors, the popular art of Late Antique Egypt was able both to satisfy a religious (and demotic) need internally and to continue a relationship with the arts elsewhere in the Greek East. This situation was more or less terminated, of course, by the Arab Conquest, which left the popular decorative arts of Medieval Egypt to develop either on their own or within the framework of Islamic culture. In Cyprus, such carvings in limestone and wood survived into the 20th century: the winged cupids (cherubs) on the four-sided belltower of the monastic church of St. Mammas at Morphou hold a shield bearing the date 1790, but they and the other sets of evangelist symbols on each face are hardly far removed in style and spirit from the so-called Coptic architectural carvings discussed here. Something of the Gothic Middle Ages can be seen in these pairs of creatures, but the scroll of grapes and vine-leaves above each derives directly from the world of Late Roman Egypt and the Holy Land.

Conclusions

Sculptures from the Late Ptolemaic through the Roman Imperial to the Coptic periods of Egyptian art form a simple basis for major or comprehensive art historical judgments. Simply stated, they give a good conspectus of the rustic elements in Hellenistic and Greek imperial art from the end of the Ptolemaic kingdom and the Roman province along the Nile. These limestone sculptures existed alongside other, more impressive Alexandrine or imperial creations in imported Greek marble or local hard stone. In a sense, the monumental sculptures fashioned in imported materials were only partly Egyptian — like the Macedonian and Greek or Roman masters of Egypt. Whether pagan or Christian, decorative or funerary, the limestone sculp-

tures illustrated here were the true expressions of the Egyptian people and, therefore, of Egyptian art for a period of nearly a thousand years.

In many respects the conditions which produced this form of art in Roman and pre-Islamic Egypt also extended east and north-eastward, to the Holy Land. The synagogues of the 3rd or 4th centuries CE, and the churches or meeting-places of the same period included architectural carvings and free-standing sculptures in styles and materials similar to those in Egypt. Carvers and sculptors could have been exchanged between the Jewish and Christian communities of the Nile and the Holy Land. Whether or not this did happen, forms and expressions of the final art of Antiquity in Egypt and the Holy Land were often similar.

NOTES

¹ Books on the Egyptian and related Cypriote aspects of Late Antique art include: J. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture, 300–1300*, London 1963; J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Baltimore 1970; G. Egger et al., *Frühchristliche und Koptische Kunst* (Ausstellung in der Akademie der bildenden Künste), Vienna (11 March–3 May) 1964; E.M. Forster, *Alexandria. A History and a Guide*, Alexandria 1922 (enlarged reprint, New York 1963); K. Parlasca, 'Der Übergang von der spätrömischen zur frühkoptischen Kunst im Lichte der Grabreliefs von Oxyrhynchus,' *Enchoria. Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie* 8 (1978), pp. 161–166, Pls. 34–37; H. Trop, (Review of eight books on the art of Coptic-Christian Egypt), *The Art Bulletin* 47 (1963), pp. 361–375; C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Cyprus. Art from Classical through Late Antique Times*, Boston 1976.

² Length: 64 cm. and 61.5 cm. Gift of Paul E. Manheim. Cf. J.M. Eisenberg, *A Catalogue of Late Egyptian and Coptic Sculptures*, New York 1960, p. 3, Nos. 2, 3 (from Sheikh Abada). For three such creatures in the reconstruction of a temple tomb in the Alexandria Museum, see Ev. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, Bergamo 1922, p. 199, Room 14, No. 6. A more Egyptian example, termed 'probably the god Tithoes,' is dated in the 2nd century CE; see J.D. Cooney, *The Brooklyn Museum* 10/3 (1949), pp. 16–23, Fig. 23.

³ Height: 28 cm.; width: 34.3 cm. Rough limestone. Gift of Paul E. Manheim. See Eisenberg: *op. cit.* (above, n. 2), p. 28, No. 46, Pl. 21.

⁴ Height: 31.1 cm. Limestone. Gift of Paul E. Manheim. Cf., for style, W.E. Crum, *Coptic Monuments*, Cairo 1902, p. 132, No. 8690, Pl. LI; J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, Vienna 1904, No. 7292a, p. 36, Pl. III, a gable with Dionysos. The pattern parallels those of East Greek imperial mosaics,

e.g. the floor from Syrian Antioch (Room 21, Yaktō Complex), in the Jewett Art Center at Wellesley College (*Archaeology* 25 [1972], p. 277).

⁵ Length (max.): 29 cm. White limestone. Eisenberg: *op. cit.* (above, n. 2), pp. 24–27, No. 40 (where other reliefs from the same series are illustrated, with comparisons).

⁶ Height: 63 cm. Marble from Western Asia Minor. C. Vermeule & K. Anderson, 'Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Holy Land,' *The Burlington Magazine* 123 (1934) (January 1981), p. 16, Fig. 34, and bibliography (including A. Negev [ed.], *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1972, pp. 122–123, illustrated).

⁷ In relation to the Late Roman to Islamic carvings discussed here, the following sculptures are brought to mind: the Griffin with the Wheel-of-Nemesis, 3rd century CE (Israel Museum, from Erez near Ascalon); M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, New York 1972, pp. 126–127; the cornice and narrow frieze with hippocamp and two eagles holding a garland, from the 3rd (or 4th) century CE synagogue at Capernaum; N. Avigad, in M. Avi-Yonah (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land I*, London and Englewood Cliffs (N.J.) 1975, pp. 288–289.

⁸ In Jerusalem, the architectural carvings in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, from 1099 to 1187 CE, demonstrate that local motifs and styles grounded in the traditions discussed here, survived from the Muslim Conquest till the First Crusade.

⁹ See N. Kanaan, 'A Local Trend in Crusader Art in Jerusalem,' in: Y. Yadin (ed.), *Jerusalem Revealed, Archaeology in the Holy City, 1968–1974*, Jerusalem-New Haven 1975, pp. 114–115.



The God Apollo, a Ceremonial Table with Griffins, and a Votive Basin

Author(s): Cornelius C. Vermeule

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The God Apollo, a Ceremonial Table with Griffins, and a Votive Basin

Cornelius C. Vermeule

Three very different works of Greek art have come to Malibu together (figs. 1–3). The most reliable information seems to indicate that they were found as a group in ruins in a mound, probably in western Greek lands. The statue of Apollo has been carved from marble which certainly comes from Attica, and the two elegant objects of furniture—a ceremonial table and a votive basin—have been fashioned out of marble from the Aegean Islands of Greece, not Thasos in the north but the area of Paros or Naxos in the Cyclades.

The purpose of this study is to argue that all three sculptures were fashioned about the same time, near the end of the fourth century B.C. or at the beginning of the third, and that they were made or assembled as a cohesive group in antiquity.¹ Furthermore, when considered together, the subjects and iconographic details of the three objects suggest connections between the Macedonian kingdoms after the death of Alexander the Great and Megale Hellas, the Greek world in southern Italy. The powerful personality who linked these regions together at this time was Pyrrhus, King of Epirus (319–272 B.C.), who for a period before 283 B.C. controlled half of Macedonia and Thessaly. Shortly thereafter, he came to the southernmost part of Italy to help Tarentum in the struggle against the Romans.

At Locri Epizephyrii, located on the ball of the foot of the Italian “boot,” in ancient Bruttium (Reggio Calabria), King Pyrrhus struck a silver didrachm that is, to

my mind, one small piece of evidence connecting the lekanis, or louter (basin), with the trapezophoros (table support); after a few mythological and geographical speculations, this link can be made to extend to the statue of Apollo. These connections suggest that an important person in touch with both Macedonian and Italian-Greek affairs, perhaps King Pyrrhus himself, dedicated this ensemble in a sacred area somewhere along the western coast of the Adriatic Sea.

APOLLO

The youthful god stands with his weight on the left leg, the left hip thrown slightly outward (fig. 1). The right leg and right foot were slightly advanced. There are remains of a griffin seated at the left foot, its right wing curling up between the god's left hip and the cloak wrapped around his left arm. This cloak is drawn around, and covers most of, the back; it hangs over the right shoulder with an extra fold. In his hair the god wears a fillet, flanked by braids. This fillet is tied with a knot at the back; the two ends lie over the carefully arranged hair. At the brow, the hair is tucked under the fillet in such a way as to allow two curls to spiral down in front of the ears.²

Apollo's lowered left hand, perhaps holding an arrow, rested above the wings of the griffin, and the right hand, perhaps holding a bow, was raised and extended. Alternatively, the extended right hand may have held a

At the Getty Museum thanks are due to John Walsh, Director, Marion True, Curator, and Arthur Houghton, former Associate Curator, for permission to publish these sculptures. Sandra Knudsen Morgan, former Editor, was, as she has been for well over a decade, a constant source of help and inspiration. Jiří Frel was extremely helpful with scholarly ideas and general information at the time these sculptures first came to notice. At the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Jan Fontein, Director, and colleagues in the Department of Classical Art—Mary Comstock, John Herrmann, Florence Wolsky, Emily Vermeule, and Michael Padgett—have been most supportive.

1. These sculptures were catalogued by the present writer as nos. 8, 9, and 10 in *Catalogue of a Collection of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), when they were in private hands in New York and London. Thanks also are offered to the former owners for help in studying the three sculptures, and other works of art, over the past years.

2. Accession number 85.AA.108. H (max.): 148 cm (58 1/4"); W (max. at the rib cage): 46 cm (18 1/8"), (max. at plinth): 57.5 cm (22 5/8"); D (max. at the left side of the plinth between the griffin's forepaws): 24.8 cm (9 3/4"). H (max. of plinth): 3 cm (1 1/16").

Greek marble with fine but evident crystals, in my opinion, probably Pentelic and surely from Attica. Remains of an iron dowel are found in the rectangular hole below the cloak, against the right shoulder. The mark of a modern plow runs from below the right shoulder to the middle of the right thigh. The breaks are visible in the photographs. There are no restorations. The surfaces of the flesh were well finished but were not highly polished. The same is true of the drapery or cloak, both front and back. Hair and diadem are less finely finished, save for the diadem in front which matches the flesh surfaces. There are root marks and encrustation at various places over the god, the griffin, and the plinth. See “Acquisitions/1985,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), no. 6, p. 181.

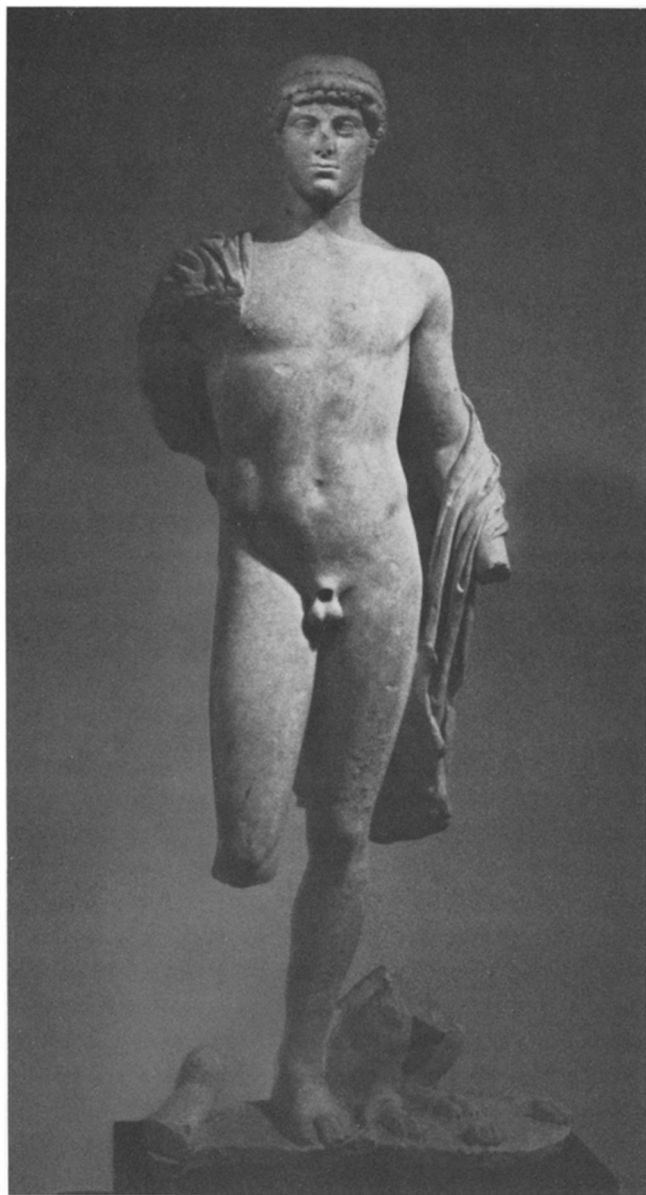


Figure 1. Statue of the god Apollo. Greek, circa 320–280 B.C. Marble. H (max.): 148 cm (58 $\frac{1}{4}$ "); W (max. at the rib cage): 46 cm (18 $\frac{1}{8}$ "); D (max. at the left side of the plinth): 24.8 cm (9 $\frac{3}{4}$ "). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AA.108.

libation dish (phiale) and the lowered left, the bow, or even both a bow and an arrow.³

This impressive statue is neither a work of the period between late Archaic and early Transitional Greek sculpture nor a sleek eclectic creation of the Pasitelean period in Naples and Rome of circa 85 B.C. and later in the first century.⁴ While incorporating memories of Attic and South Italian Greek sculpture at the time of the Persian Wars, the stance and the softened forms of the body mark this carving as a work of the late fourth century B.C. or a generation later, influenced by the so-called Praxitelean traditions of Greek sculpture. The techniques of carving—the finishing in the hair, flesh, diadem, and drapery and the details of animal and plinth—as well as the simplified piecing with dowels, conform to practices of around 300 B.C. This Apollo belongs among the rare examples of so-called “Archaizing” Greek art of the period before the late Hellenistic age.

Research over the past century, particularly since the First and Second World Wars, makes it evident that “Archaistic” Greek art began in the fifth or fourth century, rather than in the period of copyism in the first century B.C. Modern terminologies (“Archaizing,” “Archaistic,” and “Lingering Archaic”) are explained by B. S. Ridgway in *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*.⁵

The Getty Apollo, by Ridgway’s criteria, can be classed as “Archaizing.” It is “a work of sculpture which belongs clearly and unequivocally to a period later than 480 and which, for all its differences in plastic treatment of drapery and tridimensionality of poses, retains a few formal traits of Archaic style, such as coiffure, pattern of folds, gestures or the like.”⁶ Unlike the Apollo from the House of Menander at Pompeii with its cold, polished

3. A precedent for the griffin as attribute and support placed close to one leg is found in a statue of Dionysos with his panther positioned at the bottom of the drapery that falls from his right wrist; the sculpture was found in a house at Priene. See Theodor Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 368–369, fig. 463.

4. The truly Roman version of such a statue is the youthful Apollo in the Archaic style in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, from the House of Menander at Pompeii. See J. B. Ward-Perkins, A. Claridge, and J. Herrmann, *Pompeii, A.D. 79* (Boston, 1978), vol. 2, no. 83, p. 148. The archetype of the Apollo studied here was copied in Julio-Claudian times in the small marble statue in the Palazzo della Banca d’Italia, Via Nazionale, Rome, showing that the original belonged to the first years after, or, in Sicily, the last moments of, the Persian-Carthaginian wars. See E. Paribeni, “Di un nuovo tipo di Apollo di stile severo,” *Antike Plastik* 17, Teil 6 (1978), pp. 101–105, pls. 50–52.

5. See Christine Mitchell Havelock, “Archaistic Reliefs of the Hellenistic Period,” *AJA* 68 (1964), pp. 42, 44, pl. 17, fig. 1, a relief of Hermes and the nymphs belonging to the fourth century B.C., circa 320. See B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 303–319, and bibliography, pp. 320–322.

6. Ridgway (*supra*, note 5), p. 303.



Figures 2a–b. Top, Ceremonial table with griffins. Greek, circa 320–280 B.C. Marble. H (max. at top of wings): 95 cm (37 7/16"); W (max. at plinth): 20 cm (7 7/8"), (at top of wings): 22 cm (8 5/8"); L (max.): 148 cm (58 1/2"). Bottom, back. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AA.106.



Figure 3a. Votive basin. Greek, circa 320–280 B.C. Marble. H (max.): 30.8 cm (12 $\frac{1}{8}$ "); Diam (max. including handles): 60 cm (23 $\frac{5}{8}$ "), (max. at rim): 56 cm (22"). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AA.107.

body and its silly griffin looking like a puppy begging for a biscuit, this Apollo shows its originality by incorporating only those "Archaizing" elements, notably the coiffure, necessary to identify the statue as a modern (fourth century B.C.) restyling of a venerable image with no attempts at academic imitation.

TABLE SUPPORT: TWO GRIFFINS ATTACKING A FALLEN DEER

The two griffins crouch over their fallen prey, a deer, on a rough base similar to those used for Attic funerary animals in the fourth century B.C. (figs. 2a–b). The curling "Ionic," or traditionally East Greek, wings are solid between, each having a large, rectangular and horizontal slot and a vertical groove on the facing, inner surface. This arrangement was probably designed for a

metal or wooden support for the table top, which rested on the curling upper surfaces of these wings.⁷

The high quality of the carving and the stylistic details of the animals, notably the eye treated as a raised circle or half a ball, all indicate a date of execution within the period of the last Athenian funerary beasts, which extended from around the time of Alexander the Great's death to the second decade of the third century B.C. For the functional use of these griffins and the deer as part of a piece of furniture, however, we have to seek parallels in the best decorative carving of the period around 80 B.C. and later, when so many more monumental marble tables and their components survive.⁸ Evidence from Pompeii and Herculaneum confirms that elaborate tables in marble or metal had their places in the homes of the wealthy, but they were also definitely

7. Accession number 85.AA.106. H (max. at top of wings): 95 cm (37 $\frac{7}{16}$ "); W (max. at plinth): 20 cm (7 $\frac{7}{8}$ "), (at top of wings): 22 cm (8 $\frac{5}{8}$ "); L (max.): 148 cm (58 $\frac{1}{2}$ ").

Crystalline Greek island marble. There are numerous breaks carefully mended with small pieces attached but with no restorations. Many traces of the red, blue, and golden brown colors survive—to wit, the blue for the griffins' wings, bright red for the griffins' combs, brown or fawn color for the fallen quadruped, red also for the blood around the mouths of the griffins and the areas where their claws have

dug into the unfortunate beast. The eyes of the griffins and especially their eyeballs had brown underpainting, and the fallen animal's eyes were red. The plinth is roughly finished; the griffins' bodies are the smoothest parts of the sculpture. See "Acquisitions/1985," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), no. 4, p. 180.

8. This ensemble has also been published, without illustration, by the writer in "Bench and Table Supports: Roman Egypt and Beyond," *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980*, ed. W.



Figure 3b. Interior of figure 3a.

part of the furnishings of temples and had their places in elaborate tombs. This was probably even more the case in the period around 300 B.C.

Griffins were mythological creatures associated with Apollo in the east, and by Classical times the motif of these beasts attacking a weaker quadruped symbolized

the forces of civilization over barbarism, the power of the sun rising from the east, or the divine determination of death (sometimes sudden and quixotic) to mortals.⁹ As a piece of furniture, the subject as treated here was no mere decoration for a Greek garden but was a powerful statement to be installed in a major votive context.¹⁰

K. Simpson and W. Davis, Jr. (Boston, 1981), p. 183.

9. The ensemble has its painterly parallel on the front side of the neck of the red-figured volute krater by the Aurora Painter, from Falerii of about 325 B.C. See M. Sprenger, G. Bartolini, and M. Hirmer, *Die Etrusker, Kunst und Geschichte* (Munich, 1977), p. 149, pl. 228.

Dietrich von Bothmer has adduced and discussed parallels for the griffins attacking a fallen deer in Etruscan painting and sculpture of about 300 B.C. in the publication of an Etruscan red-figured kantharos

in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (51.11.10): *BMMA* 10, no. 5 (1952), pp. 145–149, with illustrations of the subject on both sides of the kantharos, on the wall of the François Tomb, and on the end of the older of the two Prince of Canino sarcophagi from Vulci in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (86.145). For the sarcophagi, see also M. B. Comstock and C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone* (Boston, 1976), no. 383, pp. 244–246.

10. The same school of Attic or South Italian Greek sculptors who carved the magnificent table support also modeled the two large ter-

BASIN WITH SCULPTED DETAILS AND A PAINTED SCENE IN THE INTERIOR

The painting in the bowl's interior comprises a whirligig of three nereids, one on a hippocamp and two on ketoi; Thetis is shown holding the shield of Achilles (figs. 3a–b). One other nereid holds a cuirass and the third a helmet. The bowl has ovolo, or egg-and-dart, molding around the lip; fluted handles with floral bases, which join the body as if cast in metal and riveted or soldered on; a circular foot enriched with waterleaf design; and, finally, below the fillet of this foot, three animal-foot supports rising to the circular foot with Ionic fluting.¹¹ These animal feet are set on a thin, slightly irregular base, and there is a heavy, columnar support for the entire ensemble underneath.¹² Much of the paint remains, and the colors used are: gold for the shield; purple for the nereids' garments; reds and blues for the marine creatures as well as the foot of the bowl, the animal feet, the support, and the plinth.

The fragile nature of the painting in the interior of this bowl, a traditional Greek footbath, indicates that the object was not made for practical use but for ceremonial purposes. Such a basin would have made a perfect dedication in a temple or shrine; it could also have been made as an offering to the gods and shades in a tomb, although this particular painting within an object carved circa 300 B.C. would have conveyed a pointed mythological, dynastic, and political message. The scene of Thetis with the shield of Achilles as focal point of a whirligig of nereids and sea creatures is watery indeed, as befits a footbath, but its symbolism is deliberately associated with the Epirote ancestry of the ruling Macedonians (Alexander the Great through his mother Olympias) and their cousins and renewed connections in Epirus.¹³ The most memorable of these at this time was King Pyrrhus.

CONCLUSION

Between about 320 and 280 B.C., probably closer to the latter date, an Apollo standing with his griffin at

this side was carved in a style that blended late Archaic features with the softened forms of Praxitelean youthfulness. To this splendidly accomplished statue was added a table supported by an ensemble consisting of two griffins slaying a deer. The leg of this table was large and strong enough to support a light top of stone, metal, or wood on its own; there has been some speculation that there may have been a pendant trapezophoros, which would be in keeping with the construction of such tables in the Greek world from early Hellenistic to Julio-Claudian and Flavian (Pompeian) times. Finally, there is a basin with a low, rounded foot, handles, and careful enrichment imitating Greek metalwork of the fourth century B.C. The interior of the basin was painted with a marine mythological whirligig, featuring Thetis riding on a sea beast and carrying the shield of Achilles.

The table support and the basin were also probably carved during the years when Alexander the Great's successors were consolidating their power, 320 to 280 B.C. The griffins killing the deer were carried out as a masterful elaboration in painted marble of motifs and compositions familiar in South Italy from the gilded terracotta reliefs of Tarentum.¹⁴ The basin represented the best imitation in marble of metalwork from the Peloponnesus or Tarentum, embellished with a painted design popular in the *koine* of the fourth and third centuries B.C. from Olynthos in Macedonia to Tarentum and beyond to Etruria.

To my mind, the chain that links these three works of art together is the silver didrachm struck by Pyrrhus of Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly at Locri sometime before 280 B.C. (figs. 4a–b).¹⁵ The reverse of Thetis on a sea beast with the shield of Achilles symbolizes the descent of both Alexander the Great and Pyrrhus from that hero; it is also the main device painted in the interior of the Getty's marble basin. Griffins appear on the sides of the helmet of Achilles on the coin's obverse, and these fantastic creatures who conquer in the east, as did Alexander and Achilles, are identified with Apollo,

racotta heads of stags or deer in Würzburg. See E. Simon et al., *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung des Martin von Wagner Museums der Universität Würzburg* (Mainz, 1975), p. 226, pl. 56. There are Roman decorative carvings of comparable quality, but they are rare, e.g., the head of a panther from a table support. See Jacques Chamay in J. Dörig et al., *Art antique: Collections privées de Suisse Romande* (Geneva, 1975), no. 375.

11. The famous nereid on a sea beast (*ketos*) depicted in relief on the lid of a pyxis (jar) in gold and silver from Canosa di Puglia that is now in the Museo Nazionale, Taranto, is a contemporary parallel. See E. Langlotz and M. Hirmer, *Ancient Greek Sculpture of South Italy and Sicily* (New York, 1965), pp. 69–70, pl. XX. For other, varied views of the subject, see H. Sichtermann, "Nereo e nereide," in *Enciclopedia*

dell'arte antica, classica e orientale (Rome, 1963), vol. 5, pp. 421–423, and S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1922), p. 40.

12. Accession number 85.AA.107. H (max.): 30.8 cm (12¹/₈"); Diam (max. including handles): 60 cm (23⁵/₈"), (max. at rim): 56 cm (22").

Crystalline Greek island marble. A curved section is missing at the bowl's rim, and there are chips around the molding of the rim. The handles have been broken, repaired, and rejoined. See "Acquisitions/1985," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), no. 5, p. 180.

13. Gold medallions from Aboukir with the bust of Olympias on the obverse and Thetis in a nereid and triton composition on the reverse are work of the late Severan period (A.D. 230) in the tradition of early Hellenistic Macedonia. See *The Search for Alexander: An Exhibition* (Boston, 1980), nos. 10, 11, pp. 103–104. A full bibliography on



Figures 4a–b. Left, Didrachm (obverse). Struck at Locri by King Pyrrhus of Epirus, before 280 B.C. Silver. Diam: 23.5 mm ($15/16$ "). Right, reverse. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Theodora Wilbour Fund in Memory of Zoë Wilbour, 1985.235. Photos: Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 5. Roundel with bust of Apollo. Early Hellenistic period. Gilded silver. Diam: 7 cm ($2\frac{3}{4}$ "). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Theodora Wilbour Fund in Memory of Zoë Wilbour, 1985.333. Photo: Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

a fact made clear by the presence of the beast beside the god in the Getty's marble statue.

Zeus, Demeter, and Kore, rather than Apollo, were the major divinities of Locri.¹⁶ Apollo was present in a secondary way at Rhegium, around the toe of the Italian "boot" from Locri Epizephyrii, but at Caulonia just to the northeast, across the Sagras River, he was the major patron divinity. Caulonia, however, was destroyed by Dionysius I of Syracuse about 388 B.C., and its territory was presented to the Locrians.¹⁷ Rhegium was treated in similar fashion in 387, but this city was restored by Dionysius II before 350 B.C. It was at this time (350–300 B.C.) that Rhegium's bronze coinage featured a youthful Apollo with long hair similar to the image on a silver-gilt plaque of the fourth century B.C. (fig. 5).¹⁸

Thus, in a shrine to Apollo early in the third century B.C., it would seem suitable that a statue of the god be

"Archaistic" to recall Caulonia's famous image on silver staters of 550 to 480 B.C., albeit in an updated sculptural form. Apollo Katharsios had cured the Sagras coast of plagues. Could this ensemble, the statue, the table, and the basin have been the dedication of a prominent Epirote Macedonian, like King Pyrrhus, intended to keep the armies in Megale Hellas free of illness as well as from the surging power of Rome? Such is a possible explanation for three such unusual masterpieces of Greek sculpture and painting in a single context.

Given the theme of Thetis with the shield of Achilles on the inside of the marble basin (fig. 3b) and on the reverse of the didrachm of Pyrrhus (fig. 4b), there should have been arms and armor found with this dedication. Such armor ought to have been of the highest artistic level and finest quality produced in the Greek world in the age of Alexander the Great or the two generations of his successors and relatives. Figural de-

nerheids with the arms of Achilles is given by Stella G. Miller, "Eros and the Arms of Achilles," *AJA* 90 (1986), p. 159, n. 2.

14. See Lidia Forti and Attilio Stazio, "Vita quotidiana dei Greci d'Italia," in *Megale Hellas: Storia e civiltà della Magna Grecia* (Milan, 1983), p. 699, fig. 720, an example of a griffin and a stag, a heavily gilded relief in just the schema of this table support. H. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries That Shaped the West: Greek and Roman Art in Texas Collections* (Houston, 1970), no. 135, p. 280, on the general meaning of these plaques. H. Herdejürgen, *Die tarentinischen Terrakotten des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. im Antikenmuseum Basel*, Veröffentlichungen des Antikenmuseums Basel, Band 2 (Basel, 1971), nos. 71, 72, pp. 68–69, pl. 21, a stag facing a griffin as pendant plaques.

15. This specimen is from the J. Vinchon sale, Monte Carlo, April

13, 1985, lot 269. E. S. G. Robinson, *Lloyd Collection*, vol. 2 of *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (London, 1933), no. 657, pl. XXI.

16. See E. Langlotz and M. Hirmer (supra, note 11), p. 271, pls. 71–75, terracotta reliefs from Locri, dating about 450 B.C. These reliefs feature stylistic details of up to half a century earlier, perhaps setting the taste that produced the "Archaistic" marble Apollo of the late fourth century B.C.

17. B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1911), pp. 92–94. Attilio Stazio, "Moneta e scambi," in *Megale Hellas: Storia e civiltà della Magna Grecia* (Milan, 1983), pp. 122–123, 136, figs. 94–99.

18. See Sale 6, Bank Leu A. G., Zurich, May 8, 1973, lots 43, 44.



Figure 6. Queen Penthesilea on the left shoulder-plate of a cuirass. Early Hellenistic period. Bronze. H: 16 cm (6⁵/₁₆"). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Frank B. Bemis Fund, 1986.242. Photo: Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

tails certainly would have been included, and the subjects, again, ought to have been linked with the myths of Achilles, the greatest Greek hero and an ancestor of Alexander and Pyrrhus.

There is a scrap of evidence that meets all these criteria, including the possibilities of provenance. The left shoulder-plate of a bronze cuirass features a female head in an Amazonian cap, the side flaps of which turn into decorative volutes at the curving edges of the background (fig. 6). She wears earrings of Lydian or Ionian form and a slender torque with a flower suspended from it. This sad-faced Amazon can only be Queen Penthesilea, and her slight inward turn of the head affirms the deduction that another head rose out of the opposite shoulder-plate.¹⁹ The head on the wearer's right, the place of honor, could only have been Achilles. The body of the cuirass was probably undecorated, beyond suggesting the ideal anatomy common to such objects at the time, but the complete ensemble would have been fully worthy of a princely dedication in the Italic aftermath of Alexander the Great.²⁰

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19. H (max.): 16 cm (6⁵/₁₆"); W (max.): 12 cm (4¹¹/₁₆"). The patina is the rich, deep green of the finest Greek metalwork from 350 to 275 B.C.

20. The comparable right shoulder-plates (covering the straps) of Greek bronze cuirasses of the fourth century B.C. are collected on pp. 51–54 of Arnold Hagemann, *Der Metallharnisch*, vol. 1 of *Griechische Panzerung: Ein entwicklungsgeschichte Studie zur antiken Bewaffnung* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1919). The famous Siris Bronzes in the British Museum (pp. 51–52, fig. 62) are basically the left and right shoulder-plates and back of the neck and shoulders of such a piece of armor.

Also, H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Bronzes in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London, 1899), no. 285, pp. 39–40, pl. VIII. In reasonably high relief, mirrored pairs of Greeks attack fallen Amazons, similarly balanced. They are possibly Achilles slaying Penthesilea on the left, and Ajax Oïleus dispatching Derinoë on the right. The southeast coast of Italy as well as western Mainland Greece, the Peloponnesus, and, lately, Macedonia or Thrace are the sources for a number of these plates or coverings for cuirass fastenings.

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Graeco-Roman Asia Minor to Renaissance Italy: Medallic and Related Arts

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Prologue

THE PHYSICAL SURVIVAL and intellectual influence of classical antiquity in the Renaissance has given rise to a vast and varied literature in the past thirty years. Almost every comparison, every study has rightly concentrated on the relations between Italy—from the Etruscans to Theodosius, or even to Justinian—and the world of the Italian quattrocento. Greece, the Aegean Islands, Cyprus and, perhaps most important, Asia Minor, played a part in shaping the visual arts of the Italian Renaissance, but that role has been much more ephemeral, much harder to define.

Reappraisal of the art of the Renaissance medal and its sources brings the modern historian in touch with many places, persons, and compositions, within the circumscribed areas of medallic and numismatic surfaces. From the outset, Renaissance medals featured portrait busts and titles on their obverses, symbols, scenes, and further inscriptions on the reverses. Bronze was the favored metal and Latin the favored language. All this provided a natural connection with the medallions and large *aes*, chiefly sestertii, of the Roman Empire from Augustus Caesar to the family of Constantine the Great.

From the beginning, the Renaissance medal also stressed contemporary portraiture and scenes or symbols drawn from the courtly life of northern Italy rather than overt imitations of antiquity. Men in laurel wreaths, cloaks, and cuirasses and Olympian divinities or Roman imperial personifications came in the second or the third generation of the Italian medal rather than at the outset with Pisanello and his contemporaries. Still, the organization, the high relief, and the secondary details of Roman imperial medallions and sestertii served as points of recourse for the Renaissance medalists, who themselves had come out of the background of so much flat, medieval numismatic heraldry. That Renaissance medallions were cast and big Roman bronze coins were struck did not keep them apart, since careful castings and controlled artistic strikings produced results that were very similar. Indeed, when good forgeries of Roman sestertii were produced from the cinquecento onwards, they were as often cast as struck. The work of Giovanni Cavino brought the *aes* of antiquity and the Renaissance medal into harmonious unity.

Just as the borrowings from antiquity in Renaissance painting and sculpture were random and eclectic until the 1500s, so the specific evidences of classical antiquity in quattrocento medals were more often selective details rather than overall compositions. Even the reverses which

depend on ancient models have been given the characteristics of Renaissance narrations. When the young King Alfonso V of Aragon-Naples appears as a hunter of the wild boar on Pisanello's medal of about 1450, the dependence on Meleager sarcophagi seems evident, but the ruler leaps on the great animal's back in a manner reminiscent of the representation of a late medieval miracle. The lion of Leonello d'Este, being taught to sing by a Roman cupid with a scroll, is antique in flavor, surrounded by symbols, but Pisanello did not imitate the Graeco-Roman world in creating his reverse about 1444. Alongside these samplings of antiquity, there are the Malatesta medals showing Sigismondo or Domenico in medieval armor with heraldry, or kneeling at a wayside crucifix.

But modern studies of Renaissance medals should not focus only on the acknowledged masterpieces in all the histories and handbooks of art. The genius of the Italian medal from 1438 to 1550 centers on a number of artists and the wealth, the diversity, of their creations. In an art that scarcely existed before the advent of John Palaeologus to the Council of the Eastern and Western Churches, a few years saw the flowering of iconographic obverses and narrative reverses in a manner that quickly surpassed antiquity and that was never exceeded from an aesthetic point of view in the baroque, Neoclassic, and modern European centuries.

The correlation between Roman coins and Renaissance medals is easy to see. Gentlemen of the time held up their sestertii of Nero Caesar Augustus for the world to admire when they were painted by artists like Hans Memling. Princes and prelates vied with each other in assembling cabinets of aurei, denarii, and *aes*. Pisanello left coins among the apparatus of his studio when he died. The dependence of Renaissance medals on Greek coins is almost as evident, but the connections will require much further research to provide ironclad proof. A Giustiniani lord of Chios entertained his fellow Italian humanists and discussed the remains of antiquity. The location of Chios or Scio at the northern arm of the Gulf or Bay of Smyrna insured a supply of Hellenistic and Greek imperial coins in the Latin world, just as the big Greek coins of Neapolis in southern Italy and from Campania to Sicily could move north with the princes of Aragon in Italy. Cyriac of Ancona had his shipboard symposia with the Venetian Captain Delfin in Aegean waters, where virtually every port had been the location of a Greek mint under the Roman empire.

The medals of Giovanni Cavino of Padua (1500–1570) are very well represented in the Dreyfus-Kress Collection

of the National Gallery. They tell us that, in 1550 at least, in the midst of the sestertii of Nero and Sabina, there were two greatly admired Greek works of numismatic art: the dekadrachm of Syracuse and the medallion of Antinous struck at Mantinea in the Peloponnesus. The silver ten-drachma piece was the masterpiece of Euainetos about 410 B.C., and the big bronze piece belonged to the last five or six years of Hadrian's reign, about 131 to 138, when cults of Antinous were being established from Tivoli to Thebes and beyond. Thus, it was the artistic world of Athens from the time of the failure of the Sicilian expedition and its aftermath to the Athenian classicism of the Roman phil-Hellene Hadrian, nearly five hundred and fifty years of Hellenic elegance, which emerged among the most careful imitations of ancient coins of the High Renaissance.

But the relationships between Greek coins and Renaissance medals are only one aspect of antiquity's influence on the art which Pisanello revived and other artists continued. There are many others. Single figures leap out at us from reverses large and small. Some medalists made their fame working in the style of Roman sestertii of the canonical Twelve Caesars. In a phase of Renaissance art so thoroughly a creation of the quattrocento, classical antiquity was not an overriding force. Like the Chinese tale of the Blind Men and the Elephant, the student of interconnections between ancient and Renaissance art will find most of what he or she seeks in the world from Pisanello to Cavino.

Introduction

The sources of medallic art in the quattrocento are usually documented from Roman antiquity, above all, from Roman imperial coins.¹ This study tries to show that the Greek coins of Asia Minor under the Romans played an important, heretofore-undocumented part in the classical awakening from the early 1400s to the late 1500s. The influence of Greek humanists and their manuscripts on Renaissance literature and art has been set forth in monographs and articles.² It is logical to state and possible to prove that the apparatus of Eastern Roman or Byzantine scholarship included the wealth of coins struck by the Greek cities of Asia Minor from Augustus to Aurelian, the three hundred years from 35 B.C. to A.D. 275.

The iconographic and artistic study of Greek imperial coins is a relatively young discipline, although catalogues of the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale collections, with limited illustrations, go back to the last gener-



Fig. 1. Pisanello, *John VIII Palaeologus* (1438–1439), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

ation of the nineteenth century. The *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* for Germany (von Aulock collection), the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen, and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, with illustrations of every coin, have radically enhanced the body of photographic reproductions.³ From these, it is clear that the last Byzantines and the early travelers from Italy, like Cyriac of Ancona, looked at these coins as well as those from the mints of imperial Rome. George Finlay long ago pointed out, in his *History of the Byzantine Empire* (1854), that the later Byzantines thought of themselves as Romans rather than as Greeks, and therefore, their men of intellect treasured the coins of the earlier Roman Empire which gave them so much history, mythology, and geography, with Roman inscriptions in the Greek language.

When the Renaissance medalists emulated classical antiquity, they too turned to the imaginative iconography of cities in Asia Minor and, to a lesser extent, Greece, with their partly autonomous obverses and their imaginative reverses.⁴

Between 29 February 1438 and 10 January 1439, Antonio Pisano ("Pisanello") made his famous medal of John VIII, the emperor, on his way to the Council of the two Churches. The obverse inscription around the bust in the costume of the time is written in the accented Greek of the latest Byzantine humanism, "John, King and Emperor of the Romans, Palaeologus," and the reverse with its bilingual signature shows the next-to-last ruler of the remains of the Roman Empire in the East praying at a wayside

chapel in good quattrocento perspective (fig. 1).⁵ Sir George (Francis) Hill identified Pisanello as "the founder of the modern medal, and the greatest exponent of that branch of art."⁶ As the medal of Emperor John VIII Palaeologus was the painter Antonio Pisano's first numismatic creation, then it is an index of Byzantine humanism in this art at its outset that the Roman emperor should be honored in the written language of the Greek imperial world and the visual linguistics of Italian Renaissance Italy.

Bertoldo di Giovanni and Maeonia in Lydia

A place to begin connections between Roman Asia Minor and Renaissance Italy is with the famous medal for Sultan Mohammad II, the Conqueror of Constantinople, by Bertoldo di Giovanni, teacher of Michelangelo and keeper of the Medici museum of antiquities in the garden of San Marco (fig. 2).⁷

The reverse, showing Asia (Minor), (the kingdom of) Trebizond, and Greece (symbolized by Crete) led in a triumphal cart, was copied from a very rare medallion of Maeonia in Lydia in the reign of Septimius Severus (193–211) (fig. 3).⁸ The three rulers, Septimius Severus, his son Caracalla (198–217), and his second son Geta (Caesar, 198–209, Augustus, 209–211) are shown riding in a triumphal chariot, not as bound captors but as victors. The vehicle is drawn by four pacing rather than two rearing



Fig. 2. Bertoldo di Giovanni, *Sultan Mehmet II* (1480–1481), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Fig. 3. Coin from Maeonia, Lydia, *Septimius Severus* (193–211), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Fig. 4a. Coin from Saitta, Lydia, *Philippus I* (244–249), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

horses, the latter influenced by the famous Horses of Monte Cavallo in Rome. This composition occurs nowhere else in the art of antiquity, and some humanist must have circulated a specimen of this special coin around quattrocento Florence long before it was recognized in the major collections of Europe. The subject was one most pleasing to the sultan, and the iconography linked him with the conqueror of the Parthians, but the choice of design came from the humanism of Italy rather than the learning of Ottoman Constantinople.

Another Greek imperial coin of Lydia was brought into Bertoldo's composition (fig. 4a). The male and female personifications of the Seas and the Earth, over which the sultan rides on his cart loaded with personifications and led by Mars Pater, are taken from a medallion bronze coin of Saitta in the reigns of Philip the First, known as Philip the Arab (244–249), and his young son, Philip the Second.⁹ On this second specimen issued in the big province



Top: Fig. 4b. Coin from Perinthus, Thrace, *Severus Alexander* (222–235), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Bottom: Fig. 4c. Coin from Pergamon, Mysia, *Commodus* (177–192), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

inland from Smyrna on the Aegean coast, the reclining personifications “support” an enthroned Tyche, but other Thracian, Mysian, Lydian, and Phrygian bronzes in the late second or the third century of the Roman Empire present such reclining geographic figures, symbols of the earth and the seas or inland rivers, in conjunction with imperial military themes, which are forerunners of the scene on Bertoldo’s Ottoman medal (figs. 4b and 4c).¹⁰

Costanzo da Ferrara’s Medal of Mehmet (Mohammad) II

Sir George Hill called the medal by Costanzo da Ferrara “easily the finest presentation of Mohammad II extant.” The painter and medalist, who worked chiefly at Naples, was summoned to Constantinople to paint the conqueror’s portrait, and the related medal must date before Mohammad’s death on 3 May 1481 (fig. 5). The specimen in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, with the Gustave Dreyfus collection, seems to be the only survivor from the artist’s hand and was termed by Hill as “the most outstanding medal in the whole (Dreyfus-Duveen-Kress-National Gallery) collection.”¹¹

The reverse shows the sultan riding in his turban and winter robes through the landscape past the walls of Rumeli Hissar, his castle at the European side of the entrance from the Bosphorus to the Black Sea. At first glance, this seems to be a purely contemporary view of the relatively aged ruler riding forth in his last months near the scenes of his greatest triumph. The statuesque compo-

sition, however, is based on a Roman imperial prototype, either a medallion of Antoninus Pius (138–161), a sestertius of Septimius Severus (193–211), or, most likely, a big imperial bronze coin from Thrace or Asia Minor. Such coins had scenes of the emperor’s ceremonial *adventus* on the reverse and formed a perfect counterpart to the triumphal sultan in the landscape of Constantinople. Indeed, the Greek imperial coins also showed an advent into a city, Caracalla into Constantinople’s forerunner Byzantium or Commodus across a bridge into Lesbos on the island of Mytilene (figs. 6a and b).¹² Costanzo da Ferrara had ample opportunity to see such coins among the enlightened Ottomans and the surviving Byzantine humanists of the city of Constantine. The sultan or his advisors could have dictated the choice of subject, since the process of design took place not on the banks of the Arno, as was the case with Bertoldo’s medal, but on the shores of the Bosphorus.



Left: Fig. 6a. Coin from Byzantium, Thrace, *Caracalla* (211–217), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Right: Fig. 6b. Coin from Mytilene, Lesbos, *Commodus* (180–292), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Fig. 5. Costanzo da Ferrara, *Mehmet II*, before May 1481, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection

Giovanni Zuan Boldù and the Erotes of Ephesus

The Paduan Giovanni di Pasqualino (Zuan) Boldù, who died between 1473 and 1477, executed one of the most forceful classicizing medallions of the third quarter of the fifteenth century (fig. 7).¹³ The obverse is taken from a Roman aureus of the young Emperor Caracalla struck around the year 198.¹⁴ The reverse is adapted from a Severan bronze coin of Ephesus, showing Eros and Anteros playing knucklebones in front of an image of the Ephesian Artemis. The specimen shown here was struck about 233 in the name of another Severan boy-emperor, Severus Alexander (fig. 8).¹⁵

Boldù recognized the fatalistic qualities of the Greek imperial coin, the two aspects of love and hope or fate in contest with each other. His medallion, dated 1466, bears the inscription IO SON FINE (“I am the end”) and shows the artist seated with his head in his hands. He is facing the Genius of Death, who is an Amorino or putto with a skull at his elbow and a flame in his left hand. Again, as did Bertoldo di Giovanni, the quattrocento medalist has found the appropriate Greek imperial design to express

the personal needs of his medallion. He must have known ancient coins very well to have selected an aureus with a youthful Severan emperor and a Latin inscription to keep the theme of fate at an early age within Paduan Renaissance confines.

Yet, we know Giovanni Boldù could design in Greek, for this reverse, dated 1458 or five years after the fall of Constantinople, appears in connection with a classical bust of the artist on a medallion in the Dreyfus collection (fig. 9).¹⁶ Giovanni Boldù has made himself look like the young Marcus Aurelius Caesar, and here, again, the inspiration appears to have come from Greek imperial coins (fig. 10). The famous “Dream of Alexander” bronzes from Smyrna, struck about 150, are just the pieces which would have caught the eye of a Renaissance medalist.¹⁷ They illustrate the vision of Alexander the Great, when, it is said, the two Nemeses appeared to him in his sleep and urged him to refound the city of Smyrna at its present location around the end rather than on the north side of the bay. The tale is related by the traveler Pausanias about the time the coin was first struck (Pausanias VII, 5, 2, 3).

The obverses of the “Dream of Alexander” coins present a heroic likeness of the young Stoic Caesar, companion,



Top: Fig. 7. Giovanni Zuan Boldù, *Child Emperor*, c. 1458, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Bottom: Fig. 8. Coin from Ephesus, Ionia, *Severus Alexander* (c. 223), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Top: Fig. 9. Giovanni Zuan Boldù, *Self-Portrait*, 1458, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Bottom: Fig. 10. Coin from Smyrna, Ionia, *Marcus Aurelius Caesar*, c. 150, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

son-in-law, and designated successor to the aging Emperor Antoninus Pius (138–161). The curly-headed Marcus Aurelius was likened to the young Alexander the Great, and the allusion to the dreams of youth was just as valid to a painter-sculptor at the height of the quattrocento. Marcus Aurelius was well known to humanists of the Renaissance, for his writings and for his column and equestrian statue in Rome. Since Giovanni Boldù showed a pretty imperial child's portrait with the inscription ANTONINVS PIVS AVGVSTVS on the obverse of his first medallion (fig. 7), he may have thought that here, too, he was honoring the good Marcus Aurelius Antoninus at a very tender age, rather than the infamous Caracalla, who began his sole reign by murdering his brother Geta in their mother's arms and went on for nearly six more years (212–217) of questionable, militaristic rule. The images of Marcus Aurelius, whether from Rome or from Smyrna, were much more suited to the introspective bent of Giovanni Boldù's medallic reverses, and to the artist's self-identification with imperial iconography.

Antonio Pisano and Phocaea in Ionia

About the year 1441, Pisanello created one of his large medallions for Niccolò Piccinino, a *condottiere* of Perugia (1380–1444) (fig. 11). The obverse is a perfect example of early Renaissance iconography, the leader's cuirassed bust to the left, a lofty cap on his head. The reverse, an allegory of friendship between Niccolò Piccinino and Braccio da Montone, shows a large griffin of Perugia nursing twins labeled (left and right) with the two warriors' names.¹⁸

The iconography is obvious and has been related to innumerable representations of the Lupa Romana, but this griffin came westward to Italy as the reverse of a big Greek imperial bronze coin. The coin with the heraldic griffin was struck at Phocaea in Ionia under Gordianus III (238–244) (fig. 12).¹⁹ The griffin has been reversed, as happens so often when the process of casting is used to create a new design, and the creature has lost something of classical-freedom to the demands of formal heraldry in the medieval to early Renaissance tradition. Phocaea on the



Top: Fig. 11. Pisanello, *Niccolò Piccinino of Perugia*, c. 1441, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Bottom: Fig. 12. Coin from Phocaea, Ionia, *Gordianus III* (238–244), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

coast just north of the entrance to the bay of Smyrna was a center of Greek civilization until the catastrophe of 1922, and this was the perfect place from which a coin could travel westward with other elements of Byzantine humanism.

Pisanello, Cecilia Gonzaga, and Thyateira in Lydia

Cecilia Gonzaga, daughter of Gianfrancesco I, Marquess of Mantua, took the veil about 1444 and was therefore a perfect subject for a medal extolling the pure virtues of innocence (fig. 13). Thus, on the reverse of Pisanello's medal dated 1446 (an important year for the first generation of Renaissance medalists) the half-draped figure of maiden Innocence is seated in a rocky, moonlit landscape, her hand on the head of a shaggy unicorn.²⁰ Only Innocence, it was said, could tame the unicorn, here modeled on a he-goat and symbolic of knowledge. A stele, like a Roman milestone, at the right and against the stony slope, gives the artist's name, profession of painter, and the date,

all in the Latin used throughout this medallion.

It is hard to realize that this composition comes from a big Severan bronze coin of Thyateira in Lydia, the obverse showing the cuirassed bust of the infamous adolescent Caracalla during the first decade of his joint rule with his father Septimius Severus or early in the third century A.D. (fig. 14). Pisanello reached this composition by shifting and altering the props on the coin's reverse, something inherent in the process of producing casts from molds or, later, carving dies for striking. The coin's ample flan features a young, almost feminine river-god reclining to the left, facing a large humped bull. A tree fills the background.²¹

With the composition reversed, the river-god more vertical, the bull flatter and shaggier, and the tree transformed into a stele, the ideas for Innocence and the unicorn can emerge. Even the Turkish crescent-moon at the top of Pisanello's design can be found on Greek imperial reverses with cosmic scenes, or can be imagined from or in the forms of the Greek lettering on a big coin such as that of Thyateira in Lydia.²²



Top: Fig. 13. Pisanello, *Cecilia Gonzaga*, c. 1444, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Bottom: Fig. 14. Coin from Thyateira, Lydia, *Caracalla* (198–211), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Pisanello and Greek Coins

About 1441 Pisanello created a medal for Francesco Sforza (1401–1466) as Lord of Cremona, with a reverse depending neither on Greek nor Roman imperial coins but on the silver drachmai and staters or shekels of Seleucid kings and the Punic city of Carthage after 300 B.C. (fig. 15). The reverse shows a horse's head facing to the left amid paraphernalia of intellect and war, three closed books and a sword.²³

The charger's bust goes back either to the horned horse ("Bucephalus") of Alexander the Great's Syrian successor Seleucus Nicator or to the larger bust of a horse on the reverses of coins struck for Carthage around the middle of the third century B.C. (figs. 16 and 17). The first coins could have come westwards in the luggage of the Byzan-

tine humanists and their Italian friends, since they circulated from Greece to India in Hellenistic and later times.²⁴ The second class of silver pieces was found in Sicily and southern Italy, or could have been acquired when Italians ventured, as they always have, to the northern coasts of Africa or, more easily, to Spain.²⁵

Pisanello, after all, did a medal for Alfonso V of Aragon, King of Naples and Sicily, at Naples in 1449 (fig. 18). Here the obverse, with the king's armored bust flanked by helmet and crown, was taken loosely from Greek imperial coins of Pamphylia and Cilicia in the third century A.D., while the reverse, dominated by an eagle, with vultures and a dead fawn on a rocky landscape, could be traced back to the Greek coins of Akragas in Sicily around 410 B.C.²⁶



Fig. 15. Pisanello, *Francesco Sforza*, c. 1441, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Fig. 16. Silver tetradrachm of King Seleucus I, Pergamon or Ephesus (281–280 B.C.), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Fig. 17. Silver tetradrachm of Sicilian Carthage (320–300 B.C.), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Fig. 18. Pisanello, *Alfonso V, King of Naples and Sicily*, 1449, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Matteo de' Pasti and Hieropolis in Cyrrhestica

Of the series of medallions by Matteo of Verona for Sigismondo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini (died 1467 or 1468), one dated 1446 presents a late medieval to Renaissance version of the old Greek imperial to ancient Near Eastern motif of the goddess on an animal (fig. 19). Crowned and cuirassed Virtus is seated on a throne composed of two elephants back to back. She holds a broken column, otherwise symbolic of tragic death but here suggestive of Christianity's triumph over the materialism of antiquity.²⁷

At Hieropolis in southeastern Asia Minor, northwestern Syria, a bronze coin of Philippus II (247–249) features Atergatis riding a lion (fig. 20).²⁸ As a form of Cybele, the goddess wears a *polos* or mural crown and carries the heavy scepter-staff which, in its irregular shape, could easily be taken for a column. The feline's tail on the Greek imperial coin becomes the left elephant's trunk on the Renaissance medal. From the lion to the double elephant is an easy transition given the number of Greek imperial coins, like those of Tarsus in Cilicia under Maximinus (235–238) and later emperors, where draped goddesses ride forwards in carts or chariots which splay out to left

and right like the double elephants of Matteo de' Pasti's medal.²⁹

Matteo de' Pasti, like his master Pisanello, executed at least one large medal in which the reverse type had sources in the silver tetradrachms of Seleucus I in the kingdom of Alexander's eastern successors and in the shekels of Carthage in the third century B.C. The reverse of the medal, dated 1446, for Isotta degli Atti da Rimini, mistress (and later wife) of Sigismondo Malatesta, shows the family device of an elephant to the right in a landscape on the reverse (fig. 21).³⁰ There are many pachyderms in the art of antiquity, and this noble animal turns up elsewhere from the Middle Ages to the Italian Renaissance. But on the reverse of Matteo's Rimini medal the elephant's profile depends very strongly on the reverse created by the coiners for King Seleucus and the later kings of his dynasty, also, noticeably, on the reverses struck at Carthage for the Barcid family, which produced Hamilcar and Hannibal (fig. 22).³¹ Again, as in the instance of Pisanello's reverse for Francesco Sforza, it is possible to see these coins reaching northern Italy in the quattrocento from Constantinople in its twilight on one hand and from Sicily, Spain, or even North Africa on the other.



Top: Fig. 19. Matteo de' Pasti, *Sigismondo Malatesta*, 1446, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Bottom: Fig. 20. Coin from Hieropolis, Southeastern Asia Minor, *Philippus II* (247–249), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Top: Fig. 21. Matteo de' Pasti, *Isotta degli Atti*, 1446, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Left: Fig. 22. Silver double-shekel of Spanish Carthage, 237–218 B.C., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Antico and Germe in Mysia

Among the strongly Roman medallic creations of Pier Jacopo di Antonio Alari Bonacolsi, the bronze-worker of Mantua (born c. 1460, died 1528), the medallion of Antonio(a) del Balzo, wife of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga di Ròdigo (1441–1538, married 1470), presents a reverse fraught with the imagery so loved by humanists of the transition from the early to the High Renaissance (fig. 23). Hope, nude and winged, holding a broken anchor and a tattered sail, stands on the prow of a broken-masted vessel drawn by two Pegasoi over which flies a small Eros. The inscriptions are purely Latin in concept, hailing the Marchionissa as *Diva*, as if in Roman terms she were dead.³²

The source is very obvious, very direct, only in absolute mirror reversal (fig. 24a and b). On the reverse of a bronze coin of Germe in Mysia in the name of Tranquillina, wife of Gordianus III (238–244), Apollo stands in a chariot drawn by a pair of griffins, his appropriate mythological biga.³³ The same design occurs with Artemis pulled by stags, on coins of Ephesus going back to Com-



Fig. 23. Antico, *Antonio(a) del Balzo* (reverse) (enlarged 4 ×), c. 1500, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

modus (180–192) and Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus. At Akrasos in Lydia, the first Severan was also honored by an issue of giant bronze coins or medallions with the Daedalic cult-image of the Ephesian Artemis being pulled heavenwards in a biga of stags. All these various Greek imperial reverses were perfect tools for the humanistic, iconographic imagination at the outset of the High Renaissance.³⁴ The transformation from griffins or stags to Pegasoi are easy, and, as we have seen with Bertoldo's medal for Mehmet II, the female Hope can be created from a draped Apollo or from a modest Artemis.

Bartolommeo Melioli and Laodiceia in Phrygia

The reverse of a medallion created in 1475 by Bartolommeo Melioli of Mantua (1448–1514) for Lodovico III Gonzaga, second Marquis of Mantua, shows the cuirassed ruler seated in the manner of a Roman emperor facing Faith and Pallas Athena, the latter in full regalia (fig. 25). The fussy, linear style of the draperies and the forms of the letters on the reverse betray the influence of the painter Andrea Mantegna and the fashion of imitating marble reliefs and epigraphy in the painting of the last generation of the quattrocento.³⁶ As Roman imperial as this reverse might seem to be, the grouping of an emperor or a seated male divinity with two or more female personifications or goddesses was a standard feature on the reverses of Greek imperial coins from the time of Antoninus Pius (138–161) through the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus (253–268).

Thus, on a big bronze coin of Laodiceia in Phrygia, struck in the reign of Caracalla as sole emperor (about the year 215), the personification of the city is seated holding a cornucopia and a statuette of the Zeus of Laodiceia (Laodikeos, fig. 26).³⁷ At the left, Phrygia stands holding a scepter-staff and two ears of corn. At the right, the province of Caria to the southwest stands holding a branch symbolic of the area's forests and another cornucopia. As with other transitions from the Greek imperial



Fig. 26. Coin from Laodiceia, Phrygia, *Caracalla* (211–217), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Left: Fig. 24a. Coin from Germe, Mysia, *Tranquillina, Wife of Gordianus III* (238–244), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Right: Fig. 24b. Coin from Akrasos, Lydia, *Septimius Severus* (193–211), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Fig. 25. Bartolommeo Melioli, *Lodovico III Gonzaga*, 1475, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

medallic reverse to the Renaissance medal, the props could be switched around. The figures could be reversed and the costumes altered. Different ancient coins could be studied, but the results were the same. The big bronze coin of western Asia Minor became the bronze medallion of Mantua late in the first century of the Italian Renaissance.

Mantua Early in the Sixteenth Century

About the year 1500, an unidentified medalist of the Mantuan School created an obverse and a reverse for Ortensia Piccolomini of Siena, mistress of Monte Pescata. The obverse presents her bust with her hair and the depth of her figure to above the waist all arranged in a manner designed to recall portraits of Domitia and Julia, daughter of Titus, on Roman imperial coins of the Emperor Domitian (81–96). The reverse shows the Judgment of

Paris (fig. 27). A figure of an old shepherd is seated on Mount Ida, cloak around his shoulder and his dog beside him. He looks much more like an old Silenus than like the Phrygian-capped young Paris, as he hands the golden apple to Aphrodite while Eros prances at her feet and looks up at her. The other two goddesses are also plump, nude Hellenistic female figures in the pictorial traditions of the Medici or the Capitoline Venus.³⁸

Given all the representations of the Judgment of Paris that survived from antiquity to the cinquecento, notably the famous sarcophagus-relief walled up in the garden facade of the Villa Medici in Rome, it is surprising to connect this medal with a Greek imperial coin. In mirror reversal, the medallion for Ortensia Piccolomini is based on a large bronze coin of Tarsus in Cilicia struck in the name of Maximinus the Thracian (235–238).³⁹ On the coin, Paris is the young Trojan he should be. Athena, standing at the left, is dressed in her full costume, helmet on her head and shield in her lowered left hand. Hera, in the center, is also a cult-image, the enthroned Hera of Argos. Only Aphrodite reveals all her charms, as the nude, Hellenistic Aphrodite Anadyomene holding up the ends of her tresses (fig. 28).

While the variations in costume and pose might seem too great to make the transition from the coin of Maximinus to the medal of Mantua, a companion coin of Tarsus for the same emperor shows a reverse filled by a representation of the Three Graces or Charitēs in their almost canonical poses, facing and seen from the back, and all with the gestures and proportions of the figures on the medal for Ortensia Piccolomini (fig. 29). Like the Judgment of Paris, there were other appearances of these “Three Graces” in ancient art, from bronze mirrors to Roman sarcophagi, but none is quite like the scene on the big bronze coin of Tarsus.⁴⁰ When the two coins are taken together, they add up to the anonymous, early sixteenth-century medallion at Mantua.



Left: Fig. 28. Coin from Tarsus, Cilicia, *Maximinus* (235–238), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Right: Fig. 29. Coin from Tarsus, Cilicia, *Maximinus* (235–238), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Fig. 27. Mantuan School, *Ortensia Piccolomini*, c. 1500, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Giovanni Cavino and the Ultimate Acceptance of Greek Imperial Coins

In the second quarter of the sixteenth century, Padua’s preeminence as a numismatic center rested with Giovanni Cavino (born 1500, died 1570). He made numerous imitations of Roman imperial sestertii, sometimes creating coins (like those of Otho, A.D. 69) where none survived from antiquity. On at least one occasion Cavino designed and struck a medal based on Greek silver coins of the fourth century B.C., Roman imperial bronze or brass sestertii, and the Greek imperial bronze coins of Thrace and Asia Minor. This creation honored Queen Artemisia and commemorated the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (fig. 30).⁴¹

To give the flavor of Greece rather than Rome, the obverse inscription “Artemisia Queen” and the reverse legend “Mausoleum” were in Greek. The veiled, filleted bust of Artemisia on the obverse was a surprisingly accurate idealization of what would have been created at the Carian port-city about 350 B.C., when Artemisia commissioned the famous architects and sculptors of Greece to build and decorate a wondrous tomb for her royal husband and brother. Coins of Cos just across the water at this time have an image of Demeter which could have suggested his interpretation of Artemisia to Cavino. Other sources might have been three-dimensional, a bust like that of the Demeter of Knidos or a bust of one of the early Hellenistic queens like that of Berenike II of Cyrene and



Fig. 30. Giovanni da Cavino, *Queen Artemisia*, c. 1550, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Egypt. The public buildings of Venice contained several such veiled statues or fragments of funerary stelai brought from Greece and Asia Minor.

The reverse shows the Mausoleum as a great, colonnaded, arched and stepped structure with statues in its arcuated niches and a triumphal chariot on top. The debt at first glance would seem to be to one of the funeral pyres shown on the reverse of a sestertius of one of the deified Antonine emperors or empresses. But, at closer inspection, the architectural representations of the Greek imperial world come to mind, a big nymphaeum or a ceremonial gate in Thrace or a complex shrine in north-west Asia Minor (fig. 31). Giovanni Cavino even tried to imitate the delicacy of some Greek imperial epigraphy. Although the total visual experience of this medallion is conceived on the scale of a Roman imperial bronze medalion or sestertius, it also recalls Greek silver coins of the fourth century B.C. and anonymous issues in Asia Minor from about 150 to 230. The special issue of big bronze coins struck at Nicaea in Bithynia for Messalina, ill-fated wife of the Emperor Claudius (41–54), had a bust like this on the obverse and an elaborate, arched and colonnaded building, a gateway into the city, or a basilica, on the reverse (fig. 32).⁴² This medallionic synthesis was the perfect way to have brought Hellenistic Asia Minor to High Renaissance Italy.



Top: Fig. 31. Coin from Hadrianopolis, Thrace, *Septimius Severus* (193–211), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Bottom: Fig. 32. Coin from Nicaea, Bithynia, *Messalina, Wife of Claudius* (41–54), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Top: Fig. 33. Leone Leoni or Jacopo Nizolla da Trezzo, *Gianello della Torre*, c. 1560, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Bottom: Fig. 34. Coin from Attuda, Caria, *Antoninus Pius* (138–161), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Michelangeloesque Mannerism, Leone Leoni or Jacopo Nizolla da Trezzo, and a Big Bronze of Attuda in Caria under Antoninus Pius

Even the statuesque frontality of a large caryatid figure on the reverse of a medallion of the middle of the cinquecento can be linked with a reverse of Caria at the height of the Antonine baroque (fig. 33).⁴³ The frontality of the statuesque female, her hipshot pose, and her heavy drape are all to be found in the Cybele between her lions on the reverse of the sestertius-sized bronze from southwest Asia Minor. Cybele's large mural crown easily becomes the cushion with basketlike fountain above, from which the virtuous waters pour down on the figures gathered around with their jugs and urns (fig. 34). The medallion's design has been influenced by statuary, like the caryatids from the temple to Regilla along the Via Appia or the similar figures from the upper story of the Forum of Augustus in Rome, and by the subsidiary figures of Dionysiac or Meleager sarcophagi, but the position and medallic styling of the female in the center are taken from

the Antonine coin.⁴⁴ Like the Artemisia medallion of Cavino, the classicizing composition of Leoni and da Trezzo partakes of the new, cinquecento awareness of archaeological detail in a good imitation of Graeco-Roman sculptural and numismatic modeling and proportions.

Since the reverse of the medallion commemorated Gianello della Torre, engineer of the Emperor Charles V, who died in 1583 at Toledo, aquatic themes were personified in the design. The caryatid is the fountain of the sciences, pouring water from an urn on her head toward the bending and gesturing figures on either side. The inscription in Latin, "Virtue Has Never Failed," speaks as much about the quality of della Torre's engineering as it does about the flow of scientific knowledge. There is considerable distance between the allegories of this reverse and the design of Cybele in the center of her leonine attributes, but it was the powerful visual impact of the Pheidian goddess as a numismatic composition which caught the medalists' eyes and became a part of post-High Renaissance humanism.

Conclusions

The medal by Bertoldo di Giovanni for the conqueror of Constantinople begins the absolute evidence for the linkage between Greek imperial coins and the medallistic art of the quattrocento. The impetus for such creativity started chronologically with the big medallion by Pisanello at Ferrara between 29 February 1438 and 10 January 1439 for the eastern Roman Emperor John VIII Palaeologus with its obverse in Greek and its bilingual signature on the reverse. The relationships reach their latest developments with the Antico generation, contemporary with Michelangelo and increased understanding of the precise aspects of antiquity.

In general, the Greek imperial coins studied by Italian medalists came from the great cities of Mysia, Ionia, and Lydia, the provinces closest to the Aegean and the producers of the most complex numismatic iconography on the largest of medallistic flans. Italian medalists who journeyed to the Ottoman Empire could undoubtedly find such coins in the bazaars of Constantinople or Smyrna or Salonica. Such coins with their imperial portraits, their Greek inscriptions, and their rich repertory of reverses must have been brought westwards in the baggage of the Hellenic humanists and their Italian counterparts such as Cyriac of Ancona (fig. 35).⁴⁵

In the course of demonstrating connections between Greek imperial coins and Renaissance medals, certain Seleucid or Macedonian, Hellenistic, Greek coins have been cited as providing sources for the work of Pisanello, his pupils, and their successors. The empire of Alexander the Great's successors was almost precisely what Sultan Mehmet or Mohammad II and his descendants came to control, the Ottoman Empire which began to unravel in the nineteenth century and ended early in the 1920s. Coins of Seleucus I or Antiochus III of Syria, therefore, were available through the same channels which brought Greek imperial coins to the attention of Renaissance artists. In addition, through Sicily, Spain, and Tunisia or Algeria, the Italian medalists could draw on the reverses of the silver shekels of Carthage in the third century B.C. They may have even seen specimens of the great Greek tetradrachms and dekadrachms of Akragas or Syracuse and other Sicilian cities of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

The precisely archaeological medallions of Giovanni Cavino form a kind of postscript to the tale of Greek humanism, Greek coins, and Renaissance medallions. Cavino set out to create a coin or ancient medallion commemorating one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient

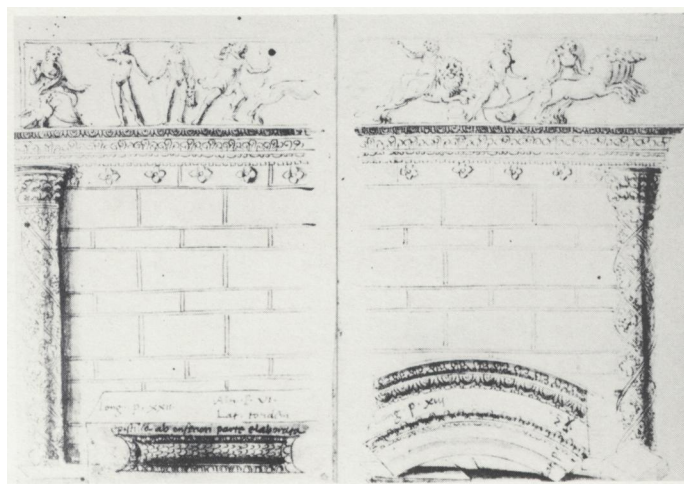


Fig. 35. Drawing after Cyriac of Ancona's *View of the Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus*, c. 1450, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Codex Ashmolensis

World and the queen who commissioned the tomb at Halicarnassus. Greek legends, a fourth century to Hellenistic Greek "portrait," and a Greek imperial building were all brought together to produce a numismatic image which was part of both the ancient and Italian Renaissance worlds. Thus, by the middle of the sixteenth century, the numismatic impact of the ancient Greek worlds had passed from the twilight of Byzantium to the classical *renovatio* of the traditional Latin West.⁴⁶

The examples discussed and illustrated here are a sampling of the relationships between Greek or Greek imperial coins and Renaissance medals. There are many other demonstrations of these humanistic connections.

NOTES

This paper is dedicated to the memories of Roberto Weiss and Vladimir Clain-Stefanelli.

1. Cornelius C. Vermeule, *European Art and the Classical Past* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 51–59.
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3. David R. Sear, *Greek Imperial Coins, The Local Coinages of the Roman Empire* (London, 1982), xxxii–xxxiii, "Books of Reference." The auction catalogue of the late Hans von Aulock's library contains every book and reprint ever published on Greek Imperial coins before David

Sear's book: *Literature*, Auction 31, 29, 30 April 1982, Bank Leu Ltd., Zürich, 1219 lots, and index.

4. "We have not touched so far on another of Cyriac's interests—coins and intaglios. In the Vatican a fragment of a letter from him describes a night he spent in a ship's cabin over a collection of small antiquities, and gives us the delightful picture of a hard-bitten sea captain, admiral of the Venetian fleet, finding time to discuss his coins and gems with a fellow enthusiast into the small hours. (November, 1445; off Crete)," Bernard Ashmole, "Cyriac of Ancona," in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 45 (London, 1957), 38. That one of these gems has survived, in the Berlin collection, acquired from Florence in the nineteenth century, suggests that specific Greek imperial coins could be traced to old collections and early publications.

5. George F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini* (London, 1930), 7, no. 19; Sir George Hill and Graham Pollard, *Renaissance Medals from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the National Gallery of Art*, revised and enlarged by Graham Pollard (New York and London, 1967), no. 1.

6. Hill 1930, 6; Hill and Pollard 1967, 2:7.

7. Hill 1930, 238–239, no. 911; Hill and Pollard 1967, 128, no. 248; Vermeule 1984, 57–59, fig. 44 (the National Gallery specimen).

8. Sear 1982, 242, no. 2569. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland, Sammlung v. Aulock, Lydien*, 8. Heft (Berlin, 1963), no. 3020, pl. 96. For the political purposes behind the medal see the article by Julian Raby, in this volume.

9. Cornelius C. Vermeule, *Greek Imperial Coins* (Boston, 1984), no. 244. *Fenway Court, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1982* (Boston, 1983), 10–11, fig. 5. The Phrygian moon-god Mên also stands above the reclining rivers, Hermos and Hyllos, on bronzes of Saitta under Caracalla and Gordianus III (238–244): Barclay V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia*, British Museum (London, 1901), 220, no. 46, 223, no. 58, pl. XXIII, figs. 9, 12.

10. Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Mysia*, The British Museum (London, 1892), 52, no. 247, pl. XIV, fig. 1 (Septimius Severus crowning a trophy above the river-god Aisepos on a bronze of Cyzicus). Ge and Thalassa with eagle between, below Commodus as Zeus with thunderbolt, busts of Selene and Helios to right, on a big bronze of Pergamon in Mysia: Sear 1982, 182, no. 1961 (The British Museum); Frank Sternberg, Zürich, Auktion XI, 20, 21 November 1981, 38, no. 268, pl. XIV (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Ge and Thalassa in Zodiacal Circle; Thrace, Perinthus, Severus Alexander, 222 to 235: Vermeule 1984, no. 194; Sandra K. Morgan, Mary B. Comstock, John J. Herrmann, Ariel Herrmann, Cornelius Vermeule, *Romans and Barbarians* [exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1976–1977] (Boston, 1976), no. C60; Sear 1982, 311, no. 3274 (313, no. 3293 is a similar reverse for Cyzicus, and here the geographical personifications even flop out on the ground or sea as they do on the reverse of Bertoldo's medal). Julian Raby reminded me that the Sultan Mohammad (Mehmet) II resided for some time at Manisa (Magnesia-on-the-Hermos) in Lydia, right in the midst of the area producing big Greek imperial coins.

11. Hill 1930, 80, no. 321. George F. Hill, *The Gustave Dreyfus Collection of Renaissance Medals* (Oxford, 1931), 56, no. 102. George F. Hill, *Medals of the Renaissance in the British Museum* (London, 1923), 15–16, fig. 12. On the relationships of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II with the Greek and Latin humanists, see Julian Raby, "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980), 242–246. Julian Raby, "A Sultan of Paradox: Mehmed the Conqueror as a patron of the arts," *The Oxford Art Journal*, "Patronage" 5, no. 1 (1982), 3–8. See article by Julian Raby, in this volume.

12. Byzantium: Vermeule 1984, no. 122. Sear 1976, 89, no. C 59. Mytilene: Vermeule 1984, 52, no. 92B.

13. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 59.557. Wendy S. Sheard, in *Antiquity in the Renaissance* [exh. cat., Smith College Museum of Art] (Northampton, Mass., 6 April–6 June 1978), no. 80, and bibliography.

Hill 1930, 112, no. 423. Hill and Pollard 1967, no. 143. *The Salton Collection, Renaissance and Baroque Medals and Plaquettes*, Bowdoin College Museum of Art (Brunswick, Maine, 1969), no. 18. (The Genius at the right on the reverse is said to copy a design by Pietro da Fano.)

14. Aureus of 199: Bank Leu A. G., Zürich, Auktion 25, 23 April 1980, 59, no. 355. Harold Mattingly, *Pertinax to Elagabalus* (London, 1950), vol. 5 of *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, pls. 29, nos. 10, 13–16; 30, nos. 15, 19, 20; and so forth. Cyzicus, among others, struck Greek imperial coins with very Roman busts of the young Caracalla and Geta, like the obverse of the Boldù medal, as if aureus, denarius or aes hubs had been used: W. Wroth 1982, 53–54, pl. XIV.

15. Vermeule 1984, 54, no. 205A. Compare *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung von Aulock, Ionien*, 6. Heft (Berlin, 1960), nos. 1913, 1914, pl. 59 (Gordianus III and Philippus II Caesar, 238–244 and 244–247). Pisanello used the same Greek imperial coin reverse for his medal of Leonello d'Este of Ferrara about 1445, where an old and a young man are seated on either side of the Este mast and sail: *The Salton Collection*, no. 3. Hill 1930, 9, no. 25.

16. Hill 1930, 111, no. 421. Hill and Pollard 1967, no. 142. Cornelius von Fabriczy, *Italian Medals* (London, 1904), 76–77, pl. XV, 2.

17. Sear 1982, 148, no. 1594.

18. Hill 1930, 8, no. 22. Hill and Pollard 1967, no. 4.

19. Vermeule 1984, no. 235. Compare also B. V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia*, The British Museum (London, 1892), 223, no. 143, pl. XXIII, fig. 14 (Commodus).

20. Hill 1930, p. 11, no. 37. Hill and Pollard 1967, no. 17.

21. Vermeule 1984, no. 154. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung von Aulock, Nachträge III*, 17. Heft (Berlin, 1968), no. 8278, pl. 285. See also, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung von Aulock, Lydien*, 8. Heft (Berlin, 1963), no. 3235, pl. 104 (Severus Alexander).

22. Crescent and stars, Cilicia, Anazarbus, Paulina, wife of Maximinus, 235 to 236: Vermeule 1984, no. 217. Another specimen: Antike Münzen, Auktion XI, 20, 21 November 1981, Frank Sternberg, Zürich, 49, no. 350, pl. XX. The medal's composition, that of the coin of Thyateira, may be seen also in illustrations of the Bestiary of Manuel Phile, associated with Angelos Vergecios, the former born at Ephesus in 1275 and living in Constantinople until 1340 or later, the latter a Cretan scribe of the sixteenth century who worked mostly in France until his death in 1569: Philip Hofer and G. W. Cottrell, Jr., "Angelos Vergecios and the Bestiary of Manuel Phile," in *Harvard Library Bulletin* 8, no. 3 (Autumn 1954), 323–339, pl. V, b and c.

23. Hill 1930, 8, no. 23. Hill and Pollard 1967, no. 5.

24. G. Kenneth Jenkins, ed., *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, The British Museum (London, 1959), pl. 27, no. 12. *The Search for Alexander, Supplement to the Catalogue* [exh. cat., The Royal Ontario Museum] (Toronto, 5 March–10 July 1983), 32, no. S-46 (Seleucus I, late in 281 B.C.: bust of his horse on the obverse, elephant on the reverse, as below); this coin also, Arthur Houghton, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton* (New York, 1983), 57, no. 633.

25. Jenkins 1959, pl. 31, nos. 19, 21. B. Degenhart, "Pisanello in Mantua," *Pantheon* 31 (1973), 411, n. 99.

26. Hill 1930, 12, no. 41; Hill and Pollard 1967, no. 19.

27. Hill 1930, 41, no. 178; Hill and Pollard 1967, no. 61.

28. Vermeule 1984, no. 252. Cornelius C. Vermeule, *Numismatic Studies: Divinities and Mythological Scenes in Greek Imperial Art*, *Art of Antiquity* 5, part 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), no. 33.

29. Vermeule 1984, no. 209. Vermeule 1983, no. 14.

30. Hill 1930, 40, no. 167. Hill and Pollard 1967, no. 59.

31. Jenkins 1959, pl. 33, no. 13 (Antiochus III, 223 to 187 B.C.); pl. 46, no. 15 (Juba II of Mauretania, 25 B.C. to A.D. 23). Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London, 1973), 32–33, 35–38, figs. 4, 5. Howard H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974), 64, pls. XIII, XV, and 176, pls. XXI, XXII.

32. Hill 1930, 52, no. 212; Hill and Pollard 1967, no. 72.
33. Vermeule 1984, no. 240. Superb specimen: Numismatic Fine Arts, Inc., Auction X, 17, 18 September 1981, Beverly Hills, Calif., no. 387.
34. Jenkins 1959, pl. 48, no. 23 (Temenothyrae, Philip the First, 244 to 249). *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung von Aulock, Lydien*, 8. Heft, nos. 2883, 2884 (Akraos, Septimius Severus); another specimen, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Edward J. Waddell, Auction 1, 9 December 1982, New York City, 24, no. 257, pl. 16; E. J. Waddell, List No. 7 (Bethesda, Maryland, December 1983), 10, 15, no. 63.
35. Hill 1930, 48, no. 194; Hill and Pollard 1967, no. 68.
36. Phyllis W. Lehmann and Karl Lehmann, *Samothracian Reflections: Aspects of the Revival of the Antique* (Bollingen Series 92) (Princeton, 1973), chap. II, "The Sources and Meaning of Mantegna's *Parnassus*," 57-178. Wendy Stedman Sheard, *Antiquity in the Renaissance* [exh. cat., Smith College Museum of Art] (Northampton, Mass., 1979), under no. 14 (engraving by Zoan Andrea, c. 1475 to 1519, School of Mantegna).
37. Vermeule 1984, no. 152. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung v. Aulock, Phrygien*, 9. Heft (Berlin, 1964), no. 3856, pl. 126.
38. Hill 1930, 67, no. 265; Hill and Pollard 1967, no. 89. Compare the medal of Helen of Troy in the style of Domenico Poggini (1520 to 1590), a truly mannerist interpretation of this scene, with inscriptions in Greek. Sheard 1979, no. 71; Andrea S. Norris and Ingrid Weber, *Medals and Plaquettes from the Molinari Collection at Bowdoin College* (Brunswick, Maine, 1976), no. 29.
39. Vermeule 1984, no. 212; George F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of . . . Cilicia*, The British Museum (London, 1900), 205, no. 223, pl. XXXVI, fig. 6.
40. Vermeule 1984, no. 213; Hill 1900, 207, nos. 233, 234, pl. XXXVI, fig. 10. The "Graces," of course, have a long history in post-classical art: Heinz Ladendorf, *Antikenstudium und Antikenskopie* (Berlin, 1958), 50, figs. 47-59; and in antiquity: Walter Trillmich, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 98 (1983), 311-349. For an antique terra-cotta lamp as source for a medal design of the Three Graces, see the article by Spencer in this volume.
41. Vermeule 1964, 82-83. Richard H. Lawrence, *Medals by Giovanni Cavino, The 'Paduan'* (New York, 1883, reissued, Chicago, 1967), 21, no. 75 (with a note that the types were invented by Cavino). The dies are preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Zander H. Klawans, *Imitations and Inventions of Roman Coins* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1977), 124, no. 53. Charles Davis, "Aspects of Imitation in Cavino's Medals," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978), 331-334. Michael Greenhalgh, "A Paduan Medal of Queen Artemisia of Caria," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Series 7, 12 (1972), 295-303. Andrea S. Norris, 'Giovanni da Cavino,' in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 23 (1979), 109-112. See also Gorini's article in this volume.
42. Messalina at Nicaea: Sear 1982, 48, no. 510, illus. Vermeule 1984, no. 16. Martin J. Price, Bluma L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities, Architecture on the Ancient Coins of Greece, Rome and Palestine* (Detroit, 1977), 99, 100, figs. 180-183, color pl., 14; see also 43, fig. 69 (the decorated facade of the Nymphaeum at Hadrianopolis in Thrace on a local coin of Septimius Severus). The latter is drawn in detail, mistakenly as a theater facade or *skene*, in Thomas L. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica, or Architectural Medals of Classic Antiquity* (London, 1859), 288-290, no. 77.
43. Vermeule 1964, 83-85, fig. 68.
44. Vermeule 1984, no. 58. Münzen und Medaillen, Auction 41, Basel, 18, 19 June 1970, no. 400. Compare *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung v. Aulock, Karien*, 7. Heft (Berlin, 1962), no. 2500, pl. 79.
45. It has been amply demonstrated by Karl and Phyllis Lehmann that Cyriac of Ancona saw and drew the Cyzicene stelai of Samothrace, as well as the colossal temple built by Hadrian at Cyzicus. The rich, ever-

increasing numismatic evidence from Cyzicus suggests Cyriac embellished the architecture and sculpture in his drawings with parts of buildings, scenes and figures taken from the reverses of Greek imperial coins, particularly from Cyzicus and other cities in Mysia or the Troad. See Lehmann 1973, 26-47. Of course, the friezes of the Hadrianeum at Cyzicus must have influenced Antonine coin designs from the city. See Lehmann 1973, fig. 29. Many parallels from Asia Minor, especially the new finds of sculpture in the Sebasteion at Carian Aphrodisias, show how monumental municipal sculptures found their way, in excerpted form, onto the reverses of local coins. The consensus might be that, at Cyzicus, which he visited twice, in 1431 and 1444, Cyriac used the evidence of coins collected by himself and his friends to restore or interpret the friezes which he drew. See Bernard Ashmole, "Cyriac of Ancona and the Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19, nos. 3-4 (1956), 188-190, pl. 38, with the suggestion that coins perhaps aided the figural designs in the drawings; on the coins: Vermeule 1983, 12. Professor Giovanni Gorini of the University of Padua has told me that the Venetian ship captains' big bronze coins are still preserved in Venice, and an early inventory exists, grouping the sestertii, contorniates and Greek imperial "medallions" together.

46. Thanks are due to the following persons for their assistance: Ellenor Alcorn, Eva Antoniou, Herbert Cahn, Mary Comstock, Ramona Gonski, John Herrmann, Douglas Lewis, Michele Marincola, Henry Millon, Charles Mitchell, Graham Pollard, Julian Raby, Martin Robertson, Marianna Simpson, Jill Steinberg, and Florence Wolsky.





Athena of the Parthenon by Pheidias: A Graeco-Roman Replica of the Roman Imperial Period

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Athena of the Parthenon by Pheidias: A Graeco-Roman Replica of the Roman Imperial Period

Prologue

IN the winter of 1881, the archaeological world was startled by a telegram sent from the Mayor of Athens to the Lord Mayor of London stating that the Victory-bearing Athena of Pheidias had been discovered. This find turned out to be the little marble statue known as the Varvakeion Athena [1]* (figs. 1 and 2) (from the modern educational institution near which it was dug up) and for the past century one of the chief treasures of the National Museum in Athens. The Varvakeion Athena and a crude, unfinished statuette, discovered earlier in the same century in Athens and long known as the Athena Lenormant (after the French archaeologist who recognized its historical value), have been the principal, the basic, three-dimensional evidence by which the modern world has visualized the lost gold and ivory masterpiece Athena Parthenos, created no later than 438 B.C. for the cella of the Parthenon, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.¹

Plato, Pliny the Elder, and the historical tourist Pausanias, the latter not long after the middle of the second century of the Christian era, are among the ancient writers who spoke of or described the Athena Parthenos. Pausanias chronicled what he could see towering to a height of about 37 feet in the rear center of the main chamber of the Parthenon's colonnaded cella. His description omitted much, but, earlier, the naturalist Pliny supplied evidence for interpreting the scenes on the sandals (Centaurs and Lapiths) and on the inside (battle of the gods and giants) and the outside (Greeks and Amazons) of the shield. Pausanias wrote: "The statue itself is made of ivory and gold. On the middle of her helmet is placed a likeness of the Sphinx . . . and on either side of the helmet are a griffin in relief. . . . The statue of Athena is upright, with a tunic reaching to the feet, and on her breast the head of Medusa is worked in ivory. She holds a statue of Victory about four cubits high, and in the other hand a spear; at her feet lies a shield and near the spear is a serpent. The serpent would be Erichthonius. On the pedestal is the birth of Pandora in relief."² Plato had already spoken of Athena's skin of ivory and her pupils of precious stones. Erichthonius, who may have appeared as a snake during babyhood, was the son of the metalworking god Hephaestus and grew up to be a legendary king of Athens, where he encouraged the cult of Athena. The "birth" of the first woman, Pandora, was depicted in the center of the statue's base, flanked by twenty gods and goddesses; Helios (the sun), driving his chariot up on



Fig. 1. Varvakeion Athena, National Museum, Athens [1].

Fig. 2. Detail of Varvakeion Athena. Head.



* A selective list of marble copies of the Athena Parthenos appears at the end of this article. Numbers in brackets—in figure captions as well as in the text—correspond to this selective list.

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the left; and Selene (the moon) on the right, in her vehicle, plunging below the horizon.

Pheidias created two great images of divinities for the Greek world, the Athena Parthenos and the chryselephantine (gold and ivory) Zeus for the temple of the chief Olympian at Olympia in Elis. Both the two cult images and the sculptor-impresario responsible for them captivated the imaginations of many ancients. The Zeus, or at least its head, was imitated in marble for the Boston head of Zeus from Mylasa in Caria.³ There are also miniature versions of the god seated on his throne in bronze and silver,⁴ and the image forms the subject of a famous series of bronze coins of Elis,⁵ struck during the reign (117 to 138) of the Emperor Hadrian, who we also suspect was instrumental in commissioning copies of the Athena Parthenos. Then, as now, Athens was a cultural center of the world, whereas Olympia was off in a rustic setting of small rivers winding through lowlands toward the sea. In ancient times Olympia was visited for its cult centers of Zeus and of his consort, Hera, and for the Olympic games. Athens had workshops staffed with sculptors and painters, artists ever ready to supply local and foreign markets with copies, replicas, or relatively freehand versions of the masterpieces of bygone days. Since the Athena Parthenos was there on the Acropolis for those allowed into the Parthenon to see, like the Eiffel Tower or the Statue of Liberty, copies were fashioned in all sizes out of the excellent marble of Attica (see, for one example, fig. 3). Another of these copies, the Athena Parthenos in the Museum



Fig. 3. Athena Parthenos, National Museum, Belgrade [3]. Frontal, right and left profile.



Fig. 4. Athena Parthenos, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [3 bis].

of Fine Arts, Boston, gives ample reason for a fresh look at the goddess who symbolized the wisdom, force, and beauty of Greek civilization (figs. 4 through 13).

The Athena Parthenos in Boston

THE HEAD and neck of the Boston Athena Parthenos [3 bis] seem to have been carved of a block of marble, different, lighter, softer than the marble in the rest of the figure. Although worked separately for insertion, the head and neck belong to this body beyond a shadow of a doubt. Confirmation comes in the joins of the curl above the left shoulder and of the hair, below the helmet, on the back of the aegis. The marble of both head and body is, broadly speaking, Attic mainland in classification. Normally, the term Pentelic marble would be used, but the grayish cast to both blocks, especially the body's, evokes the name Hymettan marble, which is really only a conventional term for a lower grade of stone from the strata out of which the two great Attic ridges rise.

On the helmet the two outside creatures at the visor are winged horses or representations of Pegasos, such as also flank the sphinx as supports for the triple crest on top. The small quadrupeds next to these winged horses seem to be deer, but the little "animal" in the front center is damaged beyond recognition. The griffins on the upturned insides of the cheekpieces are clearly delineated in relief.

Restorations to head and helmet comprise a small part of the left eyelid, the tip of the nose with left nostril, much of the lower lip with the end of the chin, and the curl of hair on the right side of the neck, with a small portion of the curved lower end of the helmet. There are no restorations on the body. Faint traces of red paint remain in the lower part of the curls on Athena's left shoulder. Within the cutout, roughened areas prepared for the join of the arms, ancient iron pegs have been preserved at the lower curves of these prepared troughs. These pegs or rectangular pins are distinct from the larger dowel holes in the centers.

The small part of the left shoulder that is missing at the upper rear curve of the trough was evidently broken and repaired in antiquity, for there is a bronze dowel remaining in the middle of the upper part of the damaged area, from the ancient repair to this break. Perhaps the statue fell over during an earthquake or a man-made calamity, and perhaps it was during the course of repairs that the iron pins were introduced for extra strength. The face may have first suffered damage at this time.

On the aegis-bearing, peplos-clad body, the loop of the belt at the front comprises a slipknot with the two ends brought around together to form the heads of snakes, who are kissing. Their tails are tied into a slipknot on the reverse. The two central snakes at the back edge of the aegis are also kissing. There are ten snakes on the front of the aegis, two writhing up from the bottom edge to emerge behind the head of the

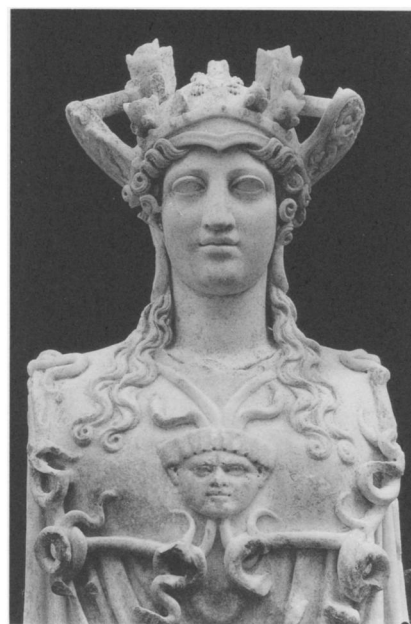


Fig. 6. Detail of Athena Parthenos. Head and aegis.

Fig. 5. Athena Parthenos. Three-quarter view.



Fig. 8. Detail of Athena Parthenos. Head and aegis, right profile.

Fig. 9. Detail of Athena Parthenos. Head and aegis, left profile.



Fig. 7. Detail of Athena Parthenos. Head and aegis, three-quarter view.



Fig. 10. Athena Parthenos. Three-quarter view.



Fig. 11. Athena Parthenos. Back view.

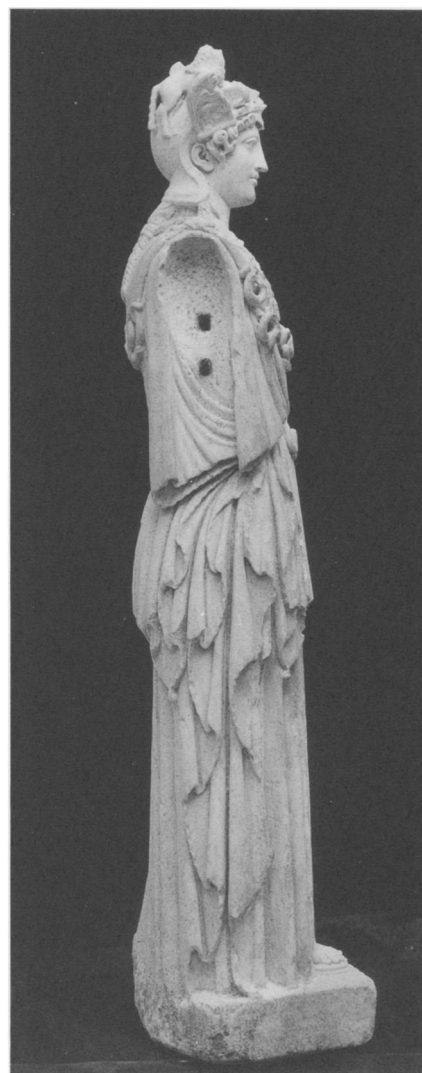


Fig. 12. Athena Parthenos. Right profile.

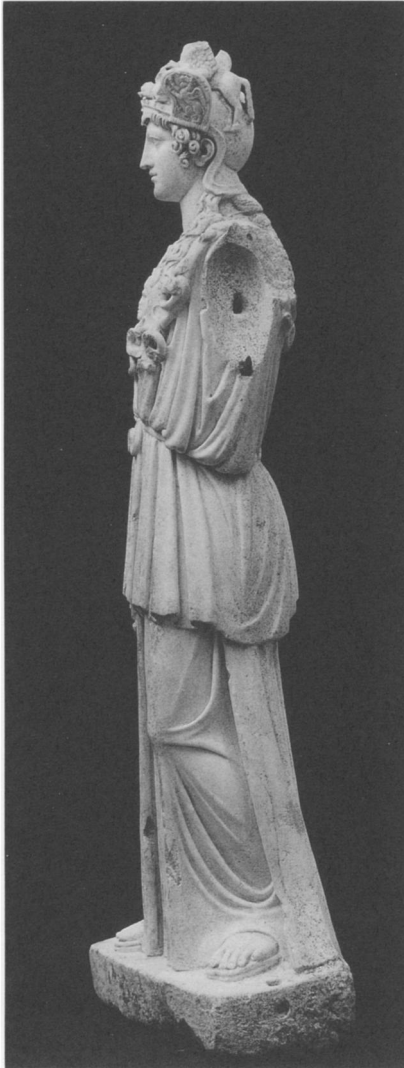


Fig. 13. Athena Parthenos. Left profile.

Gorgoneion, and eight doing gymnastics along the edges of the sacred skin or garment. The sandals are grooved into two parts and, like the feet and the weight at the bottom of the drapery at Athena's right, have been carved from the same block as the whole body.

Finally, there are two holes in the plinth: one at the left side of this irregularly shaped slab, probably for attachment of the block which supported the large snake and the shield in front of it (facing from Athena's left side), the other hole on the left top, in all likelihood, for inserting the bottom end of the spear that leaned against the front of Athena's left shoulder. The patination on the front of the figure consists mostly of calcareous deposits, and that on the back is composed of root marks.

The Athena Parthenos in Boston and the Other Replicas

IN ADDITION TO the two little curiosities [1, 2] found in the heart of Athens, there survive six or possibly seven other statues or statuettes (bodies with heads), at least ten draped bodies (usually including feet and plinth, but some in very battered condition), and up to ten heads (of which several are also poor fragments).⁶ There are also various pieces of the figured shield (including one in Boston since the 1840s),⁷ marbles which, all taken together, help us to re-create the symbol par excellence of the center of ancient civilization in its broadest sense. The Varvakeion Athena [1] (figs. 1 and 2) is the only marble preserving the Nike on the right hand of the goddess. Both the Varvakeion and Lenormant [2] figures include the sacred snake between left leg and shield, and the latter statuette is one of two such marbles (the other being the Hellenistic statue, full figure, the image from Pergamon, now in Berlin)⁸ showing the creation of the first woman, Pandora, on the front of the base.

The Athena Parthenos introduced here stands forth from the entire group, including all the copies found in, or patently exported from, Athens, as the most faithful and, therefore, perhaps the most impressive replica of the wondrous work of Pheidias that has come down to us from antiquity. The impressions of Pheidian grandeur lie in the details of the helmet, the surfaces of the head, the aegis with its Gorgoneion and snakes, and the carving of the folds of the peplos, both down the front and at the sides. But if the contributions of the Boston Athena Parthenos can be summed up in several words, they center around the message of majesty conveyed in the face, especially the eyes, and in the overall proportions of this statue. The feeling of the great gold and ivory original has been captured in marble nearly 650 years after Pheidias set up his workshop on the Athenian Acropolis.

Vicissitudes of the Athena Parthenos and the Provenances of the Copies

WE HAVE only hints of the immediate fortune of the Athena Parthenos after the statue was dedicated, and we do not know for certain the ultimate fate of Pheidias's creation. There was talk of alterations to the statue in the sculptor's own lifetime, and archaeological evidence suggests the base and therefore the supports for the image were reset in Hellenistic or early Roman imperial times. In 296 B.C., long before the era of faithful copies, the Athenian tyrant Lachares melted down the golden plates (the draperies?) of the Parthenos, realizing up to 132,000 gold staters (about \$33 million at current valuations) to pay his hired troops. Presumably these parts of the statue were replaced, if not in gold again probably in gold leaf on wood (?) or in gilded bronze. The image still stood inside the cella in 375 of the Christian era, but the Athena Parthenos was gone from the Acropolis by about 450, possibly either destroyed by fire or moved to Constantinople, still to be seen in the tenth century.⁹

Copies of the Athena Parthenos made in Hellenistic and Roman imperial times vary greatly, in accuracy as well as quality, because the colossal chryselephantine statue was set in the center rear of a dimly lit interior and could not be cast or reproduced by mechanical processes, such as a pointing machine. Most miniature copies were made in Athens to be sold locally or in the export market. Such was also the case with the larger statues, although some seem to be of Luna marble and therefore fabricated in Italy or the Latin West. One of my purposes is to suggest that new versions of the Athena Parthenos were carved under the Emperor Hadrian for temples or libraries in Athens and Rome. Most of the statues, headless bodies, and separate heads have been found in Italy, from Tuscany to Tarentum, but one statuette (Herakleia Lynkestis [3] [fig. 3]) was unearthed at Monastir in Yugoslavia, and a tiny figure without head, fairly far removed from the pure Parthenos, was found on Chios, now in Budapest. A larger example from Gortyn on Crete is in the Herakleion Museum [9], an academic head of late Hadrianic type has been reported from the Olympeion at Cyrene [15], and a battered head with Roman scrollwork enriching the back of the helmet was excavated at Cologne [20].

From Boston to Santa Marinella: A Regrouping of the Replicas

MOST NEW studies of the Athena Parthenos provide new or revised lists of replicas and variants. This one is no exception. Several contributions to the sum of knowledge can be made. Most obvious and important is the addition of the Parthenos in Boston to the lists, but there is

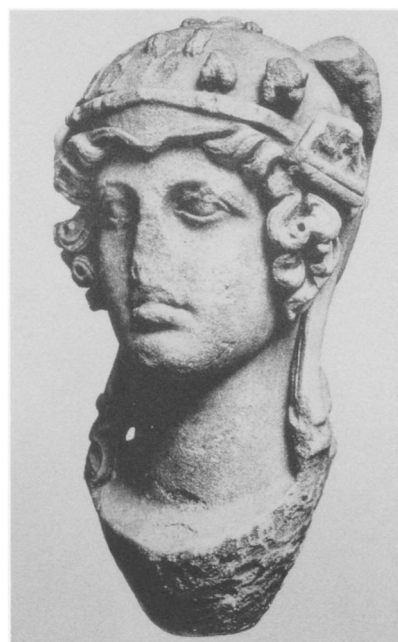


Fig. 14. "Athena Parthenos," Louvre [16A].

Fig. 15. Plaster cast of Musée du Louvre, Paris, head [16A] reunited with Museo Nazionale, Civitavecchia, Santa Marinella, body [16B].





Fig. 16. Athena Parthenos, Museo Nazionale, Rome [11].

also the discovery or rediscovery in 1965 of the headless statue (at that time in the castello Odescalchi) amid the ruins of a large Roman imperial villa at Santa Marinella (Roman *Castrum Novum*) near Civitavecchia [16A], which has been united with the head and neck in the Musée du Louvre, Paris [16B], there since 1898. (See figures 14 and 15 for head and plaster cast of reunited statue, respectively.) Now, apparently, the Santa Marinella statue in its headless state has been identified with the statue drawn in the Codex Pighius and therefore known in the Rome area since the sixteenth century.

All lists begin with the so-called Varvakeion statue and usually go on, fairly quickly, to the Athena Lenormant. This study is no different, treating these two small marbles as general frames of reference when totaling up the known parts of the Parthenos. Next come the group of small statues and statuettes [2A–10] that are mostly of Athenian origin and of Pentelic or island marble; the larger statue in Rome [11] (fig. 16), signed by Antiochos of Athens; and the torso with bit of shield in the Museo Nuovo Capitolino in Rome [12] said to be of Luna marble, all of which reproduce the colossal Pheidias masterpiece with the varying degrees of accuracy natural in small versions made of materials that cannot be used in mechanical reproduction. The small statue in Boston belongs in this group and, as stated, contributes a new degree of accuracy to many details of the original. The largish statue in the Louvre from the Villa Borghese [5] (fig. 17), a work said to be of Parian marble, also falls in this general group.

A distinct group of bodies and heads is now led by the reunited Santa Marinella statue – Civitavecchia [16B] and Louvre [16A] (fig. 14) – and offers a rather baroque concept of the Parthenos; more elaborate curls in the sidelocks of hair, rich and fussy snakes on the aegis, and a large snake-knot akin to a Geometric fibula where the belt is tied at the front. These statues seem to have been produced in or for export to the Rome area in the late Hadrianic to early Antonine periods, and they may have been copies of a new Parthenos, one made for Hadrian's huge rectangular Pantheon near modern Hadrian Street in Athens or for his round building of similar name in the Campus Martius in Rome.

The statues in the first group were found wherever Athenian commerce dispatched certain other classes of reliefs, sarcophagi, and statuary, such as Julio-Claudian cuirassed statues. Patras [7], on the northern coast of the Peloponnese, and Herakleia Lynkestis [3] (fig. 3), beyond the Gulf of Corinth and reached by way of the coast of Epirus, have produced important versions of the Parthenos just as these areas have provided provenances for other standard Greek imperial commercial statues, cuirassed emperors or draped magistrates. At first glance statues of the Santa Marinella type might seem too baroque to be associated with the so-called classicism of Hadrian. Elaboration of details may reflect the glitter of a large image in precious materials or

at least in gilded bronze, and many marbles from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, from the Canopus area and elsewhere, were carved with the same curls and mannerisms found in the statues of the second group considered here.

The third "group," if such be the term, comprises the variations on the Parthenos that document the freedom, simplification, and, often, the datable grandeur of Hellenistic sculpture. Foremost here stands the very large statue found in the main library at Pergamon, the fragments of a colossal statue excavated in the temple of Athena at Notion, and the similar pieces of "Athena Polias" brought to the British Museum from the temple of Athena at Priene. Coins suggest that other cities along the coasts of Asia Minor and beyond commissioned cult images designed to emphasize cultural links with the most famous Athena in Athens, but these statues were made in island or other available marbles and therefore not totally wasted in the catastrophes that eventually overwhelmed such cities. Small statues of Hellenistic or Roman imperial date, like those from Chios (now Budapest) and Argos, also strayed far enough from the criteria for a true Parthenos to be outside the figures in the group arranged closest to the Varvakeion and Lenormant statues.¹⁰

Classification of the Separate Heads

SEPARATE heads are difficult to classify because copyists in Roman imperial times could insert them into varying versions of a statue like the Parthenos. The face of the statue in Boston is important because it preserves the Pheidian dignity without the happy plumpness of the Varvakeion statue. Recomposition of the Santa Marinella head and neck with the body now gives us a type which includes the head in the Palazzo Riccardi, Florence [17] (figs. 18 and 19). Leaving aside the head of the Athena Lenormant, which is too simplified, or the head of the Ludovisi Athena [11] (fig. 16), which is contaminated with influences of an image of the goddess Roma, there are the heads in Copenhagen [13B] (fig. 20) and Berlin [14] (figs. 21 and 22) that are both strongly "classical," Hadrianic interpretations of the Parthenos. Fidelity to detail is present in the enrichment of the helmet, but in each case the face (particularly the eyes) has the cold, machine-copied look of a young Greek girl seen through Roman imperial, academic concepts rather than the large, heavy-lidded eyes and fuller face of the Pheidian statue. The head in Copenhagen has been associated with the damaged torso in Baltimore [13A] (fig. 23), which is an excellent Greek version from the first places where Attic sculptors worked for export in Hadrianic times.

Speculation, nothing more, leads to the suggestion that the statues with almost Neo-Classical young girl faces, the conceptions that copy originals in bronze bereft of Pheidian magnitude and heaviness in ivory



Fig. 17. "Minerve au Collier," Musée du Louvre, Paris [5].



Fig. 18. "Athena Parthenos," Palazzo Riccardi, Florence [17].

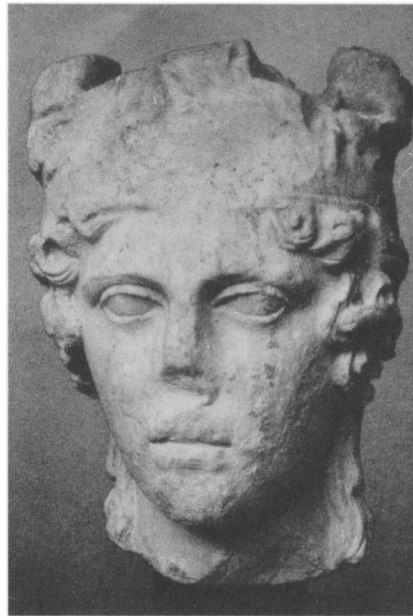


Fig. 20. Athena Parthenos, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen [13B].

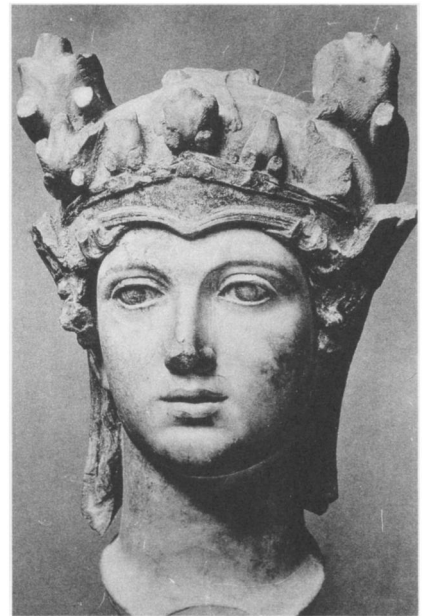


Fig. 21. Athena Parthenos. Pergamon Museum, Berlin [14].

Fig. 19. "Athena Parthenos." Three-quarter view.



Fig. 22. Athena Parthenos. Right profile.



and gold, may reproduce a Hadrianic Athena set up in Athens. This statue would have been an academic complement to all the building activity roughly north and east of the Acropolis. Such a statue (or statues) would have stood in the Athenian Pantheon, in the library of Hadrian (on the analogy of Pergamon, Ephesos, and elsewhere), or near the statue of Zeus and the many Hadrians in and around the Olympion. The type of the Santa Marinella Parthenos could have been a late Hadrianic addition to one of these buildings, but the popularity of the replicas in the Rome area alone and the stylistic similarity to creations after classical and Hellenistic originals found at Villa Adriana favor identification with a Hadrianic or early Antonine Athena Parthenos in Rome. The inside of the Pantheon in Rome was not finished until the 140s, and Antoninus Pius built or completed other great structures, like the Hadrianeum, identified with the great lover of Athenian civilization.

Helmets on heads discovered in Cologne [20] and on the acropolis of Larissa in Thessaly [21] have the types of acanthus scrolls on the sides and backs that were reserved for Roman statues of Mars or for cuirassed generals as parts of the supports beside their statues. Since the Cologne Athena is of Pentelic marble, these scrolls were probably decorative additions of an Athenian workshop in the post-Hadrianic period, added to suit imperial taste. Perhaps only time will tell what type of body goes with these scrollwork-decorated heads. The example in Cologne had the complement of animals carved on top of the helmet and along the visor. The head from beneath Hagios Achillios at Larissa had the fixtures attached separately. Any Athena wearing her aegis like a baby's bib or a flight attendant's life jacket could be given a head with the bestiary richness of the Pheidias image.

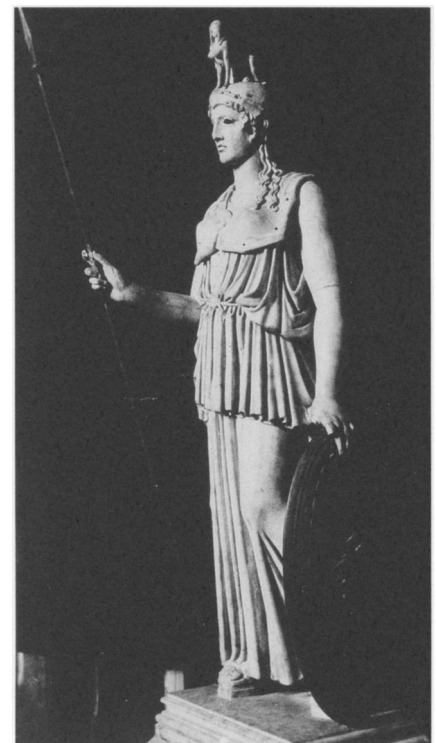
The Value of Various Copies

THERE SEEM to be as great a variety among some of the smaller statues in the traditions of the Parthenos as among the "purest" copies and the statues that seem to go back to other, post-Pheidias originals, as with the Farnese Athena in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, or the Hope Athena in the Los Angeles County Museum and the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu. In details often not so frequently compared, such as the hair falling from under the helmet into a clasp leading to five strands or braids down the back of the aegis, or the snakes farther down the back of the aegis, the statue in Boston can now be placed alongside the Varvakeion Athena. From such observations more refinements can be confirmed in graphic or plastic reconstructions of the Pheidias image. Other statues have been informative both for this study and in recent literature, like the figure in Belgrade from Herakleia Lynkestis [3] (fig. 3), the once-restored statue in the Museo del Prado,



Fig. 23. Athena Parthenos, The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore [13A].

Fig. 24. Athena Parthenos, Museo del Prado, Madrid [4].



Madrid [4] (fig. 24), or the large statue of Parian marble in the Louvre, from the Villa Borghese in Rome [5] (fig. 17). The Athena Parthenos in the Ludovisi collection [11] is over 6 feet tall, relatively complete (head and body), and ought to give information, but restorations and recutting mar crucial details, and the aegis has been simplified to look almost like a down vest (fig. 16).

The Statue in Boston: Conclusions

CLEARLY, paint once gave details which are now no longer present on the otherwise precise Boston statue: that is, the necklace, the scales on the aegis, and some sort of enrichment (not the Roman acanthus scrolls of the Cologne [20] and Larissa [21] heads) on the lower back of the helmet. Certain elements emerge magnificently on the figure in Boston, such as the griffins on the insides of the upturned cheekpieces, these creatures being known otherwise on a comparable scale only from the head in Berlin [14] (figs. 21 and 22). Griffins have been seen heretofore in the minor arts: the gold medallion from southern Russia in the Hermitage, Leningrad,¹¹ and various terracotta plaques or medallions.¹²

Not in the line-for-line study but in overall effect, from front, sides, and slightly below (as a cult image should be viewed), the Athena in the "Athens of America" presents a new vision of what the ancients admired in the wondrous works of Pheidias.

Selective List of Marble Copies of the Athena Parthenos

A NUMBER of authorities have made lists of copies after the statue.¹³ Most such compilations begin with the complete statues (heads on bodies) and move to the headless statues or torsi, the heads alone, and finally the various versions or fragments of copies of the shield which have survived. Since the numbers and arrangement of the Greeks and Amazons in relief on copies of the outside of the shield have constituted a separate study (including the shields still forming parts of statues, the separate fragments, and the derivative reliefs), lists of shields and their interpretations are omitted here. Such investigations are naturally of less concern in this study because the shield of the Athena Parthenos in Boston is no longer part of the statue.

This list of statues, bodies, and heads is not an exhaustive compilation of every surviving version of the original statue. Only the marbles fairly close to the concepts of Pheidias are included. The several groups already set forth form the basis for divisions: the close general copies of the Parthenos, the academic replicas made in the reign of Hadrian, and the embellished statues of the late Hadrianic to early Antonine periods which seem to copy a new cult image in Athens or Rome, and, finally, versions which stray from the original but still give information. These vary from the heads with Roman scrollwork on the helmets

to the colossal statues made in Hellenistic times for temples and libraries in urban centers along the western coast of Asia Minor. The large statue in Berlin from Pergamon [14] is the most famous marble in the last category.

This list is the first known to me to include the classicistic head of Hadrian's time from the Temple of Zeus Olympios at Cyrene [15] and the Louvre/Civitavecchia head and body from Santa Marinella [16A and 16B], of the type identified as perhaps coming from a late Hadrianic to early Antonine cult image. The statue in Boston should be placed close to the beginning of the first group.

GROUP IA

1.

Varvakeion Athena. Marble, H. 0.94 m. (37 in.), with the base 1.105 m. (43 1/2 in.), National Museum, Athens. Found in the winter of 1880/81 near and north of the old building of that name, in the heart of nineteenth-century commercial Athens and on the site of Roman houses. The statue is about one-twelfth original size.¹⁴

2.

Lenormant Athena. Marble, total H. 0.42 m. (16 1/2 in.), National Museum, Athens. Found in 1859 near the Pnyx. Although unfinished, the little statue gives sketches of the Amazonomachy on the outside of the shield and the birth of Pandora on the base.¹⁵

2A.

Head from a very small statue. Pentelic marble, H. 0.06 m. (2 3/8 in.), Acropolis Museum, Athens, no. 18. (Neda Leipen has noted that the size is about the same as that of the Athena Lenormant.) There are traces of color. All elements, the five protomai, the animals supporting the crests, and the cheekpieces, seem to have been present on this near-miniature scale. As Maria S. Brouskari has observed, the surfaces of the face have the high polish associated with Roman work, probably of the Antonine or Severan periods. In its detached condition, this head shows considerable animation, which might have been present in the Athena Lenormant had that figure been finished.¹⁶

3.

Statuette with shield and supporting snake preserved. Marble, total H. 0.57 m. (22 7/16 in.), National Museum, Belgrade. Found in 1931 near ancient Herakleia Lynkestis, near Bitolj in Macedonia.¹⁷

3 bis.

Small statue. Pentelic marble, total H. 1.54 m. (60 5/8 in.), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Classical Department Exchange Fund, 1980-196. If the column supporting the Nike on the extended right hand were present, its own base would fit onto a separate, outside base, for there is no room for the column as the plinth is presently constituted, and the plinth as visible has finished surfaces on all four of its trapezoidal sides. There is no evidence of a rock as support for the shield.¹⁸

4.

Small statue. The marble is termed Italic, H. 0.98 m. (38 9/16 in.), Museo del Prado, Madrid. The helmet, once partly restored, is very damaged. The small protomai on the front of the helmet and the snakes on the aegis were fashioned in metal and attached. The proportions are good, although drapery and body are slightly exaggerated.¹⁹

5.

"Minerve au Collier." Body, Parian (?) marble; head and neck, Pentelic (?) marble; H. 2.10 m. (6 ft. 10 3/4 in.); Musée du Louvre, Paris, from the Villa Borghese in Rome.

The large statue has an inset head and neck, the latter mended, and the necklace is largely restored.²⁰

6.

Statue, preserved from the neck to just above the ankles. Pentelic marble, H. 1.57 m. (61 ¹³/₁₆ in.), Acropolis Museum, Athens. Found in 1860 at the west end of the Acropolis near the Propylaea. The statue has been termed routine work of a date "not very long after Pheidias," but this figure surely belongs to the first or early second century of the Christian era. The carving is very effective.²¹

7.

Small statue, with most of the body, feet, plinth, much of the snake, and the shield preserved. Pentelic marble, H. 0.86 m. (33 ⁷/₈ in.), Patras Museum. From the Roman colonial city. Characterized by an abbreviated aegis, which leaves the breasts visible (like a statuette in Argos), this small figure is important because on the outside of the surviving two-thirds of the shield, the figures of the Amazonomachy are presented in clear-cut relief and are well preserved.²²

8.

Statue, preserved from the top of the aegis to the plinth, including damaged remains of the feet. Pentelic marble, H. 1.35 m. (4 ft. 5 ¹/₈ in.), Musée de Mariemont, Brussels. From Rome via the Somzée and Warocqué collections. The aegis is the slightly abbreviated type favored in a number of small statues made in Athens or thereabouts in the first two centuries of the Roman empire. Head and attributes might be necessary to determine whether this figure belongs with the copies of the Athena Parthenos, but the Patras Parthenos [7] shows how a sloppy copy could preserve the best shield.²³

9.

Statue, with much of the neck, the arms to the elbows, the body, and the feet all surviving in excellent condition. Marble, H. 1.40 m. (55 ¹/₈ in.), Herakleion Museum, Crete. Found in 1950 at Gortyn on Crete. The aegis on the figure resembles that of the battered torso in Baltimore [13A]. Neda Leipen has noted a marble brace low on the right hip, which may have supported the column for the Nike on the statue's hand. She dates this Parthenos in the second century of the Christian era. Aside from the manneristic curls of the ends of the snake girdle, the statue from Gortyn is one of the most impressive and cleanest copies of the Pheidias concept (in one of its Greek imperial phases?) to remain from ancient times.²⁴

10.

Statuette, with head, upper arms, and body preserved to the middle of the waist. Pentelic marble, H. 0.118 m. (4 ⁵/₈ in.), The Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. Found in Athens early in the nineteenth century. As everyone has pointed out, this little souvenir is very Greek in flavor, but the details are as simplified as those of a tiny Statue of Liberty in plastic from Coney Island.²⁵

11.

Large statue, with hair and face worked in an updated, Neo-Attic style of the early imperial period. Pentelic marble, H. 2.35 m. (7 ft. 9 ¹/₂ in.), Museo Nazionale, Rome. From the Ludovisi collection. Antiochos of Athens signed the copy on the lower front of the drapery. Despite all the reworkings and the horrid plume on the helmet, the figure, particularly the draperies, is impressive. The peplos is made to look forcefully mechanical.²⁶

12.

A small statue, with the body preserved to below the hips and a pie-shaped wedge of the figured shield remaining at the left side. Luna (?) marble, H. 0.62 m. (24 ³/₈ in.), Museo Nuovo Capitolino, Rome, the part of the Palazzo dei Conservatori formerly named the Museo Mussolini. Found in 1874 in the ruins of a garden-villa complex on the Esquiline. This figure provides a simplified version of the Greek copies, with the importance again lying in the survival of part of the shield.²⁷

GROUP IB

13A.

Torso of a statue, preserved from the shoulder to the knees and badly damaged. Fine-grained, white marble, not Pentelic, H. 0.98 m. (38½ in.), The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 23.41. From the Massarenti collection in Rome. As Dorothy K. Hill recognized in her publication of this copy and in her detailed appreciation of the draperies of all the versions then known to her, this statue is a Greek creation of considerable quality. The arms and adjacent body were attached with iron dowels, set in an awkward, unusual manner. It has been suggested that the head in Copenhagen [13B] might belong, despite the seeming differences in the quality of the marbles. If so, a Hadrianic revival of the Athena Parthenos would have provided the prototype.²⁸

13B.

Head, in generally battered and scraped condition but still showing considerable dry precision and quality of carving. Pentelic marble, H. 0.37 m. (14½ in.), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Found at Amelia near Orte. The face, around the eyes, has been modernized, perhaps influenced by a classicizing Athena in the spirit of the Parthenos from Pergamon or the Athena in the National Museum, Athens, attributed to Euboulides and harking back to the Athena Velletri of the fourth century B.C.²⁹

14.

Head and neck, the latter worked for insertion. Greek marble, H. 0.355 m. (14 in.), Pergamon Museum, Berlin. Found in Rome, in the area of the gardens of Sallust, together with a fragment of the statue's foot. A cold, academic, life-size copy with a young girl's face and considerable traces of coloring preserved, this head has been dated by all in the Hadrianic period. The details of the helmet, notably the protomai above the visor and the griffins on the cheek-flaps, are only slightly less well preserved than those of the statue in Boston [3 bis].³⁰

15.

Head and start of the neck, all much battered. Parian marble, H. 0.24 m. (9⅞ in.), Cyrene Museum. From the Temple of Zeus Olympios. This is a good Hadrianic copy. Parts of the helmet's decoration were attached with pins. The handling of the eyebrows might put this head together with the Copenhagen [13B] and Berlin [14] heads and thus, in the first instance, with the torso in Baltimore [13A].³¹

GROUP IIA

16A.

Head and neck, the latter worked for insertion. Coarse-grained marble, H. 0.345 m. (13⅞ in.), Musée du Louvre, Paris. Found (it now turns out) in the ruins of an important Roman imperial villa on the coast northwest of Rome, at Santa Marinella near Civitavecchia, and acquired in 1898. The creatures on the helmet, although mostly present, are badly damaged. The face is enframed by curly hair, and the open mouth (suggestive of early Antonine baroque in the traditions of the Pergamene Parthenos) gives the lips a pouting look, even an overall self-indulgent and hostile expression.³²

16B.

Statue, with neck preserved for insertion (into which fits the head and neck in the Louvre [16A]), only the separately fashioned arms are missing. Pentelic marble, H. 1.48 m. (58¼ in.), with the head in the Louvre, 1.65 m. (65 in.), Museo Nazionale, Civitavecchia. This statue (without its head and neck) was once in Rome or was visible at Santa Marinella in the sixteenth century. It was drawn in the Codex Pighius about 1560 (by S. V. Pighius of Flanders) and was rediscovered in 1965, after having been walled-up in an unused area in the castello Odescalchi, Santa Marinella. Reunion of the head and body from Santa Marinella creates a relatively complete



Fig. 25. "Athena Parthenos," Villa Borghese, Rome [18].

statue, an ancient modernization of the Athena Parthenos, of which there must have been many copies. Elsewhere it is suggested the prototype was created in Athens or Rome in the late Hadrianic to early Antonine periods for one of Hadrian's temples or libraries (like the library in the former city or the Pantheon in both).³³

17.

Head and much of the neck, set on an alien bust which may have been cut down from a statue of Athena. Marble, Palazzo Riccardi, Florence. This head is a replica from the same workshop as the Santa Marinella statute. It is tempting to think this marble might have belonged with one of the surviving bodies, that in the Villa Borghese [5] or that in the Villa Wolkonsky [19].³⁴

18.

Statue, with head and neck, both arms made separately and missing (fig. 25). Pentelic marble, H. 1.10 m. (43 1/4 in.) with 0.08 m. (3 1/8 in.) of plinth, Villa Borghese, Rome, inv. no. 546. This is a copy of the finest quality, with some of the frills toned down slightly, of the type now best seen in the reunited statue from Santa Marinella.³⁵

19.

Statue, in the same condition and of the same type as the previous. Pentelic marble, H. 1.34 m. (52 3/4 in.), garden of the Villa Wolkonsky (now the British Embassy), Rome. Since the statues in the Santa Marinella group vary in size, they are probably not merely replications from a Hadrianic to early Antonine copyist's studio but also reflections of an image of much larger scale, like the Parthenos probably not capable of being imitated on a one-to-one basis.³⁶

GROUP IIB

20.

A battered and abraded head. Pentelic marble, H. as preserved 0.26 m. (10 1/4 in.), Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne. Found locally in 1882. Aside from the unusual provenance (the farthest northwest of any Athena Parthenos), the complete ensemble must have been a very rich figure with three large and four smaller animal protomai around the visor of the helmet. The acanthus spirals or scrolls on the lower back of the helmet, although probably derived from decoration on the Pheidian statue (see Leipen, figs. 76, 77), give the impression here (if only in their presence in marble relief) of Roman work, and this increases the supposition that the prototype was yet another Roman version of the statue in the Parthenon.³⁷

21.

Fragment of an over-life-size head, only the upper right side including the ear and the left eye (but not the right) is preserved. White marble, Larissa Museum, Thessaly. Found under the cathedral of Hagios Achillios on the acropolis. There is a heavy acanthus scroll curling all over the back of the helmet. All the details of this helmet seem to have been made separately and attached with pins. Here, as with other Roman imperial statues (in this instance carved in the Trajanic or Hadrianic periods), the preserved parts stray far enough from the Pheidian concept to suggest that perhaps the body was that of a variant Athena (like the Farnese, Hope, and University College, London [Cook collection] replicas) or that perhaps the statue represented Athena-Roma.³⁸

Summation

HISTORIANS and other lovers of classical Greek art have known more about the physical aspects of Athena Parthenos than about any other great temple image of antiquity. Still, when new evidence is adduced, details from older sources are clarified, even revised. Before the appearance of the statue in the Museum of Fine Arts, the nature and arrange-

ment of the protomai above the visor of the helmet were reconstructed from intaglio stones, circular reliefs in gold, and terracotta plaques. Now the graphic and three-dimensional reconstructions of the Athena Parthenos can include the information offered by the statue studied here. Every other three-dimensional Athena Parthenos omitted these enrichments (as in the case of the Varvakeion figure), had them made separately and attached by pins (the Prado statue and the Larissa head), had them scraped away by post-Classical restorers (the Ludovisi statue), or was too damaged to offer any evidence (the Copenhagen and Cologne heads and the Louvre/Civitavecchia statue).

Many other parts of the Parthenos remain to be classified or clarified: the battles of the giants on the shield's interior and of the centaurs on the sandals, the specific divinities flanking Pandora on the base, the presence of a column under the Nike in the Pheidian original, or the precise nature and position of the jewelry worn by Athena. At any moment a turn of the spade or observation of a statue or relief overlooked in a Renaissance castle (like the body of the statue from Santa Marinella) may confirm or modify what is now in the records about the Athena Parthenos. Each material addition makes the truth a more attainable reality.

The two "new" statues (Boston and Louvre/Civitavecchia) throw no light on the history of the Parthenos from late Classical or early Hellenistic to Late Antique times. With the Copenhagen/Baltimore statues, they postulate extensive copying in the Hadrianic to Severan periods, engendered in instances and in all probability by new images in Athens or Rome. The sizes of these Greek imperial images may have been different from that of the Pheidian Parthenos, the 3.55 meters of the Parthenos statue from Pergamon setting a trend from Hellenistic times onward.

Professor William B. Dinsmoor called attention to the cutting-down and resetting of the blocks supporting the sculptured plinth or base of the Parthenos.³⁹ Could this essentially architectural activity have taken place in late Antonine to Late Antique times, say at the height of the Herulian crisis (about 257) or as its result, and could the Pheidian Parthenos on the Acropolis have been replaced about that time or on another occasion during these decades by one of the smaller versions fashioned for a Hadrianic to early Antonine building in Athens?

NOTES

All anyone needs to know about studies of the Athena Parthenos up to 1971 is contained in Neda Leipen's admirable *Athena Parthenos, a reconstruction*, Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto, 1971). A full list of copies in all media is given, and the bibliography is complete. The copies assembled since Leipen published the modern reconstruction of the statue (the temple, and the Acropolis in general) in Toronto are documented in the bibliography for the marbles resurveyed and regrouped here.

As to the changes within the cella of the Parthenon and their bearing on what image stood in the temple at the end of pagan antiquity, Alison Frantz has reviewed the evidence in "Did Julian the Apostate Rebuild the Parthenon?" *American Journal of Archaeology* 83 (1979), pp. 395–401. She suggests the interior colonnade was rebuilt about 407 to 412 of the Christian era.

Although this is a modest study of an old subject of considerable magnitude, a number of friends have helped, with ideas, encouragement, and mechanical assistance in making the "Athens of America" into a home for an Athena Parthenos. Carolyn Graham Townsend has helped to bring order out of chaos in the manuscript. Thanks go, *inter alios*, also to Kristin Anderson, Miriam Braverman, Diana Buitron, Mary Comstock, Peter Elder, Jan Fontein, Jiri Frel, George Hanfmann, Caroline Hauser, Ariel Herrmann, John Herrmann, Heinz Herzer, Neda Leipen, David Mitten, Sandra Morgan, Linda Thomas, Emily Townsend Vermeule, Florence Wolsky, and Lambertus van Zelst.

David M. Robinson back in 1911 compiled a list of replicas in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 15 (1911), pp. 482–503, and was thus one of the first Americans to write in detail about the Parthenos. Charles Waldstein (*Essays on the Art of Pheidias*) had done likewise back in 1885. I would like to dedicate this article to their memories and also to mention the inspiration derived from the writings of Evelyn B. Harrison and the late Dorothy K. Hill on aspects of Athena Parthenos.

Since this article was written in the early 1980s, not long after the statue of the Athena Parthenos came to Boston permanently, considerable further bibliography has accumulated, mostly brief references or a picture in a popular book. All these are collected chronologically under number 19 (S 139) on pages 29–31 of Mary B. Comstock and Cornelius C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone and*

Bronze, Additions to the Collections of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Art 1971–1988 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston, 1988).

1. See, generally, G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th ed. (New Haven, 1970), pp. 169–171.

2. The quotation from Pausanias appears in *Description of Greece* (before 176 of the Christian era), bk. I, *Attica and Megara*, XXIV, 5–7, Loeb edition, trans. W. H. S. Jones (London, 1918), pp. 122–125.

3. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 04.12. See Comstock and Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone*, pp. 33–34, fig. 652; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th ed., p. 172, fig. 652.

4. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 60.1449. See Cornelius C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in Gold and Silver* (Boston, 1974), p. 12, no. 28.

5. See Giovanni Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci* (Milan, 1951), p. 131, pl. 73, figs. 224, 225. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th ed., p. 172, figs. 647–649.

6. These are all listed in Leipen, *Athena Parthenos*.

7. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 76.740. Comstock and Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone*, p. 183, no. 295. Volker Michael Strocka, "Das Schildrelief-Zum Stand der Forschung," *Parthenon – Kongress Basel 1* (1984), pp. 188–196.

8. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th ed., p. 170, fig. 644.

9. For later history of the Parthenon, see John Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York, 1971), pp. 444–445, and bibliography; Stuart Rossiter, *Greece*, Blue Guide, 4th ed. (London, 1981), p. 87; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th ed., p. 171.

10. See note 5.

11. G. Becatti, *Oreficerie Antiche dalle Minoiche alle Barbariche* (Rome, 1955), p. 130, fig. 460.

12. Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci*, pl. 63.

13. A. J. N. W. Prag, "New Copies of the Athena Parthenos from the East," *Parthenon – Kongress Basel 1* (1984), pp. 182–187. Also Pavlina Karanastassis, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 102 (1987), pp. 323–339, pls. 35–42.

14. Heinrich Brunn and F. Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer sculptur in historischer anordnung* (Munich,

1888–1947), pls. 39, 40 (hereafter Br.-Br.); S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum, Collection of Sculpture, A Catalogue* (Athens, 1968), pp. 68–69, no. 129, pl. 31: as second or third century of the Christian era; W.-H. Schuchhardt, "Athena Parthenos," *Antike Plastik* 2 (1963), pp. 31–53: a study of this small statue and of the Lenormant Athena [2]. A. J. N. W. Prag, "Athena Mancunensis: Another copy of the Athena Parthenos," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 92 (1972), pp. 96–114: with additional comment on the sources and the later versions.

15. Br.-Br., pl. 38. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum*, p. 67, no. 128: as probably of the first century of the Christian era. G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art* (London, 1959), pp. 106–108, fig. 151. For the other surviving sculptural view of the divinities assembled at either side of Pandora on the base, see the publication of the statue from Pergamon in Franz Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, vol. 7 (Berlin, 1908), pp. 33–46, no. 24, pl. 8.

16. M. S. Brouskari, *Musée de l'Acropole, Catalogue descriptif* (Athens, 1974), p. 120, no. 647, fig. 217. L. Pollak, "Neue Repliken des Kopfes der Athena Parthenos," *Jahreshefte des österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 4 (1901), pp. 148–150, fig. 173. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos*, p. 8, no. 29.

17. H. Schrader, "Eine Neue Statuette der Athena Parthenos," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1932), cols. 89–97, figs. 1–3. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos*, p. 4, no. 4, fig. 5: with a full description and commentary.

18. See P. Fehl, "The Rocks on the Parthenon Frieze," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24 (1961), pp. 29–33.

19. Br.-Br., pl. 511. P. Arndt and W. Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen* (Munich, 1893–1940), nos. 1514–1515 (hereafter EA). A. Blanco, *Catalogo de la Escultura* (Madrid, 1957), pp. 47–48, no. 47E, pl. XIX: as an Antonine copy.

20. Br.-Br., pl. 512. E. Michon, "Tête d'Athéna Parthénos," *Monuments et mémoires, Fondation Piot* 7 (1900), p. 161, figs. 1, 2.

21. S. Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 260–261, Museum no. 1362; Brouskari, *Musée de l'Acropole*, p. 148, no. 1362, fig. 261. W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Repair of the Athena Parthenos," *American Journal of Archaeology* 38 (1934), p. 103: as predating the complete rebuilding of the Pheidias colossal statue, following a fire shortly before about 160 to 150 B.C.

22. V. Strocka has dated the Patras statue to the Antonine period. *EA*, nos. 1304–1305. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, new rev. ed. (New Haven, 1950), pp. 218, 551, fig. 603. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos*, pp. 4–5, no. 6, figs. 7, 24.
23. A. Furtwängler, *Sammlung Somzée* (Munich, 1897), p. 12, no. 12, pl. IX: with a comment on the wild-haired Gorgoneion not otherwise common to the Pheidian copies. P. Lévêque, *Les Antiquités du Musée de Mariemont* (Brussels, 1952), p. 67, no. G.7, pl. 22.
24. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos*, p. 6, no. 15, p. 62, fig. 10.
25. T. L. Shear, "A Marble Copy of the Athena Parthenos in Princeton," *American Journal of Archaeology* 28 (1924), pp. 117–119, pls. II–IV. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th ed., p. 219, fig. 604.
26. *EA*, nos. 274–275. W. Fuchs, in W. Helbig, *Führer*, 4th ed., vol. 3 (Tübingen, 1969), pp. 248–249, no. 2328 (1304; Inv. 8622). E. Paribeni, *Museo Nazionale Romano, Sculture greche del V secolo, Originali e repliche* (Rome, 1953), pp. 59–60, no. 103.
27. *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome, The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, ed. H. Stuart Jones (Oxford, 1926), p. 102, pl. 37. D. Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini* (Rome, 1939), pp. 113–114, Sala VIII, no. 2 (inv. 916), pl. LXXI, pp. 278–279: with one of the basic, modern lists of replicas. If the marble(s) of the Esquiline statue and/or shield is (are) really fine-grained Greek island marble, then Strocka's thought that the Boston fragment belongs could be possible. See Comstock and Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone*, p. 183, no. 295. This piece of a shield was brought from Rome in the 1840s.
28. D. K. Hill, "A Copy of the Athena Parthenon," *Art Bulletin* 18 (1936), pp. 150–167, figs. 1–13. Al. N. Oikonomides, in A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, new and enlarged ed. (Chicago, 1964), pl. H, fig. 145 (with a cast of the head in Copenhagen [138]).
29. See Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art*, pp. 169–170, fig. 245; 1969 ed., p. 183, fig. 250: version ca. 150 to 100 B.C. *EA*, nos. 3845–3847. F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1951), pp. 91–92, no. 98. F. Brommer, *Athena Parthenos* (Bremen, 1957), fig. 7.
30. C. Blümel, *Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1931), p. 31, K170, pls. 58, 59. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th ed., pp. 153, 219, fig. 602.
31. E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle sculture di Cirene* (Rome, 1959), p. 59, no. 124, pl. 77. See article by I. Favaretto in *Atti del Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 119 (1960–1961), pp. 281–298, pls. 1–6. M. Vickers and J. M. Reynolds, *Archaeological Reports for 1971–72*, p. 30.
32. Michon, "Tête d'Athéna Parthénos," pp. 153–173, pl. XV.
33. Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, *Nuove scoperte e acquisizione nell'Etruria meridionale* (Rome, 1975), pp. 245–247, pl. 75: with a cast of the head in the Louvre [16A]. Th. Schreiber, *Die Athena Parthenos des Phidias* (Dresden, 1883), pl. III, G.
34. *EA*, nos. 301–302. Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini*, pp. 113–114, no. 20. The *Einzelaufnahmen* gives no dimensions and no type of marble. The figure is referred to as a statuette, as is the Parthenos in Madrid [4]. This might suggest the complete copy was smaller than the Villa Wolkonsky [19] body and closer to the Villa Borghese [18] image.
35. *EA*, no. 2704. Fuchs, *Führer*, pp. 734–736, no. 1980.
36. Schreiber, *Die Athena Parthenos des Phidias*, p. 563, pl. III; Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini*, pp. 113–114, no. 12. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (1931) Rome neg. nos. 1164–1167.
37. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos*, p. 8, no. 27, fig. 20.
38. H. Biesantz, "Griechisch-römische Altertümer in Larissa und Umgebung," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1959), cols. 100, 97–98, figs. 19 a, b.
39. Dinsmoor, "Repair of the Athena Parthenos," p. 103.



Roman Portraits in Egyptian Colored Stones

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Fig. 1. Bust of Augustus Caesar, 27 B.C.–A.D. 14, from Rome. Black basalt, H. 54.4 cm (21 $\frac{3}{8}$ in). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mrs. Samuel D. Warren, 90.163.

CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III,

with the collaboration of RICHARD NEWMAN

Roman Portraits in Egyptian Colored Stones

IN 1887 and again in 1889, Rodolfo Lanciani (1846–1929), the great Italian archaeologist, topographer, and romantic writer about the ruins and excavations of ancient Rome, paid visits to America, particularly to Boston and to Cambridge, where the recently founded Archaeological Institute of America was headquartered.¹ His lectures were remembered as spellbinding by the several generations of Brahmins and their friends who had visited Italy (notably Venice, Florence, Rome, and the Bay of Naples), read the books about that country by Nathaniel Hawthorne and Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, toured the sculpture studios of the expatriate Americans Thomas Crawford and William Wetmore Story, and returned to New England with bits of colored marble and stone from the Palatine Hill and Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.²

Commendatore Lanciani also helped the young Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acquire a number of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman antiquities from Italy. The most spectacular of these were Roman portraits, which came mainly, but not exclusively, from the Villa Ludovisi (now the American Embassy) on the Pincian Hill in Rome. Modern connoisseurship has not been kind to all of Lanciani's choices. Some of the Boncompagni-Ludovisi portraits in marble had been heavily recut or restored, and one or two had been so refurbished as to be iconographic enigmas.³ Nevertheless, among the half-dozen masterpieces from the Ludovisi and other sources in and around Rome, two portraits of the era of the first Roman emperor, Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14), tell a great deal, by virtue of the materials in which they were carved, about the attitudes of upper-class Romans toward portraiture.

In 1890, Mrs. Samuel D. Warren, Sr., a great benefactor of the Museum and the widow of one of its trustees,⁴ presented this institution with a bust of Augustus in black basalt⁵ that had probably been quarried from the area of the Faiyum, southwest of Memphis.⁶ The free-standing bust was acquired through Lanciani, and it certainly came from Rome (fig. 1). In 1888, the Benjamin Pierce Cheney Donation had been used by the Museum to buy, among other things, a bust of an unknown man of African origin or ancestry which had been carved in the Pentelic marble of Attica, the region around Athens.⁷ This portrait, which had been designed to be set into a larger bust covered by drapery, or into a statue clothed in a Roman toga or a Greek himation, also reached Boston through the good offices of Lanciani (fig. 2). However, it is at least noteworthy that the bust of the Roman emperor, who was almost universally represented in white marble in Italy, Greece, and

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Fig. 2. Bust of an African Roman, c. 10 B.C.–
A.D. 30, from Rome. Pentelic marble, H. 38
cm (15 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,
Benjamin Pierce Cheney Donation, 88.643.

Asia Minor, was carved in black basalt, even as the black Roman was portrayed in the best white marble of Attica.

The explanation of this lies in the fact that colored marbles were used in Roman portraiture not to suggest skin color, but to convey an imperial, dynastic, and political message. The African was portrayed as any other upper-class Roman would have been, but the emperor Augustus was carved in a material that had been traditional to the pharaohs of ancient Egypt. The use of such stone to represent the man named Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus (hereafter, Octavian)—and, beginning in 27 B.C., titled Augustus—underscored his defeat of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, the last of the Ptolemies, the Macedonian dynasty that had ruled in Egypt from the death of Alexander the Great. After the suicides of Antony and Cleopatra at Alexandria, Octavian turned the Kingdom of Egypt into a Roman province, which he ruled directly as emperor, or general of the armies. It thus suited him to be represented in the black basalt, a material favored by the pre-Macedonian rulers of Egypt as far back as Mycerinus and his queen in the Old Kingdom.

Although it is very clear that, iconographically, this bust of Augustus has nothing to do with the traditional arts of Egypt, the sculptor, possibly an Egyptian or a Greek from Roman Egypt, carved the hair and polished the surfaces of the skin in the Egyptian manner. The portrait may even have been made in Egypt, but more probably it was carved from an imported block of basalt either in Rome or at the workshops lining the River Tiber between Rome and Ostia. This bust was based on bronze models created in Rome in about 25 B.C., not long after Augustus received his title from the Senate.

From the time the Macedonians arrived in force in Egypt (after 330 B.C.), the ideal art of Athens in the age of Praxiteles and his followers (c. 350–300 B.C.) was expressed in Egyptian black basalt, graywacke, and schist, and represented the descendants of the Athenians and Macedonians who had appeared in traditional Greek funerary monuments, statues, and high reliefs. A section of one large basalt stele, or commemorative monument, of about 280 B.C. shows the idealized countenance of a woman.⁸ The veiled head and neck were finished only at the front and the right side, indicating that the figure stood or sat in a large architectural niche (figs. 3, 4). The style is purely Greek, but the material and the technique of carving are purely Egyptian.⁹ The woman may have been a member or a close associate of the Ptolemaic royal family, for some statues of the nobles of the court, as well as of the pharaohs and their families, were made in basalt, graywacke, and granite.¹⁰

Mark Antony (82–30 B.C.) began the practice of using Egyptian stones for Roman portraits. Early in the nineteenth century, a bust of Antony in black basalt was brought to the home of the Bankes family at Kingston Lacy in Dorset, England, from Canopus, Egypt, where it had been



Fig. 3. Head of a veiled woman (fragment of a large funerary stele, or commemorative ensemble), c. 280 B.C., from the Faiyum, Egypt. Black Faiyum basalt, H. 44.5 cm (17½ in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, J. H. and E. A. Payne Fund, 1973.600.

Fig. 4. Right profile of fig. 3.





Fig. 5. Bust of Mark Antony, c. 35 B.C. or later, from Canopus, Egypt. Greenish black stone, seemingly basalt, H. 42 cm (16½ in.). National Trust, Bankes Collection, Kingston Lacy, Dorset, England.

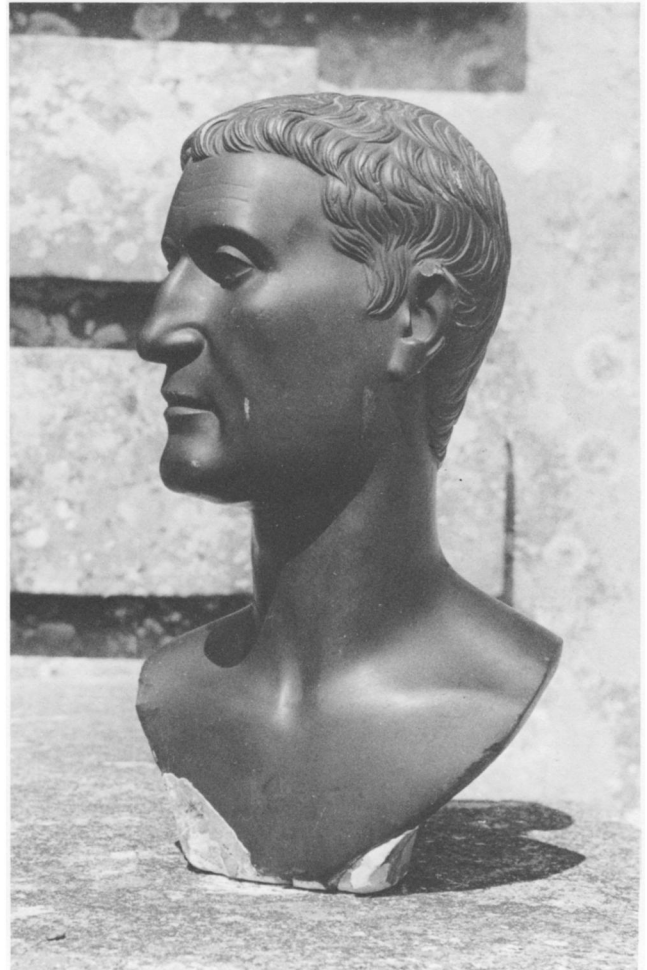


Fig. 6. Left profile of fig. 5.

found in 1780 (figs. 5, 6). This portrait, dating from about 35 B.C., has been recognized as one of the most aristocratic and autocratic studies of a noble Roman general to have survived from the last decade of the Roman Republic.¹¹ At once incisive and general, this work portrays Antony as a Hellenistic ruler in the tradition of the Seleucid dynasty of Syria, a manner that was intensified to evoke the cold arrogance of a Roman conqueror. It must be remembered that Mark Antony alienated many Roman military and political leaders because of his seeming intention to establish himself as a Hellenistic king in the East, perhaps in order to rule the Graeco-Roman world jointly with Queen Cleopatra.

Octavian took up the custom of using Egyptian dynastic materials for Roman imperial portraits, and the practice was thereafter extended to his own Julio-Claudian descendants. Purely Roman portraits in green stone or black basalt became a badge of honor in Rome during the rules of Augustus, Tiberius (A.D. 14–37), Caligula (A.D. 37–41), and

Claudius (A.D. 41–54), but this art, so expressive of Octavian's conquest of his brother-in-law Antony, only barely survived the downfall of the monstrous Nero (A.D. 54–68).

A brief survey of the key works shows that most of the portraits in Egyptian stones were of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian emperors and their families. Private portraits in such stones were almost always those of important persons at the early imperial court in Rome, beginning with the sisters of the emperors and extending to their in-laws. Octavian's sister Octavia, who was for a time unhappily married to Mark Antony, was represented in what may have been green basalt, and her sister-in-law Livia, the infamous consort of Augustus, was sculpted in a similar stone, this one black in color.¹² Caius, or Gaius, Caesar, the grandson of Augustus who never lived to rule (he died on the Parthian frontier in A.D. 4), is represented by a basalt head now in Paris and another splendid but fragmentary likeness in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome.¹³ A cuirassed bust in green "graywacke" (possibly basalt) of Germanicus Caesar, grandson of Mark Antony and grandnephew of Augustus, was brought from Egypt to the British Museum in the nineteenth century.¹⁴ Germanicus and his wife Agrippina, granddaughter of Augustus and daughter of Agrippa (conqueror of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium), had visited Egypt just prior to Germanicus's death in A.D. 19. The last two surviving imperial portraits, masterpieces both, are a head of Agrippina (in what may have been green basalt) which was once the property of Lord Clark (previously known as Sir Kenneth Clark), and another, in black graywacke, of Agrippina's daughter, Agrippina the Younger, the sister of Caligula, mother of Nero, and last wife of her own uncle Claudius. The latter work is from the collection of Count Tyszkiewicz in Rome, and is now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.¹⁵

An overview of Classical Greek and Roman portraits in colored stones shows that they had their origins in the mixed iconography of Hellenistic Egypt. Portraits in the Greek naturalistic and ideal idioms were done concurrently with others in the traditional Egyptian style; in a third group, the trappings are Egyptian, but Greek elements peek through the headdresses and the hairstyles. The way was gradually paved for the use of colored stones in these portraits by the impact that the Egyptian adventures of Julius Caesar, Mark Antony, and Octavian/Augustus had on Roman imaginations and tastes. Romans serving with these generals and their descendants, either in Egypt or at home, demanded sophisticated portraits executed with an accomplished blending of hard Egyptian stones and the most up-to-date manifestations of the Classical tradition. In short, based on the available evidence, it would seem that the family of the Julio-Claudians and the descendants of the protagonists of Actium (including Cleopatra's children by Caesar and Antony) made the use of rare Egyptian stones for court portraiture a special mark of honor and privilege.

For this reason, there are more splendid Graeco-Roman portraits in Egyptian colored stones from the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods than from any other, including the late Ptolemaic period. Mark Antony was remembered because he was the ancestor of the last three Julio-Claudian emperors and their families.¹⁶ Augustus was commemorated as the conqueror of Egypt, the successor of Cleopatra VII, and the emperor who turned the lands of the Nile into a Roman province. Germanicus, who made a famous trip to Egypt, had his name carved on the so-called Colossus of Memnon on the west bank of the Nile, opposite Karnak and Luxor, thus appropriating the identity of the pharaoh, Amenhotep III or IV. Germanicus's brother Claudius, who evidently never went to Egypt, appears as a Roman pharaoh in black stone partly because he was able to claim the same kinship with Antony and Octavia as did his brother.¹⁷

It speaks volumes about the ranking of colored stones in the Graeco-Roman world that the rare yellow (*giallo antico*) and red (*rosso antico*) stones of Tunisia and Greece and the gray to black stones (*bigio morato*) of Tunisia were never used for Roman imperial portraits. These were, instead, reserved for copies of the Hellenistic depiction of the flayed Marsyas (in red because the impudent satyr had lost his skin for challenging Apollo to a musical contest), happier and less unfortunate satyrs (red from the flush of the grape, or black from the Mediterranean sun), centaurs (in these same colors for the same reasons), and a number of other mythological figures, such as the divine infants Bacchus and Hercules. Representing the world of mortals are depictions in black stone of old fishermen darkened by their years in small boats on the Mediterranean.

Colored marbles and other stones of Greece, Tunisia, and Egypt were also used for statues of animals and reptiles. Green serpentine from Egypt (*verde ranocchia*) was used for crocodiles and even for dogs, *rosso antico* for stags and herons, gray *bigio morato* for elephants and hippopotamuses, and mottled marbles from Asia Minor for palomino horses and village hounds (the common ancestors and latter-day cousins of modern Dalmatians, Weimaraners, and pointers).

After the Julio-Claudians there was a slackening of interest in colored marbles until Hadrian's trips to Egypt and the subsequent suicide of Antinous in the Nile in A.D. 130. Hadrian's artistic and emotional tastes set off a new wave of sculpture in these materials, but the old Julio-Claudian blend of vigorous verism and ameliorating idealization gave way to the academic classicism of the so-called Hadrianic School. The statues of Antinous, the emperor's beautiful and neurotic young favorite, show an uneasy blend of Egyptian iconography and Hadrianic classicism, reflecting both the place of his suicide and the tastes and training of the imperial Greek and Roman sculptors.¹⁸

After Hadrian there were isolated instances of portraits in colored stones. Two forceful representations are preserved in the United States.

A colossal head of the emperor Caracalla (A.D. 211–217), carved about A.D. 215 in red granite from Coptos (now Qift), the metropolis closest to the Nilotic and Red Sea quarries, is in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.¹⁹ A life-size head of Diocletian (A.D. 284–305), made about A.D. 302 in black basalt that is also presumably from Egypt, is in the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts.²⁰ The focus in post-Hadrianic times, however, had shifted to the newly prized imperial purple stone, porphyry, and this became a prime sculptural and architectural material for as long as the Romans, first in the West and then in Constantinople, controlled the quarries of the porphyry mountain on the coast of the Red Sea in Egypt.²¹

NOTES

Maxwell L. Anderson, director of the Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology in Atlanta, opened my eyes to the importance of colored marbles in the Mediterranean and led me to think about what the Ptolemaic Egyptians and the stones of the areas along the middle Nile and the Red Sea contributed to the iconography of the early Roman emperors. John J. Herrmann, Jr., of the Department of Classical Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has spent the last twenty years writing about the architectural and sculptural stones of the Mediterranean, and I exploited his knowledge extensively in daily conversations in 1988 and 1989. David Gordon Mitten, Loeb Professor of Greek Art and Archaeology at Harvard University, clarified points about the Hellenistic world and provided necessary references. Florence Z. Wolsky and J. Michael Padgett of the Department of Classical Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, have much improved the content and composition of this essay. Brigit Crowell of the University of Pennsylvania, who has visited the quarries east of Coptos, steered me through the literature of Egyptian stones while she was doing research in the Department of Egyptian Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in the summer of 1989. Joyce Haynes of the Department of Egyptian Art explored the graywacke quarries of Wadi Hammamat and shared her findings with me. Richard Newman gave me extremely helpful advice about the qualities of the various stones, and pointed out the pitfalls of current specific terminology, which is often more generic than real. Bernard V. Bothmer of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and the Brooklyn Museum, and for-

merly of the Department of Egyptian Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, taught me in the 1950s about the value of Greek and Roman portraits in Egyptian colored stones. I dedicate this paper to him.

1. See Anne V. Dort, "The Archaeological Institute of America—Early Days," *Archaeology*, vol. 7 (1954), pp. 195–201; Salomon Reinach, "Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani (1846 to 1929)," *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 34 (1930), p. 62. Lanciani was a professor of Roman topography at the University of Rome from 1878 to 1927, and a senator of the Kingdom of Italy. His many books in English were published by Riverside Press in Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts. Edward Robinson, Curator of Classical Art (and later Director) of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, edited Lanciani's *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Excavations* in 1888. Said Reinach, in the obituary cited above: "His first wife was an American, and after her death he married an English lady, the widow of Prince Colonna. He was a man of attractive personality, friendly and helpful to travelers and scholars, and a very popular lecturer." Bernard Berenson admired Lanciani and his princely literary circles; see Rollin van N. Hadley, ed., *The Letters of Bernard Berenson and Isabella Stewart Gardner, 1887–1924* (Boston, 1987), pp. 92–93, concerning Berenson's summer vacation at Saint-Moritz with Prince Marcantonio Colonna.

2. The Museum has a collection of exotic marbles carved into the shape of little

leather-bound books and engraved with the names of the sites in Italy—notably Villa Hadriana, the Roman Forum and the Palatine Hill in Rome, and Pompeii—at which such souvenirs were sold to Americans on the "Grand Tour." There are similar pieces carved into literary paperweights at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.

3. See Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, A Centennial History*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970), vol. 1, p. 146; Mary B. Comstock and Cornelius C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone: The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1976), pp. 202–203, no. 322 (restored and reworked Republican head); pp. 238–239, no. 374 (reworked portrait of Emperor Maximinus Thrax, from the Galleria Ludovisi, Rome); and p. 242, no. 379 (restored portrait of Emperor Constantine the Great, about A.D. 315 [recut, seemingly in Antiquity, from a head of Domitian, of about A.D. 90], also from the Galleria Ludovisi). Among Lanciani's better choices, the greatest Late Antique portrait in Boston, that of Emperor Balbinus, of A.D. 238, came through Lanciani from the gardens of the Villa Ludovisi (Comstock and Vermeule 1976, p. 239, no. 375). In 1888, Lanciani garnered the great Pentelic marble portrait of Nero Drusus—son of Livia, brother of Tiberius, husband of Mark Antony's daughter Antonia, and father of Germanicus and Claudius—from Lanuvium (formerly Civit  Lavinia), where there were both ancient and Renaissance villas (Comstock and Vermeule 1976, p. 210, no. 332). Edward Everett (1794–1865) left the funds that paid for this acquisition; the noted statesman, author, teacher, and orator had visited Florence and Rome and had bought contemporary sculptures and paintings from American expatriates of the period before the Civil War.

4. Mrs. Warren's children—Samuel D. Warren, Jr., who became president of the Museum, and Edward Perry Warren, of Lewes House, Sussex, England—later played a major part in the building of the Classical collections in the Museum.

5. Basalt, a hard, igneous stone that is usually black, was quarried mostly in the Faiyum district of Egypt. Graywacke, a fine-grained conglomerate that is usually dark gray, was quarried mostly in the area of Wadi Hammamat. See note 6.

6. See Comstock and Vermeule 1976, p. 207, no. 328, wherein the stone of this bust was loosely described in a manner consistent with earlier publications. Richard Newman has identified the stone as basalt on the basis

of a petrographic analysis made in November 1989. The present author's suggestion that the rock was from the Faiyum is based on its similarity in composition to a stele fragment depicting a woman of idealized countenance (see note 8). Although basalt occurs in several parts of Egypt, the Faiyum was apparently the major source in ancient times; see, for example, the color-coded map "Natural Resources of Ancient Egypt" in John Baines and Jaromir Malek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 20–21, which shows all the quarries and their types of stone—from Aswān in the south to just beyond Memphis in the north, where the Nile Delta begins.

Regarding materials other than white marble used for sculpture in Roman times, the principal text is Raniero Gnoli, *Marmora Romana* (Rome, 1971 and 1988), which incorporates separate sections on each kind of stone as well as comparative illustrations in color and in black and white. Though many of the colored marbles, breccias, and other coarser-grained rocks described by Gnoli are distinctive and easily recognizable, fine-grained black, gray, and dark green rocks cannot be easily identified by visual examination only. Gnoli feels that the dark gray or black rock used in Roman objects was graywacke from Wadi Hammamat, which is located between the Red Sea at Al-Quseir and the big bend of the Nile at Coptos. He does not mention basalt as a possibility, but given the fact that the two heads in the Museum of Fine Arts (those of Augustus and of the woman on the stele fragment; see note 8) are made of that material, further scientific research on dark-colored classical stone sculpture is warranted in order to identify specifically the types and sources of rocks that were used. It is usually assumed that, before porphyry became popular in Diocletian's time (about A.D. 300) and especially in the times of Augustus and his family, imperial portraits in colored stones were made mainly from rocks quarried in Egypt. Of interest on this point is "Marble Quarrying in the Roman World: Trade, Technology and Archaeology," a colloquium held on December 30, 1986, at the Eighty-eighth General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in San Antonio, Texas; for abstracts of the seven papers read at the colloquium, see *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 91 (1987), pp. 313–314.

7. Comstock and Vermeule 1976, p. 214, no. 339. The Benjamin Pierce Cheney Donation was actually a bequest made in 1880 for the purchase of works of art. See Whitehill 1970, p. 49.

8. Comstock and Vermeule 1976, p. 69, no. 109. Additional publications of the works of sculpture cited in note 6 appear in Cornelius C. Vermeule and Mary B. Comstock, *Sculpture in Stone and Bronze* (Boston, 1988), p. 109 (the Hellenistic veiled woman), and p. 114 (Augustus and the African Roman). Again, at the time this stele fragment was bought, Gnoli's *Marmora Romana* had not yet been written, and the terminology for this type of stone was not as systematic as it now is, thanks to Gnoli and to Maxwell Anderson. Richard Newman took a sample from the fragment and discovered that it was carved out of a basalt similar to that used for the head of Augustus. Since this stele was found in the Faiyum, where basalt is quarried, it was probably made from the stone at hand. This, then, supports the notion that the material used for the head of Augustus also was quarried in the Faiyum.

9. This was pointed out to the author by William J. Young when the piece was being tested in the research laboratory of the Museum before acquisition. Years before that time, Lucas Benaki of Alexandria, Egypt; Athens, Greece; and Brookline, Massachusetts told this author that Benaki's cousin Sophia had seen the figure of the veiled woman under a bed in a farmer's house in the Faiyum. The author first saw this piece in a private collection in Paris (where King Farouk's ministers and members of his court had settled after his exile in the early 1950s), and then some twenty years later in the possession of a dealer in London. There is a less skillfully executed counterpart of the veiled woman in the Alexandria Museum (no. 25264); it is in green stone, is of unknown provenance, and dates from about 100 B.C. See Günter Grimm in *Götter und Pharaonen* (Essen, West Germany, 1978), no. 132. (Timothy Kendall has contributed this reference.)

10. See all the examples and discussions in Robert S. Bianchi, et al., *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, exhib. cat., Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn, 1988); Jerome M. Eisenberg, *The Age of Cleopatra: The Art of Late Dynastic & Graeco-Roman Egypt*, exhib. cat., Royal Athena Galleries (New York and Beverly Hills, 1988), especially p. 3, no. 1 (gray granite head of a young Ptolemaic pharaoh of about 200 B.C.), and p. 4, no. 5 (green basalt herm-bust, possibly of a Roman woman dating to Octavian's first trip to Egypt after the victory at Actium). It has been suggested elsewhere, however, that the latter bust is an archaizing garden decoration in the tradition of the bronze dancers from

Herculaneum, now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples; see Richard Daniel De Puma, *Roman Portraits*, exhib. cat., University of Iowa Museum of Art (1988), pp. 50–51, no. 18, where this bust is discussed in depth. Green and black schist and graywacke continued to be used for depictions of notables, priests, and magistrates in late Hellenistic Egypt. A splendid example is a figure of a young man from Alexandria in the British Museum, London (no. EA 55253). This was carved in a mixed Greek and Egyptian style; see Thomas Garnet Henry James and W. Vivian Davies, *Egyptian Sculpture, British Museum* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1983), p. 57, no. 63. Portraits such as this must have impressed Octavian when he first entered the suburb of Canopus and the city of Alexandria. The latest book to deal with the colored stones used by the Greeks and Romans from Hellenistic times onward is Maxwell L. Anderson and Leila Nista, eds., *Radiance in Stone: Sculptures in Colored Marble from the Museo Nazionale Romano*, exhib. cat., Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology (Atlanta, 1989), in which all the terms for colored stones are in Italian, the language of this subject. See also Maxwell L. Anderson, "Radiant Statuary," *Archaeology*, vol. 42, no. 6 (1989), pp. 34–37, and "Further Reading," *ibid.*, p. 82, wherein the literature on the subject has been brought up to date.

11. Carlos A. Picon, in *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, exhib. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (1985), p. 321, under no. 246. Zolt Kiss, *Études sur le portrait impérial romain en Egypte* (Warsaw, 1984), pp. 29–30, 125, figs. 22, 23, identifies the head as Mark Antony before 31 B.C. Kiss (p. 38, note 59, following the opinion of Vagn Poulsen; and pp. 40–41) makes a strong distinction between Julio-Claudian portraits in late Hellenistic Egyptian styles carved in various materials in Egypt itself and the portraits in Roman styles carved in Egyptian stones in Italy.

12. The portrait of Octavia is in the "Coffee-house" of the Villa Torlonia-Albani in Rome; see Helga von Heintze in Wolfgang Helbig, *Villa Albani*, vol. 4 of *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed. (Tübingen, West Germany, 1972), pp. 329–330, no. 3352. The portrait of Livia is in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. See Gnoli 1971, fig. 147.

13. The former head is in the Musée du Louvre. See Kiss 1984, pp. 40, 41, 136, figs. 57, 58. Kiss and Jean Charles Balty see this as representing Agrippa Postumus, younger

brother of Caius and Lucius Caesar, and as having been made about A.D. 4. The battered but beautiful head in the Museo Nazionale Romano is of unknown provenance; see Anna Laura Cesarano in *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le Sculture*, I.9, part 2 (Rome, 1988), pp. 436–439, no. R333.

14. The bust of Germanicus had a Christian cross engraved on its forehead in Late Antique times, so it must have been long admired in Egypt. See Kiss 1984, pp. 41, 137, figs. 59, 60. Instances of *agiasmos* (sanctification), as the Greeks called it, suggest the sculpture in question was reused to portray a saint, in this case a young warrior-saint such as Theodoros or Demetrios.

15. For the head of Agrippina the Elder, see Jacqueline Chittenden and Charles Seltman, *Greek Art*, exhib. cat., Burlington House (London, 1947; exhib. 1946). The portrait in Copenhagen is illus. in Vagn Poulsen, *Les portraits romains*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1962), vol. 1, p. 97, no. 62; and Frederik Poulsen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture* (Copenhagen, 1951), pp. 440–441, no. 634.

16. In this respect, there are scholars who would date the bust of Mark Antony in Kingston Lacy to the Augustan period, about 10 B.C. to A.D. 10. The *damnatio*, or erasure, of Antony's monuments after the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C. and his death in 30 B.C. was short in duration and was probably confined for the most part to Rome, for Antony was remembered fondly in Asia Minor for his campaigns of 39 and 38 B.C. with Artavasdes II, King of Armenia, against the Parthians and their renegade Roman helpers on the eastern frontier of the Graeco-Roman world. On Antony's iconography and portraits, see Helga von Heintze in Wolfgang Helbig, *Die Städtischen Sammlungen*, vol. 2 of *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed. (Tübingen, West Germany, 1966), pp. 414–416, under no. 1610, a more-than-life-size head in Italian marble which was found in 1941 near the Comitium in the Roman Forum and is now in the Braccio Nuovo of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. Tacitus (*Annales* 3, 18) wrote that Augustus resurrected the monuments of his rival and sometime brother-in-law. After all, Livia's younger son, the general Nero Drusus (who died campaigning in Germany in 9 B.C.), was married to Antony's and Octavia's daughter Antonia, and they in turn were the parents of the heroic general Germanicus and the emperor Claudius.

17. See Anne-Kathrein Massner, "Ägyptisierende Bildnisse des Kaiser Claudius," *Antike Kunst*, vol. 29 (1986), pp. 63–67, pls. 10, 11. One is a tiny head of Claudius as an Egyptian sphinx, which has been in Sir John Soane's Museum, London, since the early 1800s. The second, whose identification has been contested, is a head (with most of its neck) in the Yale University Art Gallery (no. 4.1.1953); this was brought from Egypt by Victor Clay Barringer, a famous American judge at the mixed ("capitulation") courts of Cairo.

18. Perhaps the most beautiful example is a statue in white marble in the Vatican (Museo Gregoriano Egizio, no. 22795); see *The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art*, exhib. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1983) pp. 181–182, no. 98.

19. This was found on the steps of the Temple of Isis at Coptos, and is now in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (no. E 976). It is illus. in Cornelius Vermeule *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America* (Berkeley, 1981), p. 352, no. 303; Bianchi 1988, pp. 254–255, no. 140; *Romans and Barbarians*, exhib. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1976), pp. 25–26, no. 31. Caracalla was in Egypt at the time this head was carved.

20. Worcester Art Museum, no. 1974.297; illus. in Richard Stuart Teitz in *Worcester Art Museum Bulletin*, February 1975, cover and pp. 15–16; Vermeule 1981, p. 371, no. 322; and Anna Marguerite McCann in *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, exhib. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1979), pp. 10–11, no. 3, with the observation that the emperor Diocletian visited Egypt in the year A.D. 302.

21. Richard Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrrwerke* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1932), is the standard study. It has been updated by Maria Luisa Lucci, "Il Porfido nell' antichità," *Archaeologia Classica*, vol. 16 (1964), pp. 226–271. See also, Carlos A. Picon in *Classical Antiquities from Private Collections in Great Britain: A Loan Exhibition in Aid of the Ashmole Archive*, exhib. cat., Sotheby's London (1986), under p. 47, no. 55, pl. XI, the colossal porphyry foot in the Greek Museum, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England. On the first use of porphyry statues in the portico of the Temple of the Deified Trajan, at one end of Trajan's Forum in Rome, see Comstock and Vermeule 1976, p. 287, under no. 465, a post-Classical porphyry head of a Dacian captive. One of these Hadrianic portraits of Dacians, with its head and hands restored in white marble, is now in

the Musée du Louvre, Paris, having come from the Borghese collection in Rome; see Jean-René Gaborit in *La revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, vol. 2 (1989), pp. 42–45, fig. 2. Porphyry was the colored stone most favored for forgeries of Roman portraits from Renaissance to neo-Classical times. See Picon 1985, p. 320, under no. 245, porphyry busts of the empresses Faustina the Younger (wife of Marcus Aurelius) and Julia Domna (wife of Septimius Severus [reigned A.D. 193–211] and mother of Caracalla), which were made in the eighteenth century in Rome, and are now in the collection of the duke of Wellington at Stratfield Saye.

Roman Art

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In the year 31 B.C., the young Octavian defeated his Roman rival Mark Antony and Queen Cleopatra of Egypt in a sea battle off Western Greece. With Antony's and Cleopatra's suicides at Alexandria in Egypt, Octavian became ruler of the Roman world. Named Augustus in 27 B.C. by the Roman Senate, he was recognized as the first Roman emperor. His world, and that of his successors, extended from the British Isles to the Tigris River, the area of modern Iraq. The Romans were soldiers, builders, and merchants. They knew what they liked in art, but they were first to admit that their Greek citizens and subjects could create the sculptures and jewelry that Romans desired and could buy.

Roman art is a story of Roman taste. The Romans loved portraits of themselves. They embellished their public spaces with statues and busts of their emperors, like Hadrian (reigned A.D. 117–38), who loved Greek art and traveled the Empire at the height of its prosperity. The coins of ancient Rome feature very factual, precise portraits of the famous leaders of the last decades of the Republic and of the emperors on one side (the obverse), and divinities, historical events such as visits to the provinces, famous buildings from temples to aqueducts, and even exotic animals imported to Rome for the games and circuses on the second side (the reverse). Because the coins give the emperors' full titles and offices, we can often date new issues of coins to the month in which they appeared.

Roman respect for the Greek past led to the prodigious copying of famous Greek statues and reliefs made centuries earlier by popular Greek sculptors. This mechanical copying, usually in marble from plaster casts, was done in workshops all over the Roman Empire in order that many Roman cities and the country villas of the rich could exhibit masterpieces otherwise only seen in dimly lit shrines in Greece and Asia Minor. The famous Greek statues were usually in bronze, but many were melted down in the barbarian onslaughts of the Middle Ages. The marble copies that have survived in ruins, however, give us visual insight into lost works of art celebrated by ancient writers. Without these copies, often carved by talented craftsmen who respected the originals, great sculptors of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., notably Phidias, Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos, would not be understood as fully as they are today.

In the decorative arts, the Romans adapted Greek designs to their terracotta architectural panels, their bronze mirrors, their jewelry, and, above all, their sarcophagi (coffins). Indeed, carved marble funerary chests gave the Romans a marvelous opportunity to narrate Greek myths and heroic scenes such as episodes from the Trojan Wars. The mighty hunter Meleager was popular as a statue identified with Skopas, but his deeds could be told in full on the four sides of a large marble sarcophagus. As the Roman world passed toward the Middle Ages, especially after Constantine the Great's edict of religious toleration in A.D. 315, biblical subjects came to dominate the arts where once the Olympian divinities, the mythological heroes, and the imperial Romans had held the stage.

FACING PAGE: *Statue of Meleager*, c. 50 B.C.
(detail of cat. no. 41).









41. Statue of Meleager

Roman copy of a fourth-century B.C.

Greek original attributed to Skopas

c. 50 B.C.

Marble; h. 173 cm (68 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene A. Davidson,
1972.935

References: Steven Lattimore, "Meleager:
New Replicas, Old Problems," *Opuscula
Romana* 9, 18 (1973), pp. 158 and 166;
Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture
in America*, p. 21.

42. Coin Showing Consul Marcellus

Obverse: around, MARCELLINVS and
triskeles

Reverse: Consul Marcellus consecrating
trophy; MARCELLVS/COS QVINQ

Roman Republic

50 B.C. (Claudia gens), Rome mint

Silver denarius; diam. 1.9 cm ($\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Gift of Martin A. Ryerson, 1922.4846A



41. Statue of Meleager

Meleager was a young hunter who led a band of men and his beloved Atalanta against a great wild boar that was ravaging the countryside of Calydon. Meleager killed the beast, but a quarrel over the spoils ensued and the youthful hero killed his mother's brothers. His mother, Althaea, proceeded to engineer her son's death by burning a branch that had been his means to immortality.

This statue is an impressive, early copy of an original attributed to the sculptor Skopas that belongs to the decade before the middle of the fourth century B.C. The original was probably made in hollow-cast bronze, meaning the ungainly tree trunk seen here would not have been necessary to support the statue. On the other hand, the pediment was in marble, and some copies of this Meleager in marble manage this stance without such a large tree. In the original version of the statue, Meleager was leaning on his spear, and the head of the slain boar was on a tree stump near his left leg. The cloak thrown over the left arm adds a touch of restlessness to the composition. Indeed, restlessness in repose was a characteristic of the work of Skopas, who was one of the first sculptors to superimpose emotion on the timeless ideal of Greek representations of young gods, heroes, and athletes. The emotional roller coaster of Meleager's career was the perfect vehicle for Skopas, whether as a caster in bronze or a carver in marble. (CCV)

42. Coin Showing Consul Marcellus

According to legend, Romulus defeated an enemy commander in hand-to-hand combat; to celebrate this event, he built a temple to Jupiter and dedicated to the god the spoils of the battle. It became customary for any Roman general who emulated Romulus to dedicate similarly the resulting special trophy (*spolia opima*, "spoils of honor"). The triumph of Marcus Claudius Marcellus over the Gaul Viridomarus in 222 B.C. is one of the earliest known of such single-handed victories, and his proud descendant Marcellinus commemorated this milestone on the coinage for which he was responsible. Marcellinus also took this occasion to boast of his ancestor's five consulates (thus the inscription "COS QVINQ," literally "consul for the fifth time," on the coin's reverse) and his capture of Syracuse (the triskeles on the obverse).

It is noteworthy that the superb, "realistic" portrait on the obverse is of the stern old republican Marcellus, not his politically ambitious scion. The detailed, naturalistic "likeness" is therefore wholly imaginary, the subject of the portrait being nearly two centuries in the tomb. Roman republican law and custom forbade the representation of any living person on its coinage. It was

not until Julius Caesar evoked long-dormant royalist thoughts among some of his supporters that the Senate bestowed this telling privilege on the oft-appointed dictator, shortly after this coin was minted. Others followed suit: Pompey the Great, Octavian, even the tyrannicide Brutus left us their own portraits; and no subsequent ruler, regent, or would-be usurper of Rome failed to have his or her visage immortalized on a coin. (TGD)

43. Architectural Relief Panel

The Romans of the early Empire loved to decorate the wooden moldings or plaster walls of their houses and villas, such as those at Pompeii and Herculaneum, with relief panels fired to the color red from high-grade clay.



43. Architectural Relief Panel

Roman, said to have been found in Italy
in the 19th century

1st century A.D.

Molded terracotta; h. 58.8 cm (23¼ in.)

Katherine K. Adler Fund; restricted gift
of Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Bro, the Classical
Art Society, and Mr. and Mrs. Walter
Alexander, 1990.87



44. Statuette of an Enthroned Figure

Roman

1st century A.D.

Bronze, with eyes inlaid in silver;

h. 15.5 cm (6 1/8 in.)

Wirt D. Walker Fund, 1965.402

Scenes such as the one shown here were prepared with a mold that could be used to repeat the same composition as a frieze extending the length of the wall or alternating with related subjects from different molds. The designs were often in an older style, from the rich heritage of the Greek past. Such is the case with the rare scene presented here. Two female temple-attendants, servants of a goddess such as Artemis, are kneeling with an elaborate altar between them. The altar takes the form of a tall candlestick (or candelabrum) with offerings burning on the top and a stand with large floral scrolls at the bottom. The costumes of the attendants, as well as their hairstyles, are designed to recall the Greeks of southern Italy (at Locri under the toe of Italy) and Sicily (at Catania just across the Straits of Messina) in the period around 200 B.C. The egg-and-dart molding above and the interlaced waterleaves below provided a continuum with the panels on either side of this one, panels in which the main decoration may have been different, modeled from other molds. The four nail-holes in the background were for tacking this panel to its architectural setting. (CCV)

44. Statuette of an Enthroned Figure

Seated on her elaborate, high-backed throne, this goddess or personified virtue wears a long chiton tied above her waist and an ample himation, which is draped over her left shoulder, falls down her back, around her lap, and ends in folds across either side of her legs. Her right hand is extended, palm upwards. Her missing left arm was raised. A cap culminating in a large diadem is set above her hair, the latter tied in a long braid behind her shoulders. The Romans placed small statues such as this in their household shrines. Depending on details of cos-



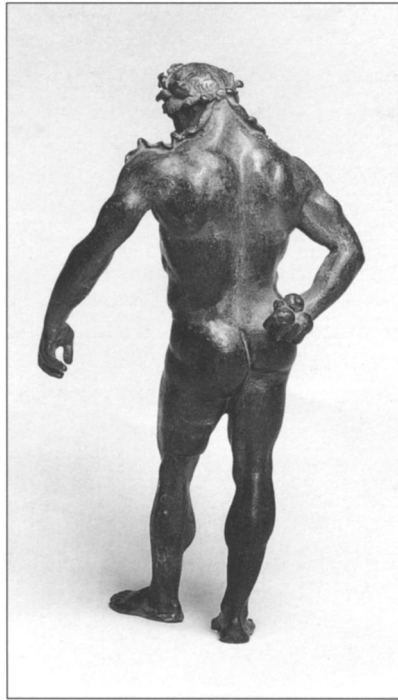
45. Bracelet

Roman, probably
from Italy

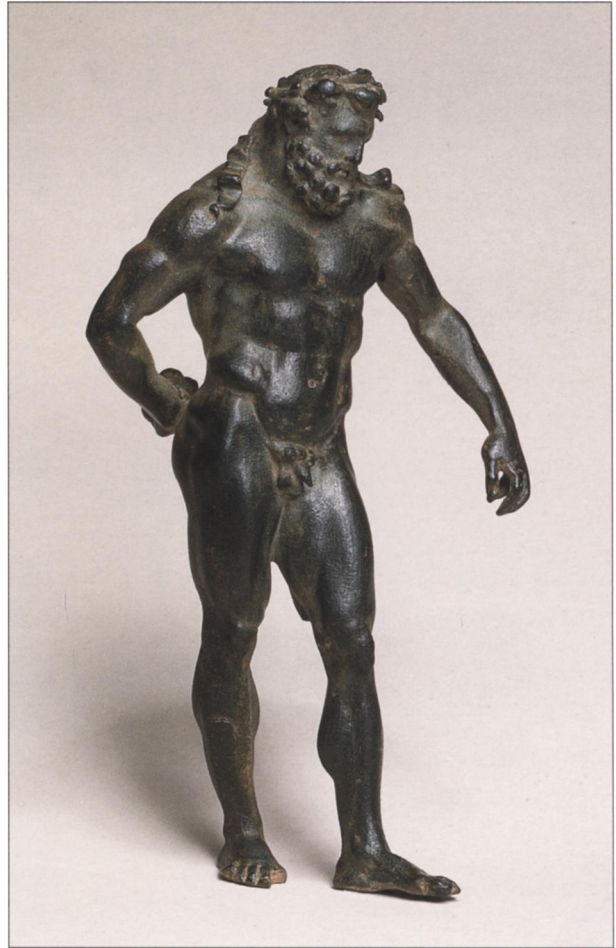
1st/2nd century A.D.

Gold; l. 22.3 cm (8 7/8 in.)

RX18051.1



46. Statuette of Hercules
 Roman copy of the fourth-century B.C.
 Greek original by Lysippos
 2nd century A.D.
 Bronze; h. 22 cm (8¹¹/₁₆ in.)
 Katherine K. Adler Fund, 1978.308



tume and the attributes in each hand, they could represent major divinities such as Juno and Ceres or personifications such as Fortuna, Pietas, or Concordia. Because this impressive figure probably held a *patera* (libation dish) on her right hand and a large cornucopia (horn of plenty) in her left arm, she is probably Concordia, symbol of family harmony and one of the four cardinal virtues of the Roman Empire. In A.D. 15, the second Roman emperor, Tiberius (reigned A.D. 14–37), dedicated a large temple to Concordia just below the Capitoline Hill and overlooking the Roman Forum, the most important location in the Roman world. This bronze is a version in miniature of the colossal gold and ivory cult-image of Concordia placed in that temple and now known chiefly from Roman coins. (CCV)

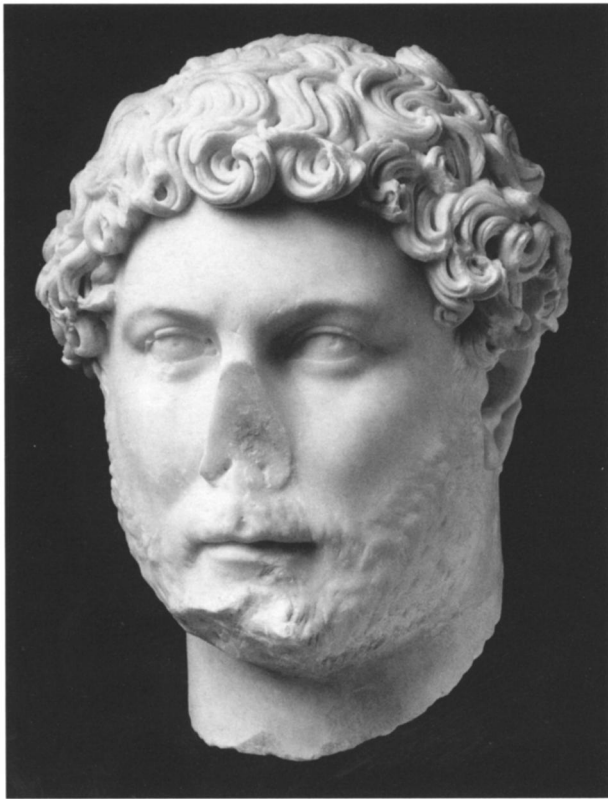
45. Bracelet

The Romans loved heavy, showy, and complex jewelry. While the Aphrodite of Knidos might wear one bracelet on her left upper arm, the small marble and bronze

Aphrodites found in the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum are very much in keeping with Roman taste, which might favor vulgar, heavy bracelets on both upper and lower arms and similar, elaborate objects around the ankles. Nothing could be more Roman than a bracelet formed of golden hemispheres, almost like grapes, set with and set off by rosettes and with complex links and clasps. Touches of granulation hint at the Etruscan or native Italic traditions which lie behind Roman jewelry. This bracelet could have been found in the ruins of Pompeii or Herculaneum, for there are similar ensembles in the museums of Italy and elsewhere in Europe from the cities overwhelmed by the lava and pumice of Vesuvius on that fateful August day in the year A.D. 79. An identical bracelet in the National Museum at Naples does indeed come from Pompeii. The taste for such jewelry, bracelets, and necklaces, was carried to the eastern end of the Mediterranean in the second century A.D. and, eventually, along the caravan and shipping routes to the Indian subcontinent and beyond to the Far East. (CCV)

46. Statuette of Hercules

This small bronze statue of superior workmanship and in excellent condition gives us a splendid insight into the appearance of a lost masterpiece in bronze by Lysippos, a famous sculptor working around 335 B.C. Lysippos made many statues in bronze, and a favorite theme, which he probably portrayed more than once during his long career, was the weary Herakles (the Roman Hercules). The hero is shown resting from his Twelve Labors while holding the three golden apples of the Hesperides against his lower back with his right hand. With his left hand he grasps a club for support. The skin of the Nemean lion is often shown wrapped around this arm or hanging from the club. The most famous version of this statue was probably made by Lysippos for the Gymnasium of his



47. Portrait Head of the Emperor Hadrian

Roman

2nd century A.D.

Marble; h. 36 cm (14 1/4 in.)

Katherine K. Adler Fund, 1979.350

References: Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, p. 309.

native city of Sikyon, along the Gulf of Corinth, on the northern coast of the Peloponnesus. This small bronze shows a wreath of vine leaves and fruit (grapes?) around the forehead, suggesting the pleasures of the banquet that await the hero on completion of his labors. This may be a Roman Imperial addition to the hero's attributes. On sarcophagi and in mosaics of the decades from A.D. 150 to 230, the drinking contest between Dionysos (the Roman Bacchus, god of wine) and Herakles was a popular theme, for it pitted experience and toleration against rashness and force. The weary Herakles always succumbed in these encounters and had to stagger off to bed with the aid of Dionysos's followers, the satyrs and maenads. (CCV)

47. Portrait Head of the Emperor Hadrian

Of all the Roman emperors, Hadrian (reigned A.D. 117–38) is the one whose portrait is most frequently found, all over the Empire from Britain to Persia, from Asia Minor to Egypt. The grateful Greek cities dedicated 125 statues to Hadrian around the precinct of the Temple of the Olympian Zeus at Athens, a colossal structure that Hadrian (honored there as the Thirteenth Olympian, or god of Mount Olympus) paid to have completed. And, among all his portraits, few are the equal of this likeness in conveying the complex, neurotic character of the emperor who inherited the Roman world at its greatest extent from his fellow Spaniard Trajan (reigned 98–117) and who consolidated the Empire by backing away from the military quicksands of Mesopotamia and the mountains beyond in Parthia or Persia (modern Iran). Hadrian spent much of his reign traveling from city to city, from outpost to oasis. Hadrian was also the first emperor to grow a beard; it is said that he grew it to conceal a scar from a hunting accident and to resemble the Greek philosophers whom he respected. Most of his successors continued the fashion until Constantine the Great (reigned 306–37), who modeled his appearance on Helios (god of the sun) and on Christ. Hadrian's memory was so cherished in the East and West in the Middle Ages that both the Roman and Orthodox churches have a saint named Hadrian or Adriano(s). (CCV)

48. Relief of a Fallen Warrior from the Shield of the Athena Parthenos

Around 435 B.C., the sculptor Phidias enriched the front of the shield at the side of his gold and ivory Athena in the Parthenon with scenes of Greeks and Amazons battling in the Trojan Wars, or, perhaps more likely, fighting around the Athenian Acropolis in the kingship of Theseus. In Roman times, certain figures from this complex struggle were lifted out of context and enlarged to



49. Statue of a Seated Woman
 Roman copy of a fifth-century B.C.
 Greek original in the style of the
 Parthenon sculptures
 2nd century A.D.
 Marble; h. 82 cm (32 1/8 in.)
 Katherine K. Adler Fund, 1986.1060
References: Louise Berge, "A Lady
 Seated on a Rock. . ." Now in The Art
 Institute of Chicago, *The Ancient World*
 15 (1987), p. 50, nos. 3 and 4.

**48. Relief of a Fallen
 Warrior from the Shield of the
 Athena Parthenos**
 Roman copy of the fifth-century B.C.
 Greek original by Phidias, found in the
 harbor of Piraeus
 2nd century A.D.
 Marble; h. 48.1 cm (19 in.)
 Gift of Alfred E. Hamill, 1928.257
References: A. D. Fraser, "The
 'Capaneus' Reliefs of the Villa Albani
 and The Art Institute of Chicago,"
American Journal of Archaeology 43
 (1939), p. 449, fig. 2; Vermeule, *Greek
 and Roman Sculpture in America*, pp. 21
 and 44, fig. 18, pl. 4; Helen Comstock,
 "Five Centuries of Greek Sculpture,"
International Studio 84 (June 1926), pp.
 33-35 (ill.); D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in
 Greek Art* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 209-14,
 pl. 87.





50. **Statue of the Aphrodite of Knidos**
 Roman copy of the fourth-century B.C.
 Greek original by Praxiteles
 2nd century A.D.
 Marble; h. 168 cm (66 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)
 Katherine K. Adler, Harold L. Stuart,
 and Wirt D. Walker funds, 1981.11

become decorative relief-panels for the walls of a colonnade or courtyard. When this relief was first discovered, this figure of a wounded Greek sinking to the ground with cloak and shield was misnamed “Kapaneus” after one of the Seven Heroes who died trying to capture the city of Thebes in Greece in mythological times. The dying warrior’s noble countenance, the fillet or ribbon tied around his forehead, and the figure’s powerful, athletic body sum up what Phidias and his pupils sought to project as the ideal of mature male dignity in the decade when Athens was at the height of its power in the eastern Mediterranean world. This Phidian style, translated from a circular golden shield to a rectangular marble relief, was exactly what collectors such as the emperor Hadrian sought to decorate their palaces and villas. Athenian sculptors of the Roman Empire made a good living creating and exporting such memories of past glories. This relief and a number of others were found in Piraeus Harbor, where they had been lost in some disaster while awaiting shipment. (CCV)

49. **Statue of a Seated Woman**

Throughout the Roman Imperial Period, the sculptures of Athens in the Golden Age of chief magistrate Perikles and his master sculptor Pheidias impressed institutions and citizens all over the ancient world, especially around Rome and the Bay of Naples. The seated, draped goddesses in the pediments of the Parthenon on the Acropolis were adapted for use as individual statues of divinities and of empresses or other notable women. In this statue, the heavy, crinkled folds of drapery in the long undergarment tied with a rope at the waist and the heavy cloak hanging from the left shoulder and thrown across the lap have been made the salient characteristics of a heavy figure full of dignity. The head, neck, and forearms were carved separately and attached with cement and dowels. Since the figure sits on a large rock rather than a throne, a goddess seems to have been intended, perhaps a major deity such as Hera (known in ancient Rome as Juno), who was the consort of Zeus (the Roman Jupiter), the ruler of the divinities who lived on Mount Olympus in northern Greece. There is, however, the strong possibility that this statue commemorated a Roman empress or even that it was intended as a memorial statue of a private citizen of renown. An empress such as Faustina the Elder, wife of Antoninus Pius, who was made a goddess and equated with Juno after her death in A.D. 141, or her daughter Faustina II, wife of Marcus Aurelius, who was accorded similar status by the Roman Senate in 175, seem likely candidates for the subject of this statue. (CCV)



51. Portrait Head of a Young Woman

Roman, said to have been found in Athens

2nd century A.D.

Marble; h. 22.5 cm (8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Edward A. Ayer Fund, 1960.64

References: Cornelius C. Vermeule, "Two Masterpieces of Athenian Sculpture," *The Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly* 54, 4 (Dec. 1960), pp. 8–10; Cornelius C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 364–65, fig. 179; George M. A. Hanfmann, *Roman Art* (New York, 1975), no. 98; Helga von Heintze, "Ein spätantikes Mädchenporträt in Bonn: Zur stilistischen Entwicklung des Frauenbildnisses im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 14 (1971), p. 78, no. 4, and pp. 80–81, pl. 13d and 15a; Kurt Weitzman, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, exh. cat. (New York, 1979), pp. 289–90, no. 268; Evelyn B. Harrison, "The Constantinian Portrait," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967), pp. 87–89, fig. 31; Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, pp. 372–73.



52. Hand Mirror

Roman

2nd century A.D.

Gilded bronze; diam. 11.8 cm (4 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. James W. Alsdorf,

1985.1042

References: W. Hornbostel, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern* (Mainz, 1980), pp. 271–73 (ill.).

50. Statue of the Aphrodite of Knidos

Around the middle of the fourth century B.C., working in his studio in the shadow of the Athenian Acropolis, Praxiteles made a statue of Aphrodite fully clothed and, daringly for his times, a second statue of the goddess emerging from her bath and wearing only a bracelet on her upper arm. Praxiteles offered the choice of his two marble sculptures to the city of Kos on the island of the same name. Beset with modesty, the good burghers bought the draped statue, which was promptly forgotten by the later peoples of the ancient world. The city of Knidos, on a peninsula of Asia Minor not far southeast of Kos, bought the nude Aphrodite, and both statue and city enjoyed great fame ever after. So popular was the Knidian Aphrodite that many copies were made in later times and sold everywhere. The statue seen here is one of them. Bereft of head, hands, and draped *kalpis* (water jug) by her left leg, it is hard to appreciate the rhythmic composition of the original statue. With the surfaces of the marble so weathered and worn, it is hard to grasp the soft, translucent beauty of the Knidia, as this Aphrodite was called. At Knidos, the original sculpture stood in a circular Doric tempietto, the small building open to the sky. Hadrian so admired the ensemble that he had the little temple and the statue copied for a knoll near the modern entrance to his villa at Tivoli. It seems very likely that the Art Institute's copy was placed in a similar setting, in an area where the climate was not kind to the statue. (CCV)

51. Portrait Head of a Young Woman

This elegant young lady with her hair wrapped in braids around her head to form a kind of turban is something of an enigma. Did she live around A.D. 140 or did she belong to the early years of Constantine the Great,

around 315 when these hairstyles were revived? Lovers of Roman portraiture have been split down the middle on this question over the past thirty-five years. Whenever she lived and sat for her portrait—and the better guess is around 140—she summed up all that was forthright as well as elegant in Roman portraiture. The white marble of the face has been given a cameo-like polish, something just becoming fashionable in portrait sculpture after 130, and the carving and incising of the pupils of her eyes give her a lifelike intellect that reflects the highest quality in Roman portraiture. (CCV)

52. Hand Mirror

Artemis (the Roman Diana), or a Roman lady with divine fantasies, after her bath in a rustic, woodland setting, is the subject of the tondo in relief on the back of this Roman hand mirror. Her cloak is draped over the rocks on which she sits, and she holds the end wrapped around a small hand mirror in her raised left hand, a divine celebration of the uses of the mirror in a Roman household. The landscape in front of her, to the right, recalls the paintings and reliefs from houses around the Bay of Naples before the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A.D. 79. The quiver of the goddess leans against the base of a garlanded altar with a small herm on top. A second terminal figure, Priapos, the god of gardens and fertility, tilts back while facing to the right on the ledge at the right. The bovine skull in the right foreground suggests the sacrifice after a successful hunt. The spreading tree in the background is a device to unite the whole composition. As a result of these details and artistic devices, the composition as a whole is both elegant and precise, with a touch of the erotic in the details that befits the vanities and personal qualities of just such a domestic work of art. (CCV)



53. Coin Showing Empress Julia Domna

Obverse: around, IVLIA AVGVSTA
("Augusta" means "Revered" or "Venerable")

Reverse: "Piety" offers incense at altar;
around, PIETAS AVGG (Pietas
Augustorum; "Proper attitude among the
imperial family")

Roman Empire

c. A.D. 199–207, Rome mint

Gold aureus; diam. 2 cm (¾ in.)

Gift of Martin A. Ryerson, 1922.4883

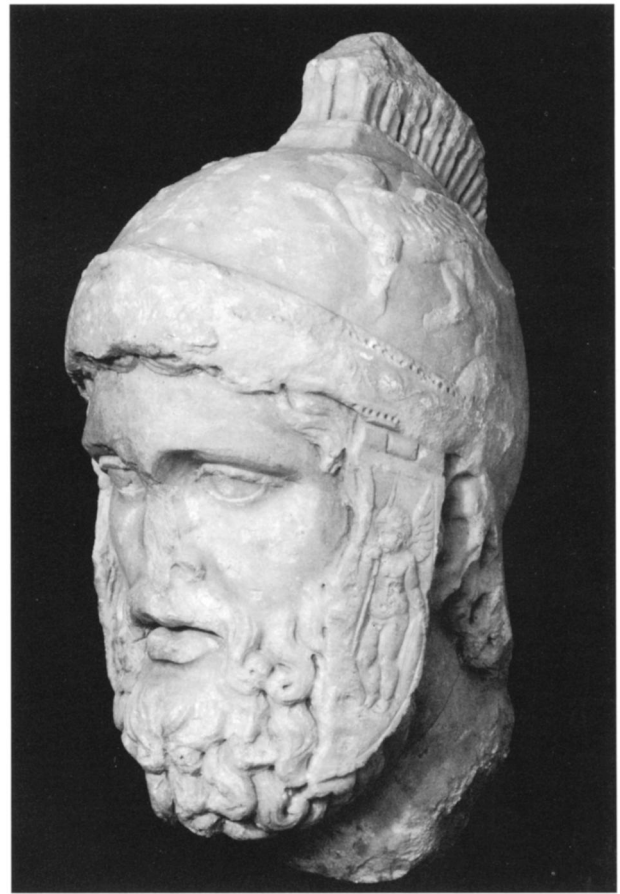
53. Coin Showing Empress Julia Domna

Julia Domna is usually referred to either as the wife of the Emperor Septimius Severus or as the mother of Caracalla and Geta. This coin, in fact, was issued during the joint reign of Severus and his elder son, but by their authority, not her own. Yet Julia was no mere relative to power; as the self-assured portrait on this coin suggests, her influence was openly recognized by contemporaries. Intellectual, ambitious, and steel-willed, the Syrian-born Julia was called “the philosopher” and was famous for her circle of learned friends; at the same time, she could successfully vie with courtiers to influence imperial policy, and could accommodate herself to Caracalla’s murder of her younger son Geta. The empress Julia would remain a guiding force in Caracalla’s reign, taking her own life after his assassination in A.D. 217.

The figure of Piety on the reverse is a standard type, invoking the traditional Roman attitude of respect and duty toward one’s family, country, and gods. As such, it would appear a singularly inappropriate choice of values to grace a coin of the ruthless Severan dynasty. But the suspicious death of Severus, the near-breakup of the Empire, and the murder of Geta were, at the time of this minting, still in the future; and Julia “Augusta” might well have hoped that her strong presence might maintain proper *pietas* (respect) among the august members of her family. (TGD)

54. Head of Mars

In about 345 B.C., a sculptor named Leochares, who later worked in Athens, was commissioned to fashion a colossal, standing statue of Ares (the Roman Mars) for the god’s Temple at Halikarnassos on the peninsula just east of Kos and north of Knidos. The god was portrayed, wearing a helmet and a cuirass, and holding his shield and his spear. The city of Halikarnassos was somewhat isolated in terms of the main centers of the Greek and Roman world, but its tomb of King Mosollus, a vast ensemble of sculpture and architecture on which Leochares had worked, was one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, giving its very name (mausoleum) to an elaborate tomb anywhere in any age. The Mausoleum of Halikarnassos brought touring Roman magistrates and generals to the city. Admiration for the statue of Ares in the temple overlooking the city and for the very military qualities of the Mausoleum of Helikarnassos led to free copies of these works being made for shrines elsewhere. This head captures the grandeur of the original statue, and at the same time includes something of the softness of form for which such fourth-century sculptors as Praxiteles became



54. Head of Mars

Roman

2nd century A.D.

Marble; h. 59.2 cm (23½ in.)

Katherine K. Adler Fund, 1984.1

References: Louise Berge, “A War God in Chicago,” *The Ancient World* 10, 3–4 (1984), p. 66.

famous. These qualities were later reflected in the work of copyists and adapters in Roman times. (CCV)

55. Fragment of a Sarcophagus

This fragment or secondary section of a large sarcophagus, made in Athens around the years A.D. 240 to 250 and exported to the eastern Mediterranean, appears to show the heroes grouped around Meleager at the time of the hunt for the Calydonian boar. Atalanta sits at the right, and Herakles is seated with his club at the left.

Meleager, standing with his foot on a rock between two other companions, has been made to resemble the heroic or divine Macedonian king, Alexander the Great. Perhaps this is because the scene on the sarcophagus was based on a painting of the period around 300 to 200 B.C. in which Meleager's hunt and tragic death were equated with Alexander the Great's conquests and his own untimely demise at Babylon in 323 B.C. Alexander was a great hunter as well as a great general, and his life ended by decree of the Fates, the same three sisters who had doomed Meleager to die by hitching his thread of life to a firebrand. The reliefs of sarcophagi were fraught with the symbolism of death and tragedy, since they were bought by grief-stricken relatives as well as patrons of the arts. This poetic presentation of the young hunter Meleager amid other young heroes whose features resemble those of the companions of Alexander the Great stands in contrast to the solid statue of Meleager identified with Skopas in the years before the middle of the fourth century B.C. (see cat. no. 41). (ccv)

56. Coin Showing Emperor Caracalla

Caracalla was only ten years old when his father Septimius Severus granted him the title of co-Augustus and Pontifex (priest) and bestowed on him the Tribunitian power. The young emperor, however, aged quickly. This portrait shows a sixteen-year-old who knows he will soon control most of the civilized world. By all accounts a mild and charming youth, Caracalla's nature was corrupted by power—or else power allowed his true nature to reveal itself. The coin portraits of this emperor chronicle, year by year, the toll that time and Empire took on Caracalla's once pleasant and boyish face. It is a horrific and fascinating spectacle; not least remarkable is that the engravers were allowed to portray the cruelty and debauchery reflected in the emperor's visage in the later coinage. In this coin portrait, the attempts against his father's life, the murder of his younger brother Geta, the massacres of Roman citizens, and the brutality of the circus games were still in the future, masked by the dis-



55. Fragment of a Sarcophagus

Roman, said to have been found near Antioch, Syria, probably made in Athens

A.D. 240/250

Marble; 96 cm (37 1/2 in.)

Gift of the Alsdorf Foundation, 1983.584

References: Guntram Koch, "Zu einem Relief in der Alsdorf Collection,"

Archäologischer Anzeiger (Berlin, 1978),

pp. 116–35; Cornelius C. Vermeule,

"Dated Monuments of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman Popular Art in Asia

Minor: Pontus through Mysia," in

Studies Presented to George M. A.

Hanfmann (Cambridge, Mass., 1971),

p. 176 (old no. 57.1968); Vermeule,

Greek and Roman Sculpture in America,

p. 246 (old no. 57.1968); Cornelius C.

Vermeule, in *The Search for Alexander*,

(Boston, 1980), p. 119, no. 40.





56. Coin Showing Emperor Caracalla

Obverse: around, ANTONINVS PVS AVG PONTIF MAX (Anton[inus] P[ius] Aug[ustus] Pon[tifex] Tr[ibunitia] P[otestas] VII: “Antoninus Pius Augustus, Priest [or Pontif], holding Tribunician Power for Seventh Time”)

Reverse: Victory with wreath and palm; around, VICT PART MAX (Vict[oria] Part[hica] Max[ima]; “Great Parthian Victory”)

Roman Empire

A.D. 204, Rome mint

Gold aureus; diam. 2 cm (¾ in.)

Gift of Martin A. Ryerson, 1922.4884

57. Coin Showing Emperor Constantine the Great

Obverse: around, CONSTANTINVS PF AVG (Constantinus P[ius] F[elix] Aug[ustus]; “Constantine, Dutiful and Fortunate August One”)

Reverse: Constantine on horseback; around, ADVENTVS AVGVSTI N (Adventus Augusti N[ostri]; “The coming of our lord [Constantine]”)

Roman Empire

A.D. 324–25, Antioch mint

Gold solidus; diam. 1.9 cm (¾ in.)

Gift of Martin A. Ryerson, 1922.4903



arming, somewhat enigmatic smile of the youthful emperor.

The figure of Victory and the title on the reverse refer to the successful campaigns against the Parthians, waged by Severus, in which Caracalla took part, despite his tender years. His real name was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus; he received his nickname for affecting to wear a Gaulish cape called a “caracalla.” (TGD)

57. Coin Showing Emperor Constantine the Great

Constantine’s coinage is as complex as the age that produced it. The Empire was undergoing radical changes, among them the short-lived experiment in shared government called the Tetrarchy, in which pairs of senior and junior emperors were to divide the burden of running the sprawling and unruly Empire. Self-effacing cooperative spirit was not, however, a highly developed concept among aspiring emperors, and by A.D. 313 Constantine the Great emerged as sole ruler. In order to concen-

trate his energies where the chances of Roman greatness remained the strongest, Constantine moved the seat of the government to the Thracian city of Byzantium, engaged on an ambitious building program, and renamed the “New Rome” in honor of himself: Constantinople.

The portrait of Constantine on the obverse of this coin is among the last in the history of Roman coinage, for increasingly the emphasis lay not on the individual person of the emperor but on the office. Luxurious robes and diadems, elaborate court ceremony and a nearly mystic atmosphere of awe surrounded the emperor, and transformed the human ruler into a quasi-divine being in the eyes of the ruled: true portraiture gave way to symbolic representations. Constantine’s luminous eyes in this coin portrait were said by his contemporaries to reflect his divine inspiration, whether that inspiration ultimately came from Sol or from the Christian God, to whose religion Constantine officially converted the Empire, though his grasp of the underlying concepts remains doubtful. (TGD)